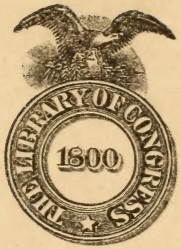

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THE WORK

CLAIMING TO BE

THE CONSTITUTIONS

OF

THE HOLY APOSTLES,

INCLUDING THE CANONS;

WHISTON'S VERSION, REVISED FROM THE GREEK;

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
1872
CITY OF WASHINGTON

WITH

A PRIZE ESSAY,

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN,

UPON

THEIR ORIGIN AND CONTENTS;

Otto C. Krabbe

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY IRAH CHASE, D.D.

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TO

THE CANDID AND INTELLIGENT,

OF ALL PARTIES,

THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED;

IN THE HOPE, THAT IT MAY CONTRIBUTE SOMEWHAT

TOWARDS HELPING THEM

TO UNDERSTAND WHAT WAS THE STATE OF THE CHURCH AT AN EARLY PERIOD,

AND

TO MAKE SUCH REFLECTIONS AS MAY REASONABLY BE EXPECTED,

AT THE PRESENT TIME,

FROM

DISCIPLES OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

PREFACE.

In reading these Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles, the Christian of the present day will be likely to exclaim, A splendid specimen of pious fraud! A strange mixture of good and of evil! He will readily perceive, however, that he has before him documents exceedingly important for illustrating the ecclesiastical history of a very remote period; — a period during a portion of which, at least, heathenism was dominant; the sighing of Christian prisoners was heard; the blood of martyrs was flowing. Here, too, are seen indications of the bitter controversies which rent the church before and after the Nicene Council, assembled by Constantine the Great, A.D. 325; here, some of the seminal principles from which gradually arose monasticism and the Papal hierarchy, and other great departures from the spirit and practice of the primitive Christians. And yet, with all the error, and superstition, and bitterness, and fraud, there is so much that is true, so much that is opposed to superstition, so much of kindness, moderation, and

wisdom, so much of intelligence, and of acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures, so much that is elevated and manifestly Christian, so much that inculcates holiness upon the clergy and upon the laity, so much that is appropriate and impressive in some of the liturgical pieces; and, for the most part, there is such a tone of earnestness and sincerity, that, in the absence of the lights which we now enjoy, multitudes might easily have admitted the claims here set forth to apostolical authority.

This could the more easily be done by the aid of the representation that certain secret matters were intrusted to the rulers of the church, and were to be made known by them, at their discretion, to the initiated only, and not to all. For then, if some article of faith or of practice was not taught in the Scriptures, nor promulgated at all, for a century, or for several centuries, after the age of the apostles, no matter. Who, the doubter might be asked, who can prove that it may not have been preserved secretly, and transmitted from one Bishop to another, till the proper time for its promulgation? . . Something like this, which has been denominated the Discipline of the Secret, is indicated in the eighty-fifth Canon, just at the close of this work: 'The Constitutions dedicated to you, the Bishops, by me, Clement, in eight books, which it is not fitting to publish before all, because of the mysteries contained in them.' Here, then, it would seem, we have, at large, the secret code established by the apostles, respecting all the affairs of the church.

Clement of Alexandria, it is said, speaks of the *con-*

cealed theories, in contrast with the simple instructions imparted to the Catechumens. Jerome, in his reply to a friend who had consulted him respecting an obscure passage of the apostle Paul on the sacrifice of Melchisedek, says, 'You are not to suppose that Paul could not easily have explained himself; but the time was not come for such explanation. He sought to persuade the Jews, and not the faithful, to whom the mystery might have been delivered without reserve.' Basil, in his work on the Holy Spirit, c. 27, remarks, that 'We receive the dogmas transmitted to us by writing, and those which have descended to us from the apostles beneath the veil and mystery of oral tradition. . . . The apostles and fathers who from the beginning prescribed certain rites to the church, knew how to preserve the dignity of the mysteries by the secrecy and silence in which they enveloped them. For what is open to the ear and the eye is no longer mysterious. For this reason, several things have been handed down to us without writing, lest the vulgar, too familiar with our dogmas, should pass from being accustomed to them to the contempt of them.'

Schelstrate, in a Latin work, printed at Rome in 1685, on the Discipline of the Secret (De Disciplina Arcani), contends strenuously for its apostolic origin. And Thomas Moore, in his Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a Religion, accounts for the apparent heterodoxy of the fathers of the third century by the Discipline of the Secret. 'With Tertullian,' he remarks, at the close of his tenth chapter, 'may be said to have commenced that change in the public language of the fathers on this

subject,' (the Eucharist) — 'that circumlocution, and not unfrequently ambiguity, in their notices of this mystery, — of which before there had been no example, and of which the Protestants have, in their despair, taken advantage, as affording some shadow of plausibility to their arguments against the true Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. The system of secrecy to which such ambiguities, and, as it would seem, inconsistencies, in these holy writers may be traced, forms too remarkable a feature in the annals of the early church, and is, indeed, too closely connected with the history of this and other Christian doctrines, to be dismissed without receiving some farther consideration.' In the next chapter he adds, 'The truth seems to be that the *principle* of this policy was acted upon, in the Christian church, from the very beginning. So strongly has not only St. Paul, but our Saviour himself, inculcated a sacred reserve in promulgating the mysteries of the faith, that there can be no doubt the succeeding teachers of the church would, in this, as in all things else, follow their divine Master's precept. But though as a principle, this reverential guard over the mysteries was observed, doubtless, from the very first rise of Christianity, it does not appear to have been strictly enforced, as a rule of discipline, till about the close of the second century.'

Thus ingeniously this gifted Papal advocate pleads for what Milman, in his History of Christianity (b. iv. c. 2.), well denominates 'that esoteric doctrine within which lurked every thing which later ages thought proper to dignify by the name of the traditions of the church.'

There is another consideration which may cast some light upon the origin of the spurious books, which, at an early period, were circulated under the name of our Lord himself, or of his apostles, or of apostolical men. It was believed by many that it is right and commendable to practise deception in order to promote a good cause. The fact is mentioned and lamented by various Christian writers of established reputation. And, alluding to the new Platonists, Mosheim, in one of his Dissertations pertaining to Ecclesiastical History (vol. i. p. 200), says, 'Those who from among these philosophers attached themselves to the Christian religion, were so far from abandoning this opinion, when they became Christians, that, on the contrary, they approved it in word and deed, and propagated it more widely than has generally been supposed. Hence, the early ages were prolific in fictitious books, and in the disingenuous arts of controversy. I would not indeed deny that, under the influence of natural corruption, very many could have fallen into the way of deeming it right to deceive for the cause of religion; nor do I think that, before this kind of Platonic wisdom passed into the church, none of those who had professed Christianity adopted this most reprehensible practice. But what I affirm is, that, from the time in which the disciples of Christ listened favorably to these philosophers, this pestilence was much more extensively diffused than before, and that it corrupted the manners and the teaching even of most estimable men; and, therefore, was exceedingly detrimental to the church. Of this, the books which distinguish themselves by the names of

Clement of Rome, and Dionysius the Areopagite, to say nothing of others, are a lasting monument.'

The Jewish, Platonizing author of the work ascribed to Clement, entitled, An Epitome of Peter's Preaching in his travels abroad, has repeatedly represented this apostle as approving and encouraging deception, for the purpose of overthrowing his great antagonist, Simon Magus. The venerated philosopher Pythagoras, too, it was understood, had employed deception successfully, to reform the morals of the vicious. Plato himself had taught that it might be used by rulers. In the third book of his dialogue on the Republic, he says, 'If lately we reasoned right, and if, indeed, a lie be unprofitable to the gods, but useful to men, in the way of a drug, it is plain that such a thing is to be intrusted only to the physicians, but not to be touched by private persons. . . . It belongs, then, to the governors of the city, if to any others, to make a lie, with reference either to enemies or to citizens, for the good of the city; but all the rest must abstain from what is false.'

The passage is quite explicit. It needs no comment. And although it was very natural for an ardent admirer of Plato's excellences to endeavor, as Schleiermacher has done in his Introduction to the Republic, to 'refer this innocent deceit to the mythical style,' yet few will be satisfied with such a gloss. Impartial readers, in general, will admire the gentleness and modesty with which Ritter, in his elaborate History of Philosophy, expresses his dissent, saying, 'I question whether this is a legitimate exposition of Plato's doctrine.' Origen, it is certain, and

others, in the church and out of it, who were imbued more or less with the prevalent philosophy of their times, understood the words in their obvious import. And, in the circumstances of the early Christian fathers, it is easy to see what must have been the tendency of the doctrine, wherever it had influence. It must have contributed to strengthen all other tendencies and temptations to the use of fraud in vanquishing opponents, and in preserving the multitude from danger. The reasoning was short and conclusive: It is right for rulers to deceive for the purpose of benefiting the city. If this be right for those who are only civil rulers, and to secure only temporal benefits, how much more clearly must it be right, and even meritorious, for those who have been divinely constituted spiritual rulers, and to secure spiritual and everlasting benefits!

At the same time, it ought to be borne in mind that many, both of the clergy and of the laity, may have heartily disapproved the practice of pious frauds. Indeed, *the multitude* were not to know any thing of it. From the second century there has descended to us an unquestionable reference to one case at least, of an author's being deprived of his office as a Christian minister for preparing a spurious book, even (as he alleged) with good intentions. Speaking of the Acts or Travels of Paul and Thecla, a work written probably near the close of the first century or the beginning of the second, Tertullian, in his book on Baptism (c. 17), mentions that 'the Presbyter in Asia who composed that writing, as if he had been able to increase Paul's fame, being convicted of it,

and having confessed that he did it out of love to Paul, was deposed.'

After the wonderful events of the age in which Christianity was introduced, unwritten, floating reports would easily become exaggerated, and adorned or corrupted, according to the habits of thinking in different circles and parties, without any deliberate, fraudulent purpose. And then, some may have committed them to writing, with the design of preserving what, without due investigation, they supposed to be veritable accounts, or of making a popular book, or of conveying what they thought to be important religious instruction. Some, too, may have written somewhat after the manner of the historical romance, without intending to have their productions regarded as histories, properly speaking; or they may have proceeded, substantially, on the principle of the descriptive and polished dialogue, assumed, as it were, with the knowledge and consent of the reader, merely or chiefly as a convenient mode of communicating the lessons of wisdom. Cicero, in the preface to one of his works in this form (Quæstiones Academicæ), says to his friend, 'I suppose, when you read, you will wonder that we said between ourselves what we never said. But you know the manner of dialogues.' The license, however, belonging to these kinds of writing, and to parable and poetry, to fable and allegory, it is not always easy to keep within its proper limits.

A thorough discussion respecting the spurious books among the Christians in the early centuries, would of itself fill a large volume. To say nothing here of others,

Dr. Lardner, in his Credibility of the Gospel History, has, with his usual care and candor, presented many valuable facts and considerations on this subject. In the second part of that work (c. 29), under the head of Spurious Writings of the second Century, he has given a brief and interesting view of the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Sibylline Oracles, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Recognitions, the Clementine Homilies, and the Clementine Epitome. A complete collection of these and the kindred productions that are still extant, accompanied with the proper illustrations, would be a welcome contribution to our sources of ecclesiastical, literary, and even artistical history.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, Cotelerius, at Paris, rendered an important service by his edition of the Apostolical Fathers, with various appendages. Early in the next century, this was enlarged and greatly improved by Le Clerc, and published at Amsterdam in two folio volumes. About the same time, Archbishop Wake published his English version of what he regarded as 'the genuine Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers, St. Clement, St. Polycarp, St. Ignatius, St. Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Martyrdoms of St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp.' About the same time, also, Fabricius, at Hamburg, by his Falsely-entitled Code (Codex Pseudepigraphus) of the Old Testament, in two volumes, and by his Codex Apocryphus of the New Testament, in three volumes, made a noble beginning in respect to a collection of the writings generally acknowledged to be not genuine. The book of Enoch, trans-

lated into English by Bishop Lawrence, from an Ethiopic Manuscript, was published at Oxford, in 1821. Of the Codex Apocryphus of the New Testament, Dr. Thilo, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Halle, is publishing an improved edition, with important additions and critical apparatus. It will be to the learned an invaluable treasure; for, however worthless some of the pieces may be in themselves, they may be made to shed light on some dark places in ecclesiastical antiquities.

Near the close of the last century, Jones, in his New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament, occupied most of the first two volumes with learned discussions relative to the apocryphal books, giving a list of those which are lost, and inserting in parallel columns the original text and an English version of a considerable number of those which are now extant, namely, the Gospel of the Birth of Mary; the Protevangelion, or an historical account of the birth of Christ, and the perpetual Virgin Mary his mother, by James the Less, cousin and brother of the Lord Jesus, chief apostle and first bishop of the Christians in Jerusalem; the First Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus Christ; Thomas's Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus Christ; the epistles of Jesus Christ and Abgarus, king of Edessa; the Gospel of Nicodemus, formerly called the Acts of Pontius Pilate; the epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Laodiceans; the epistles of Paul the Apostle to Seneca, with Seneca's to Paul; and the Acts of Paul and Thecla.

In 1820, these pieces in English, and the epistles of

the Apostolical Fathers and the Shepherd of Hermas, as translated by Archbishop Wake, with the Apostles' Creed, were published in London, under the title of The Apocryphal New Testament. It is to be regretted that the manner in which these are brought forward seems to indicate some unhappy impressions on the mind of the editor, respecting our canonical books. If any new light on the canon can be imparted, let it be welcomed. But let no one hastily infer that a counterfeit disproves the existence, or destroys the value of what is genuine. On the contrary, let any man seriously ask himself, whether it does not afford some presumptive evidence in favor of both. And if a book, unheard of before, be forged under the name of the Apostles, to give sanction to certain doctrines or precepts, it is good evidence that there had been made on the public mind a deep and abiding impression of the sacred character and authority of those men, as the Apostles of Jesus Christ. Those men must have wrought the signs of Apostles, to the satisfaction of those who knew them the most intimately; and, by their lives and labors, and acknowledged connection with our Saviour, they must have established their claim of being, preëminently, the teachers of his religion.

Beausobre, who wrote more than a hundred years ago, in his celebrated Histoire Critique de Manichée et du Manicheisme, after a careful discussion respecting many spurious productions of the early ages, has appended to the second book of his work a Discourse in which he shows most clearly, that the forged and apocryphal writ-

ings, instead of weakening, confirm the evidence in favor of the Christian religion. And more recently, Kleuker, a German critic, in his Copious Investigation of the evidences for the genuineness and credibility of the documents of the Christian religion, has devoted the fifth volume to the consideration of the Apocryphal writings connected with Christianity; or of the origin, contents, and object of the various uncertain or fabricated productions, having reference more or less to the evangelical history and doctrine, in comparison with those documents whose Apostolic origin and object can be proved by internal and external evidences. In his closing chapter, he comes decidedly and expressly to the same grand result to which Beausobre had arrived. Lardner, too, who cannot be suspected of any superstitious prejudice, had arrived at the same result, in his immortal work which has already been mentioned. After the most extensive and patient examination of ancient writings, sacred and profane, — genuine, spurious, orthodox, heretical, Jewish, and heathen, — he remarks, in the conclusion, 'Much has been said by some in late times about spurious and apocryphal books, composed in the early days of Christianity. I hope that all objections of that sort have been answered or obviated in the preceding volumes. . . . These apocryphal books confirm the history of the genuine and authentic Scriptures of the New Testament. . . . They are written in the names of such as our authentic Scriptures say were apostles and companions of apostles. They all suppose the dignity of our

Lord's person, and that a power of working miracles, together with a high degree of authority, had been conveyed by him to his apostles.'

Happily, there are many clear and conclusive treatises, of almost every form and extent, enabling the inquirer to satisfy himself in regard to the claims of the authentic documents of our holy religion. If he awake to the duties which he owes to God, to himself, and to others; if he do justice to the evidence, and proceed in the examination with a sincere and earnest desire to know and obey the truth, duly bearing in mind his responsibleness in the sight of Heaven, he may confidently expect to be preserved from the pernicious snares of error, whether ancient or modern. *Every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth.*

The 'Apostolical Constitutions' seem to have exerted, silently and indirectly, a powerful influence during several of the early ages of the church. They could not fail to facilitate the introduction and prevalence of the doctrines and usages which they sanctioned. And then, whatever might befall these writings, the doctrines and usages, when once established, could easily continue, under the sanction of custom and of oral tradition, except so far as they might be disturbed or modified by some new influence. In the fourth century arose the Arian controversy, a storm which fiercely agitated Christendom, more than sixty years, and did not entirely die away for ages. After the many fluctuations connected with that controversy, and long after the ascendency of the views of Athanasius, it was found that the Constitutions had been corrupted,

probably by some Arian hand; and accordingly a decree against them was passed by a general council at Constantinople, A.D. 692; saving, however, the authority of the eighty-five canons. It has been thought that the decree was owing, also, in some measure, to latent political reasons. Be this as it may, the work, in most respects, continued, and it still continues, to exhibit what had long been to many the beau-ideal of the church. And the principal interest which we, of the present day, must feel in the Constitutions, is that which arises from their casting light on ecclesiastical history and antiquities. In this view, it is hoped that the following pages will be found useful to intelligent and discriminating readers.

In revising the version here presented, regard has been had chiefly to the Greek text of the Constitutions, as published with notes in the Amsterdam edition of the Apostolical Fathers, and to the Greek text of the canons, as recently edited by Bruns in his Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica, under the supervision of Neander. The Septuagint translation of the Old Testament being the one used by the author and his contemporaries, the references in the margin are made to the books, chapters, and verses, as they stand in that Greek translation. Some of its peculiarities which receive no countenance from the Hebrew original, may here be traced, as having had a decided influence on the theology and reasoning of the early fathers.

The Essay on the Origin and Contents of these Constitutions is from the pen of Dr. O. C. Krabbe, now a Professor in the University of Kiel. To all who are pre-

pared to enter on a fundamental investigation it furnishes important aid in solving one of the most difficult problems, and in understanding the state of the ancient church. The same author's Dissertation on the Canons of the Apostles, which was lately translated by me from the Latin, and published at Andover, in the Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Review, is added, in order to give a completeness to the examination. Gieseler, in his Text Book of Ecclesiastical History, mentions these two works as containing the authorities connected with the subject of the Constitutions and the Canons.

It would be wrong to detain the reader by apologies, or criticisms, or commendations. In the few instances in which it has seemed desirable to add any thing, it has been added by the translator, and included in brackets. Whatever may be thought of some of the opinions advanced by the author, he is certainly entitled to a fair hearing. And an Apostle has said, *Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.*

Boston, November 8, 1847.

THE

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

BOOK I. Concerning the Laity.

II. Concerning Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons.

III. Concerning Widows.

IV. Concerning Orphans.

V. Concerning Martyrs.

VI. Concerning Schisms.

VII. Concerning Deportment, and the Eucharist, and Initiation into Christ.

VIII. Concerning Gifts, and Ordinations, and Ecclesiastical Canons.

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BOOK I.

CHAPTER I. Concerning Covetousness.

II. That we ought not to return injuries, nor revenge ourselves on him that doeth us wrong.

III. Concerning the adornment of ourselves, and the sin which ariseth thence.

IV. That we ought not to be over curious about such as live wickedly, but to be intent upon our own proper employment.

V. What books of Scripture we ought to read.

VI. That we ought to abstain from all the books of those that are out of the church.

VII. Concerning a bad woman.

VIII. Concerning the subjection of a wife to her husband, and that she must be loving and modest.

IX. That a woman must not bathe with men.

X. Concerning a contentious and brawling woman.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I. That a Bishop must be well instructed, and experienced in the word.

II. What ought to be the character of a Bishop, and of the rest of the clergy.

III. In what things a Bishop is to be examined before he is ordained.

IV. That charitable distributions are not to be made to every widow, but that sometimes a woman who has a husband is to be preferred; and that no distributions are to be made to any one who is given to gluttony, drunkenness, and idleness.

V. That a Bishop must be no accepter of persons in judgment; that he must be gentle in his conversation, and temperate in his diet.

VI. That a Bishop must not be given to filthy lucre, nor be a surety, nor an advocate.

VII. What ought to be the character of the initiated.

VIII. Concerning a person falsely accused, or, on the other hand, a person convicted.

IX. That a Bishop ought not to receive bribes.
X. That a Bishop, who, by wrong judgment, spareth an offender, is himself guilty.
XI. How a Bishop ought to judge offenders.
XII. An Instruction, how a Bishop ought to behave himself to the Penitent.
XIII. That we ought to beware how we make trial of any sinful course.
XIV. Concerning those who affirm that a Penitent is not to be received into the church. That a righteous person, although he converse with a sinner, will not perish with him. That no person is punished for another; but every one must give an account of himself. That we must assist those who are weak in the faith; and that a Bishop must not be governed by any turbulent person among the laity.
XV. That the Priest must neither overlook offences, nor be rash in punishing them.
XVI. Of Penance. The manner of it, and rules concerning it.
XVII. That a Bishop must be unblamable, and a pattern for those who are under his charge.
XVIII. That a Bishop must take care that his people do not sin, considering that he is a watchman.
XIX. That a shepherd who is careless of his sheep incurreth penalty; and that a sheep who doth not obey the shepherd is punished.
XX. How the governed are to obey the Bishops who are set over them.
XXI. That it is a dangerous thing to judge without hearing both sides, or to determine punishment against a person before he is convicted.
XXII. That David, the Ninevites, Hezekiah, and his son Manasseh are eminent examples of repentance.
XXIII. Amon may be an example to such as sin with a high hand.
XXIV. That Christ Jesus our Lord came to save sinners by repentance.
XXV. Of first-fruits and tithes; and after what manner the Bishop is himself to partake of them, or to distribute them to others.
XXVI. According to what pattern and dignity every order of the clergy is appointed by God.
XXVII. That it is a horrible thing for a man to thrust himself into any sacerdotal office; as did Corah and his company, Saul, and Uzziah.
XXVIII. Of an entertainment; and how each distinct order of the clergy is to be treated by those who invite them to it.
XXIX. What is the dignity of a Bishop and of a Deacon.
XXX. After what manner the laity are to be obedient to the Deacon.
XXXI. That the Deacon must not do any thing without the Bishop.
XXXII. That the Deacon must not make any distributions without the consent of the Bishop, because that will turn to the reproach of the Bishop.
XXXIII. After what manner the Priests are to be honored and to be reverenced as our spiritual parents.
XXXIV. That the Priests are to be preferred before the rulers and kings.
XXXV. That both the Law and the Gospel prescribe offerings.
XXXVI. Mention of the Ten Commandments; and after what manner they prescribe.
XXXVII. Concerning accusers and false accusers; and how a judge is not rashly either to believe them or to disbelieve them, but after an accurate examination.

XXXVIII. That they who sin are to be privately reproved, and the Penitent to be received according to the Constitution of our Lord.

XXXIX. Examples of repentance.

XL. That we are not to be implacable towards him who hath once or twice offended.

XLI. How we ought to receive the Penitent, and how to bear with them that sin, and when to cut them off from the church.

XLII. That a judge must not be a respecter of persons.

XLIII. How false accusers are to be punished.

XLIV. That the Deacon is to ease the burden of the Bishops, and to order the smaller matters himself.

XLV. That contentions and quarrels are unbecoming Christians.

XLVI. That believers ought not to go to law before unbelievers; nor ought any unbeliever to be called for a witness against believers.

XLVII. That the judicatures of Christians ought to be held on the second day of the week.

XLVIII. That the same punishment is not to be inflicted for every offence, but different punishments for different offenders.

XLIX. What are to be the characters of accusers and witnesses.

L. That former offences sometimes render subsequent ones credible.

LI. Against judging without hearing both sides.

LII. The caution observed at heathen tribunals before the condemnation of criminals, affordeth Christians a good example.

LIII. That Christians ought not to have contentions one with another.

LIV. That the Bishops must, by their Deacon, put the people in mind of the obligation they are under to live peaceably together.

LV. An enumeration of several instances of divine Providence, and how, in every age, from the beginning, God hath invited all men to repentance.

LVI. That it is the will of God that men should be of one mind, in matters of religion, like the heavenly Powers.

LVII. An exact description of a church, and the clergy; and what things in particular, every one is to do in the solemn assemblies of the clergy and laity for religious worship.

LVIII. Of commendatory letters in favor of strangers, lay-persons, clergymen, and bishops; and that those who come into the church-assemblies, are to be received without regard to their quality.

LIX. That every Christian ought to frequent the church diligently both morning and evening.

LX. The vain zeal which the heathen and the Jews show in frequenting their temples and synagogues is a proper example and motive to excite Christians to frequent the church.

LXI. That we must not prefer the affairs of this life to those which concern the worship of God.

LXII. That Christians must abstain from all the impious practices of the heathen.

LXIII. That no Christian who will not work must eat; as Peter and the rest of the apostles were fishermen, Paul and Aquila, tentmakers; and Jude the son of James, a husbandman.

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XXV. Of first-fruits and tithes; and after what manner the Bishop is himself to partake of them, or to distribute them to others.
XXVI. According to what pattern and dignity every order of the clergy is appointed by God.
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CONSTITUTIONS

OF THE

HOLY APOSTLES,

BY CLEMENT, BISHOP AND CITIZEN OF ROME:

OR,

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

BOOK I.

CONCERNING THE LAITY.

THE Apostles and Elders to all those who from among the Gentiles have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ: Grace and peace from the Almighty God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied to you in the acknowledgment of him.

The catholic church is the plantation of God, and his beloved vineyard; containing those who have believed in his unerring divine religion; who are the heirs by faith of his everlasting kingdom; who are partakers of his divine influence, and of the communication of the Holy Spirit; who are armed and inwardly strengthened with his fear, through Jesus; who enjoy the benefit of the sprinkling of the precious and innocent blood of Christ; who have free liberty to call the Almighty God, Father; being fellow-heirs and joint partakers of his beloved Son. Hearken to the holy doctrine, ye who enjoy his promises, as being delivered by the command of your Saviour, and agreeable to his glorious words. Take

{Isaiah, 5: 7, 2.

care, ye children of God, to do all things in obedience to God; and in all things please Christ, who is our Lord. For if any man follow unrighteousness, and do those things that are contrary to the will of God, such a person will be accounted by God as the disobedient heathen.

CHAPTER I.

Against Covetousness.

ABSTAIN, therefore, from all unlawful desires and from injustice. Exod. 20: 17. For it is written in the Law, *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's;* because all coveting of these things is from the evil one. For he that coveteth his neighbor's wife, or his man-servant, or his maid-servant, is already in his mind an adulterer and a thief; and if he do not repent, he is condemned by our Lord Jesus Christ; through whom glory be to God for ever. Amen. For he saith in the Gospel, reca- Matt. 5: 27. pitulating, and confirming, and fulfilling the ten commandments of the Law, *It is written in the Law, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you;* that is, I said in the Law by Moses, but now I say unto you myself, *Whosoever shall look on his neighbor's wife to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.* Such a man is condemned of adultery who coveteth his neighbor's wife in his mind. But he that coveteth an ox or an ass, doth not he design to steal them? to apply them to his own use, and to lead them away? Or again, he that coveteth a field, and continueth in such a disposition, doth not he wickedly contrive how to remove the landmarks, and so compel the possessor to part with somewhat for nothing? For the prophet somewhere saith, *Woe to* Isaiah, 5: 28. *those who join house to house, and lay field to field, that they may deprive their neighbor of somewhat which was his.* Where- fore it is said, *Must ye alone inhabit the earth? For these things* Deut. 27: 17. *have been heard in the ears of the Lord of hosts.* And elsewhere, *Cursed be he who removeth his neighbor's landmarks;* Deut. 19. 14. *and all the people shall say Amen.* Wherefore Moses saith, *Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmarks, which thy fathers have set.*

Upon this account, therefore, terrors, death, tribunals, and condemnations from God, follow such as these. But as to those who are obedient to God, there is one law of God, simple, true, living, which is this: *Do not that to another which thou hatest another should do to thee.* Thou wouldst not that any one should look upon thy wife with an evil design to corrupt her. Do not thou, therefore, look upon thy neighbor's wife with a wicked intention. Thou wouldst not that thy garment should be taken away. Do not thou, therefore, take away another's. Thou wouldst not be beaten, reproached, insulted. Do not thou, therefore, treat any other in the like manner. {Tob. 4: 16.

II.

That we ought not to return injuries, nor revenge ourselves on him that doeth us wrong.

But if any one curse thee, do thou bless him. For it is written in the book of Numbers, *He that blesseth thee is blessed, and he that curseth thee is cursed.* In the same manner it is written in the Gospel, *Bless them that curse you.* Being injured, do not avenge yourselves, but bear it with patience; for the Scripture speaketh thus: *Say not thou, I will avenge myself on mine enemy for what injuries he hath done me: but wait; that the Lord may right thee, and bring vengeance upon him who hath injured thee.* For, again, in the Gospel he saith, *Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them who despitefully use you, and persecute you; and ye shall be children of your Father who is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.* Let us, therefore, beloved, attend to these commandments, that, doing them, we may be found to be children of light. {24: 9. {Luke, 6: 28. {Matt. 5: 44.

Bear, therefore, with one another, ye servants and sons of God. Let the husband not be insolent nor arrogant towards his wife; but compassionate, bountiful, desiring to please his own wife, and treat her honorably and obligingly, endeavoring to be agreeable to her.

III.

Concerning the adornment of ourselves, and the sin which ariseth thence.

Do not adorn thyself in such a manner as may entice another woman to thee. For if thou art overcome by her, and sinnest with her, eternal death will overtake thee from God; and thou wilt be punished with sensible and bitter torments. Or if thou dost not perpetrate such a wicked act, but shakest her off, and refusest her, in this case thou art not wholly innocent, even though thou are not guilty of the crime itself, but only of ensnaring her by thine embellishment to desire thee; for thou art the cause that she was so affected, that by her desire after thee she was guilty of adultery with thee; yet thou art not so guilty, because thou didst not send to her who was ensnared by thee, nor didst thou desire her. Since, therefore, thou didst not deliver up thyself to her, thou shalt find mercy with the Exod. 20: 14, 17. Lord thy God, who hath said, *Thou shalt not commit adultery;* and, *Thou shalt not covet.* For if such a woman, upon sight of thee, or unseasonable meeting with thee, was smitten in her mind, and sent to thee, but thou, as a religious person, didst refuse her; yet, because she was wounded in her heart by thy beauty, and youth, and adorning, so that she fell in love with thee, thou wilt be found guilty of her transgression, as having been a cause of her stum- Matt. 18: 7. bling; and shalt inherit a woe. Wherefore, pray thou to the Lord God, that no mischief may befall thee on this account; for thou art not to please men, so as to commit sin, but God, so as to attain holiness of life, and be partaker of everlasting rest.

That beauty which God by nature hath bestowed on thee, do not further beautify; but modestly diminish it before men. Thus do not permit the hair of thy head to grow too long, but rather cut it short; lest, by nicely combing thy hair, and wearing it long, and anointing thyself, thou draw upon thyself such ensnared or ensnaring women. Nor do thou wear over-fine garments, to seduce any; nor do thou, with evil subtilty, affect over-fine stockings or shoes for thy feet, but only such as suit the measures of decency and usefulness. Nor do thou put upon thy fingers a ring that hath a golden bezel. For all these ornaments are signs of lasciviousness; and if

thou be solicitous about them, in an improper manner, thou wilt not act as becometh a good man. For it is not lawful for thee, a believer and a man of God, to permit the hair of thy head to grow long, and to collect it into a tuft or a braided crown, nor so to separate it as to keep it divided, nor to puff it up, nor by nice combing and platting to make it curl, nor to tinge it with yellow; since the Law forbiddeth, saying in its additional precepts, *Ye shall not make to yourselves curls and round rasures.* {Levit. 19: 27. 21: 5.} Nor is it right to destroy the hair of the chin, and unnaturally change the form of a man. For the Law saith, *Ye shall not mar your beards.* God the Creator hath made it seemly for women to have no beard, but he hath determined that it is unsuitable for men. But if thou do these things to please men, in contradiction to the Law, thou wilt be abominable with God, who created thee after his own image. If, therefore, thou wilt be acceptable to God, abstain from all those things which he hateth; and do none of those things that are displeasing to him.

IV.

That we ought not to be over-curious about such as live wickedly, but to be intent upon our own proper employment.

Thou shalt not be as a wanderer and gadder abroad, rambling about the streets, without just cause, to spy out such as live wickedly. But, by minding thine own trade and employment, endeavor to do what is acceptable to God. And, keeping in mind the oracles of Christ, meditate on them continually. For the Scripture saith to thee, *Thou shalt meditate in his Law, day and night; when thou walkest in the field, and when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up, that thou mayest have understanding in all things.* {Josh. 1: 8. Deut. 6: 7.} Nay, although thou be rich, and do not need a trade for thy maintenance, be not one that wandereth about, and walketh abroad at random. But either go to some that are believers and of the same religion, and confer and discourse with them about the lively oracles of God; —

V.

What books of Scripture we ought to read.

Or if thou stay at home, read the Law, the books of the Kings, and the Prophets; sing the Hymns of David; and peruse diligently the Gospel, which is the completion of the Scriptures that have been mentioned.

VI.

That we ought to abstain from all the books of those that are out of the church.

Abstain from all the heathen books; for what hast thou to do with such foreign discourses, or laws, or false prophets, which subvert the faith of the unstable? What defect dost thou find in the Law of God, that thou shouldst have recourse to those heathenish fables? For if thou hast a mind to read history, thou hast the books of the Kings; of works of wisdom and poetry, thou hast those of the Prophets, of Job, and the Proverbs; in which thou wilt find greater depth of sagacity than in all the heathen poets and sophisters, because these are the words of the Lord, the only wise God. If thou desirest something to sing, thou hast the Psalms; if the origin of things, thou hast Genesis; if laws and statutes, thou hast the glorious Law of the Lord God. Do thou, therefore, utterly abstain from all strange and diabolical books.

Nay, when thou readest the Law, think not thyself bound to observe the additional precepts. Abstain from them; if not from all of them, yet from some of them, that are of this character. Read them only for the sake of history, in order to the knowledge of them, and to glorify God, that he hath delivered thee from so great and so many bonds. Propose to thyself to distinguish what rules were from the law of nature, and what were added afterwards, or were such additional rules as were introduced and given to the Israelites after the making of the calf. For the Law containeth those precepts which were spoken by the Lord God before the people fell into idolatry, and made a calf, like the Egyptian Apis; that is, the

ten commandments. But as to those bonds which were further laid upon them after they had sinned, do not draw them upon thyself. For our Saviour came for no other reason than that he might deliver those that were obnoxious thereto from that wrath which was reserved for them; that he might fulfil the Law and the Prophets, and that he might abrogate or change those secondary bonds which were superadded to the rest of the Law. For therefore doth he call to us, and say, *Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* {Matt. 11: 28.

When, therefore, thou hast read the Law, which is agreeable to the Gospel and to the Prophets, read also the books of the Kings, that thou mayest thereby learn which of the kings were righteous, and how they were prospered by God; and how the promise of eternal life continued with them from him. But those kings who departed from God soon perished in their apostasy, by the righteous judgment of God, and were deprived of his life, inheriting, instead of rest, eternal punishment. Wherefore, by reading these books, thou wilt be much strengthened in the faith, and edified in Christ, whose body and member thou art.

Moreover, when thou walkest abroad in public, and hast a mind to bathe, make use of that bath which is appropriated to men, lest, by discovering thy body in an unseemly manner to women, or by seeing a sight not seemly for men, either thou be ensnared, or thou ensnare and entice to thyself those women who easily yield to such temptations. Take care, therefore, and avoid such things, lest thou admit a snare upon thine own soul.

VII.

Concerning a bad woman.

For let us learn what the sacred Word saith, in the book of Wisdom: *My son, keep my words, and hide my commandments with thee. Say unto Wisdom, thou art my sister, and make understanding familiar with thee; that she may keep thee from the strange and wicked woman, in case such an one accost thee with sweet words. For from the window of her house she looketh into the street to see if she can espy some young man among the foolish children, without understanding, walking in the market place, in the meeting of the* {Prov. 7: 1–

street near her house, and talking in the dusk of the evening, or in the silence and darkness of the night. A woman meeteth him with the appearance of a harlot, who stealeth away the hearts of young men. She rambleth about, and is dissolute. Her feet abide not in her house. Sometimes she is without, sometimes in the streets, and lieth in wait at every corner. Then she catcheth him, and kisseth him, and with an impudent face saith unto him, I have peace-offerings with me; this day do I pay my vows. Therefore came I forth to meet thee; earnestly I have desired thy face, and I have found thee. I have decked my bed with coverings; with tapestry from Egypt I have adorned it. I have perfumed my bed with saffron, and my house with cinnamon. Come, let us take our fill of love until the morning. Come, let us solace ourselves with love. . . . . And it is added, *With much discourse she seduced him; with snares from her lips she forced him. He goeth after her like a silly bird.* Prov. 5: 3. And again: *Do not hearken to a wicked woman; for though the lips of a harlot are like drops from a honey-comb, which for a while is smooth in thy throat, yet afterwards thou wilt find her more bitter than gall, and sharper than any two-edged sword.* And Prov. 7: 26. again: *But get away quickly, and tarry not. Fix not thine eyes upon her. For she hath cast down many wounded, and they are innumerable whom she hath slain. But if* thou regard *not* this warning, it saith, *thou wilt repent at the last, when thy flesh and thy body are consumed, and wilt say, How have I hated instruction, and my heart hath avoided the reproof of the righteous! I have not hearkened to the voice of my instructer, nor inclined mine ear to my teacher. I was almost in all evil.*

But we will make no more quotations; and if we have omitted any, be so prudent as to select the most valuable out of the Holy Scriptures, and confirm yourselves with them, rejecting all things that are evil, that so ye may be found holy with God in eternal life.

VIII.

Concerning the subjection of a wife to her husband, and that she must be loving and modest.

Let the wife be obedient to her own husband, because *the husband is the head of the wife.* But Christ is the head of that husband who walketh in the way of righteousness; and *the head of Christ is God*, even the Father. Therefore, O wife, next after the Almighty, our God and Father, the Lord of the present world and of the world to come, the Maker of every thing that breatheth, and of every power, and after his beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom glory be to God, do thou fear thy husband, and reverence him, pleasing him alone, rendering thyself acceptable to him in the several affairs of life; so that on thine account thy husband may be deemed happy, according to the Wisdom of Solomon, which speaketh thus: *Who can find a virtuous woman? For such a one is more precious than costly stones. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that she shall have no need of spoil. For she doeth good to her husband all the days of her life. She buyeth wool and flax, and worketh profitable things with her hands. She is like the merchants' ships; she bringeth her food from far. She riseth while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and food to her maidens. She considereth a field, and buyeth it. With the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard. She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms. She tasteth that it is good to labor; her lamp goeth not out the whole night. She stretcheth out her arms for useful work, and layeth her hands to the spindle. She openeth her hands to the needy; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the poor. Her husband taketh no care of the affairs of his house; for all that are with her are clothed with double garments. She maketh coats for her husband, garments of silk and purple. Her husband is eminent in the gates, when he sitteth with the elders of the land. She maketh fine linen, and selleth it to the Phenicians, and girdles to the Canaanites. She is clothed with glory and beauty; and she rejoiceth in the last days. She openeth her mouth with wisdom and discretion, and putteth her words in order. The ways of her household are strict; she eateth not the*

{1 Cor. 11: 3.

{Prov. 31: 10–

bread of idleness. She will open her mouth with wisdom and caution; and upon her tongue are the laws of mercy. Her children rise up, and praise her for her riches, and her husband joineth in her praises. Many daughters have obtained wealth, and done worthily, but thou surpassest and excellest them all. May lying flatteries and the vain beauty of a wife be far from thee. For a religious wife is blessed. Let her praise the fear of the Lord; give her of the fruit of her lips; and let her husband be praised in the gates. Prov. 12: 4. And again: *A virtuous wife is a crown to her husband.* Prov. 14: 1. And again: *Many wives have built a house.*

Ye have learned what great commendations a prudent and loving wife receiveth from the Lord God. If thou desirest to be one of the faithful, and to please the Lord, O wife, do not beautify thyself in order to please other men, nor imitate the wearing of a harlot's plaited locks, or garments, or shoes, to entice those who are allured by such things. For although thou doest not these reprehensible acts with design of sinning thyself, but only for the sake of ornament and beauty, yet thou wilt not so escape future punishment; as having compelled another to be so attracted to thee as to desire thee, and as not having taken care both to avoid sin thyself, and to prevent others from stumbling. But if thou yield thyself up, and commit the crime, thou art both guilty of thine own sin, and the cause of the ruin of the other's soul also. Besides, when thou hast committed lewdness with one man, and beginnest to despair, thou wilt again turn away from thy duty, and follow others, Prov. 18: 3. and grow past feeling; as saith the divine Word: *When a wicked man cometh into the depth of evil, he becometh a scorner, and then disgrace and reproach come upon him.* For such a woman afterwards, being wounded, ensnareth without restraint the souls of the foolish.

Let us learn, therefore, how the divine Word plainly describeth Eccl. 7: 27. and condemneth such women, saying, *I hated a woman who is a snare and net to the heart of men, worse than death. Her* Prov. 11: 22. *hands are fetters.* And in another passage: *As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is beauty in a wicked woman.* And Prov. 12: 4. again: *As a worm in wood, so doth a wicked woman de-* 21: 9 & 19. *stroy her husband.* And again: *It is better to dwell in the corner of the house-top, than with a contentious and angry woman.* Ye, therefore, who are Christian women, imitate not such as these.

But thou who designest to be faithful to thine own husband, take care to please him alone. And when thou art in the streets, cover thy head; for by such a covering thou wilt avoid being viewed by idle persons. Paint not thy face, which is God's workmanship; for there is no part of thee which wanteth ornament, inasmuch as all things which God hath made are very good. But the lascivious additional adorning of what is already good is an affront to the bounty of the Creator. Look downward when thou walkest abroad, veiling thyself as becometh women.

IX.

That a woman must not bathe with men.

Avoid also that disorderly practice of bathing in the same place with men. For many are the nets of the evil one. And let not a Christian woman bathe with an hermaphrodite. For if she is to veil her face and conceal it with modesty from strange men, how can she bear to enter naked into the bath together with men? But if the bath be appropriated to women, let her bathe orderly, modestly, and moderately. But let her not bathe without occasion, nor much, nor often, nor in the middle of the day, nor, if possible, every day. And let the tenth hour of the day be the set time for such seasonable bathing. For it is convenient that thou who art a Christian woman shouldst ever constantly avoid the exciting of curiosity, which hath many eyes.

X.

Concerning a contentious and brawling woman.

But as to a spirit of contention, be sure to curb it as to all men, but principally as to thy husband; lest, if he be an unbeliever or a heathen, he may have an occasion of stumbling, and blaspheme God, and thou be partaker of a woe from God. For he saith, *Woe to him by whom my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles;* and lest, if thy husband be a Christian, he be forced, by his knowledge of the Scriptures, to say that which is written in the { Isaiah, 52: 5.

Prov. 21: 19. book of Wisdom: *It is better to dwell in the wilderness, than with a contentious and angry woman.*

Ye wives, therefore, demonstrate your piety, by your modesty and meekness, to all without the church, whether they be women or men, in order to their conversion and improvement in the faith. And since we have warned you and instructed you briefly, whom we esteem our sisters, daughters, and members, as being wise yourselves, persevere all your lives in an unblamable course of life. Seek to know those kinds of learning by which ye may arrive at the kingdom of our Lord, and please him, and so rest for ever and ever. Amen.

BOOK II.

CONCERNING BISHOPS, PRESBYTERS, AND DEACONS.

CHAPTER I.

That a Bishop must be well instructed, and experienced in the Word.

But concerning Bishops, we have heard from our Lord that a Pastor, who is to be ordained a Bishop for the churches in every parish, must be blameless, unreprovable, free from all kinds of wickedness common among men, and not under fifty years of age. For such a man, in good part, is past youthful irregularities, and the slanders of them that are without, as well as the reproaches which are sometimes cast upon many persons by certain false brethren, Matt. 12: 36. who do not consider the word of God in the Gospel, *Whosoever shall speak an idle word, shall give account thereof to the* Matt. 12: 37. *Lord in the day of judgment.* And again: *By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.* Let him, therefore, be well instructed and skilful in the Word, and of competent age.

But if, in a small parish, one advanced in years is not to be found, let some younger person, who hath a good report among his neigh-

bors, and is esteemed by them worthy of the office of a Bishop; who, from his youth, hath carried himself with meekness and regularity, like a much elder person; after examination and a general good report, be ordained in peace. For Solomon at twelve years of age was king of Israel, and Josiah at eight years of age reigned righteously; and in like manner Joash governed the people at seven years of age. Wherefore, although the person be young, let him be meek, gentle, and quiet. For the Lord God saith by Isaiah, *Upon whom will I look but upon him who is humble and quiet, and always trembleth at my words?* In like manner it is in the Gospel also, *Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.* Let him also be merciful; for it is said, *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.* Let him also be one of a good conscience, purified from all evil, and wickedness, and unrighteousness. For it is said again, *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.*

{3 K. 2: 12. in some MSS.} {4 K. 22: 1.} {2 Chron. 24: 1, 2.} {Isaiah, 66: 2.} {Matt. 5: 5.} {Matt. 5: 7.} {Matt. 5: 8.}

II.

What ought to be the character of a Bishop, and of the rest of the Clergy.

Let him, therefore, be sober, prudent, decorous, firm, not easily perturbed, not given to wine, no striker, but gentle; not a brawler, not covetous; *not a novice, lest, being puffed up with pride, he fall into condemnation, and the snare of the devil. For every one who exalteth himself shall be abased.* A Bishop, moreover, ought to be a man who hath been *the husband of one wife*, who also herself hath had no other husband, *ruling well his own house.* In this manner let examination be made when he is to receive ordination, and to be placed in his bishopric, whether he be grave, faithful, decorous; whether he hath a grave and faithful wife, or hath formerly had such a one; whether he hath educated his children piously, and hath *brought them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;* whether his domestics fear and reverence him, and are all obedient to him; for if those who are immediately about him for worldly concerns are seditious and disobedient, how will others, not of his family, when they are under his management, become obedient to him?

{Tit. 1: 7.} {1 Tim. 3: 2, 6.} {Luke, 14: 11.} {1 Tim. 3, 2.} {4.} {Eph. 6: 4.}

III.

In what things a Bishop is to be examined before he is ordained.

Let examination also be made, whether he be unblamable as to the concerns of this life. For it is written, *Search diligently to ascertain whether he who is to be ordained for the priesthood, be free from blemish.* On which account, let him also be void of anger; for Wisdom saith, *Anger destroyeth even the prudent.* Let him also be merciful, of a generous and loving temper; for our Lord saith, *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.* Let him also be ready to give; a lover of the widow and stranger, ready to serve and minister; indefatigable, undaunted; and let him know who is the most worthy of his assistance.

Lev. 21: 17–
Prov. 15: 1.
John, 13: 35.

IV.

That charitable distributions are not to be made to every widow, but that sometimes a woman who hath a husband is to be preferred; and that no distributions are to be made to any one who is given to gluttony, drunkenness, and idleness.

For if there be a widow who is able to support herself, and another woman who is not a widow, but is needy by reason of sickness, or the bringing up of many children, or infirmity of her hands, let him stretch out his hand in charity rather to this latter. But if any one be in want by gluttony, drunkenness, or idleness, he doth not deserve to be assisted, nor to be a member of the church of God. For the Scripture, speaking of such persons, saith, *The slothful hideth his hand in his bosom, and is not able to bring it to his mouth.* And again: *The sluggard foldeth up his hands, and eateth his own flesh. For every drunkard and whoremonger shall come to poverty, and every drowsy person shall be clothed with tatters and rags.* And in another passage, *If thou give thine eyes to bowls and cups, thou shalt afterwards walk more naked than a pestle.* For, certainly, idleness is the mother of famine.

Prov. 19: 24.
Eccl. 4: 5.
Prov. 23: 21.
Prov. 23: 31.

V.

That a Bishop must be no accepter of persons in judgment; that he must be gentle in his conversation, and temperate in his diet.

A Bishop must be no accepter of persons. He must not fear any; nor basely flatter a rich man; nor overlook, nor domineer over, a poor man. For God saith to Moses, *Thou shalt not accept the person of the rich, nor shalt thou pity a poor man in his cause; for the judgment is the Lord's.* {Lev. 19: 15. Exod. 23: 2.} And again: *Thou shalt with exact justice follow that which is right.* {Deut. 1: 17. 16: 20.} Let a Bishop be frugal, and contented with a little in his meat and drink, that he may be ever in a sober frame, and disposed to instruct and admonish the ignorant; and let him not be lavish in his expenses, nor a pamperer of himself, nor given to pleasure, nor fond of delicacies. Let him be patient and gentle in his admonitions, well instructed himself, pondering and diligently studying the Lord's books, and reading them frequently, that so he may be able carefully to interpret the Scriptures, expounding the Gospel in correspondence with the Prophets and with the Law; and let the expositions from the Law and the Prophets correspond with the Gospel. For the Lord Jesus saith, *Search the Scriptures, for they are they which testify of me.* {John. 5: 39. 46.} And again: *For Moses wrote of me.* But above all, let him carefully distinguish between the original Law and the additional precepts, and show which are the laws for believers, and which the bonds for unbelievers; lest any should fall under those bonds. Be careful, therefore, O Bishop, to study the word of God, that thou mayest be able to explain every thing exactly, and that thou mayest copiously nourish thy people with much doctrine, and enlighten them with the light of the Law. For God saith, *Enlighten yourselves with the light of knowledge, while there is yet opportunity.* {Hos. 10: 12.}

VI.

That a Bishop must not be given to filthy lucre, nor be a surety, nor an advocate.

Let not a Bishop be given to filthy lucre, especially before the Gentiles; rather suffering than offering injuries; not covetous, nor rapacious; no purloiner, no admirer of the rich, nor hater of the poor; no evil speaker, nor false witness; not given to anger, no brawler; not entangled with the affairs of this life; not a surety for any one, nor an accuser in suits about money; not ambitious, not double-minded, nor double-tongued; not ready to hearken to calumny or evil-speaking; not a dissembler, not addicted to the heathen festivals, not given to vain deceits, not eager after worldly things, nor a lover of money. For all these things are opposite to God, and pleasing to demons. Let the Bishop earnestly give all these precepts in charge to the laity also, persuading them to imitate his Lev. 15: 31. } deportment. For the Scripture saith, *Make ye the children of Israel pious.* Let him be prudent, humble, apt to admonish with the instructions of the Lord, well-disposed, one who hath renounced all the wicked projects of this world, and all heathenish lusts. Let him be orderly, sharp in observing the wicked and taking heed of them, but yet a friend to all; just and discerning; and, whatsoever qualities are commendable among men, let the Bishop possess them in himself. For if the Pastor be unblamable as to any wickedness, he will compel his disciples, and, by his manner of life, press them to become worthy imitators of his own actions; as the prophet some- Hos. 4: 9. } where saith, *And it will be, As is the priest, so is the people.* For our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, the Son of God, began first Acts, 1: 1. } to do, and then to teach; as Luke somewhere saith: *Which* Matt. 5: 20. } *Jesus began to do and to teach.* Wherefore he saith, *Whosoever shall do and teach, he shall be called great in the kingdom of God.* For it becometh you, Bishops, to be guides and watchmen to the people, as ye yourselves have Christ for your guide and watchman. Be ye, therefore, good guides and watchmen to the people of God. For the Lord saith by Ezekiel, speaking to every Ezek. 33: 7– } one of you: *Son of man, I have given thee for a watchman to the house of Israel, and thou shalt hear the word from my mouth,*

and shalt observe, and shalt declare it from me. When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die, if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his wickedness, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity, and his blood will I require at thy hand. But if thou warn the wicked from his way, that he may turn from it, and he do not turn from it, he shall die in his iniquity, and thou hast delivered thy soul. In the same manner, if the sword of war be approaching, and the people set a watchman to watch, and he see the same approach, and do not give warning, and the sword come and take one of them, he is taken away in his iniquity; but his blood shall be required at the watchman's hand, because he did not blow the trumpet. But if he blow the trumpet, and he who heareth it take not warning, and the sword come and take him away, his blood shall be upon himself, because he heard the trumpet, and took not warning. But he who hath taken warning hath delivered his soul; and the watchman, because he gave warning, shall surely live.

The sword here is the judgment; the trumpet is the holy Gospel; the watchman is the Bishop, who is set in the church, who is obliged in his preaching to testify and vehemently to forewarn concerning that judgment. If ye do not declare and testify this to the people, the sins of those who are ignorant of it will be found upon you. Wherefore, warn and reprove with boldness those who are perverse through want of instruction; teach the ignorant; confirm those that understand; bring back those that go astray. If we repeat the very same things on the same occasions, brethren, we shall not do amiss. For by frequent hearing it is to be hoped that some will be made ashamed, and at least do some good action, and avoid some wicked one. For saith God by the prophet, *Testify those things to them; perhaps they will hear thy voice.* {Jer. 26: 3.} And again: *If perhaps they will hear, if perhaps they will submit.* {Ezek. 2: 7. 3: 11.} Moses also saith to the people, *If hearing thou wilt hear the Lord God, and do that which is good and right in his eyes.* {Exod. 15: 26.} And again: *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord.* {Deut. 6: 4.} And our Lord is often recorded in the Gospel to have said, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.* {Matt. 11: 15.} And wise Solomon saith, *My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and reject not the laws of thy mother.* {Prov. 1: 8.} And, indeed, to this day men have not heard; for, while they seem to have heard, they have not heard aright; as

appears by their having left the one and only true God, and their being drawn unto destruction and dangerous heresies, concerning which we shall speak again.

VII.

What ought to be the character of the initiated.

Be it known to you, beloved, that those who are baptized into the death of our Lord Christ, ought no longer to commit sin. For as those who are dead cannot practise wickedness any longer, so those who are dead with Christ cannot act in a sinful manner. It is incredible, therefore, brethren, that any one who hath received the washing of life, perpetrateth the dissolute acts of transgressors. But he who sinneth after his baptism, unless he repent, and forsake his sins, will be condemned to hell.

VIII.

Concerning a person falsely accused; or, on the other hand, a person convicted.

If, now, any one be maliciously prosecuted by the heathen, because he will not go along with them to the same excess of riot, let him know that such a one is blessed of God, as our Lord saith in the Matt. 5: 11. Gospel: *Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, or persecute you, or say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for your reward is great in heaven.* If, therefore, any one be slandered and falsely accused, such a one is blessed; for the Scripture saith, *A man that is a reprobate is not tried by God.* But if any one be convicted, having done a wicked action, such a one not only hurteth himself, but occasioneth the whole body of the church and its doctrine to be blasphemed; as if we Christians did not practise those things which we declare to be good and honest; and we ourselves shall be reproached Matt. 23: 3. by the Lord, that, *They say, and do not.* Wherefore the Bishop must boldly reject such as these on full conviction, unless they change their life.

IX.

That a Bishop ought not to receive bribes.

For the Bishop must not only himself give no offence, but must be no respecter of persons; in kindness admonishing those that sin. But if he himself hath not a good conscience, and is a respecter of persons and a receiver of bribes, he will spare the open offender, permitting him to continue in the church, and disregarding the voice of God and the Lord, which saith, *Thou shalt execute right judgment. Thou shalt not accept persons in judgment. Thou shalt not justify the wicked. Thou shalt not receive gifts against any one's life; for gifts do blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous.* And elsewhere he saith, *Put away from among yourselves that wicked person.* And Solomon, in his Proverbs, saith, *Cast out a pestilent fellow from the congregation, and strife will go out along with him.*

{Deut. 16: 20.} {1: 17.} {Exod. 23: 7, 8.} {Deut. 17: 7.} {Prov. 22: 10.}

X.

That a Bishop who, by wrong judgment, spareth an offender, is himself guilty.

But he who doth not consider these things, will, contrary to justice, spare him who deserveth punishment; as Saul spared Agag, and Eli his sons, *who knew not the Lord.* Such a one profaneth his own dignity, and that church of God which is in his parish. Such a one is esteemed unjust before God and good men, as affording occasion of scandal to many of the newly baptized and to the catechumens, as also to the youth of both sexes; and to him a *woe* belongeth, and *a millstone about his neck, and drowning*, on account of his guilt. For, observing what a person their ruler is, through his wickedness and neglect of justice, they will grow skeptical, and, indulging the same disease, will be compelled to perish with him; as was the case of the people joining with Jeroboam, and those who were in the conspiracy with Corah.

{1 Kings, 15: 9.} {2: 12.} {Matt. 18: 6, 7.} {3 Kings, 12.} {Num. 16.}

But if the offender see that the Bishop and Deacons are innocent and unblamable, and the flock pure, he will either not venture to despise their authority, and to enter into the church of God at all, as one smitten by his own conscience; or if he value nothing, and venture to enter in, either he will be convicted immediately, as 2 Kings, 6. Uzza at the ark, when he touched it to support it, and as Joshua, 7. Achan when he stole the accursed thing, and as Gehazi 4 Kings, 6. when he coveted the money of Naaman; and so will be immediately punished; or else he will be admonished by the Pastor, and drawn to repentance. For when he looketh round the whole church, one by one, and can spy no blemish, either in the Bishop, or in the people who are under his care, he will be put to confusion, and pricked at the heart, and in a peaceable manner will go his way, with shame and many tears; and the flock will remain pure. He will apply himself to God with tears, and will repent of his sins, and have hope. Nay, the whole flock, at the sight of his tears, will be instructed, because a sinner avoideth destruction by repentance.

XI.

How a Bishop ought to judge offenders.

On this account, therefore, O Bishop, endeavor to be pure in thine actions, and to adorn thy place and dignity, as sustaining the character of God among men in ruling over all men, over priests, kings, rulers, fathers, children, masters, and in general over all those who are subject to thee; and so sit in the church, when thou speakest, as having authority to judge offenders. For to you, O Matt. 18: 18. Bishops, is it said, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.*

XII.

An Instruction how a Bishop ought to behave himself to the penitent.

Do thou, therefore, O Bishop, judge with authority, like God; yet receive the penitent. For God is a God of mercy. Rebuke

those that sin; admonish those that do not turn; exhort those that stand to persevere in the things that are commendable; receive the penitent; because the Lord God hath promised with an oath to afford remission to the penitent for what things they have done amiss. And he saith by Ezekiel, *Speak unto them, as I live, saith the Lord, I would not the death of a sinner, but that the wicked turn from his evil way, and live. Turn ye, therefore, from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?* Here the Word affordeth hope to sinners, that, if they repent, they shall have hope of salvation; lest, despairing, they yield themselves up to their transgressions; but, having hope of salvation, they may be converted, and come to God with tears on account of their sins: so shall they receive pardon from him, as from a merciful Father. {Ezek. 33: 11.

XIII.

That we ought to beware how we make trial of any sinful course.

Yet it is very necessary that those who are innocent should continue so, and not make an experiment what sin is; that they may not have occasion for trouble, sorrow, and those lamentations which are in order to forgiveness. For how dost thou know, O man, when thou sinnest, whether thou shalt live any number of days in this present state, that thou mayest have time to repent? For the time of thy departure out of this world is uncertain; and if thou die in sin, there will remain no repentance for thee; as God saith by David, *In the grave, who will confess to thee?* It becometh us, therefore, to be ready in the doing of our duty, that so we may await our passage into another world without sorrow. Wherefore also the sacred Word, speaking to thee by the wise Solomon, exhorteth, *Prepare thy works against thine exit, and provide all beforehand in the field;* lest some of the things necessary to thy journey be wanting; as the oil of piety was deficient in the *five foolish virgins* mentioned in the Gospel, when they, on account of their having extinguished their lamps of divine knowledge, were shut out of the bride-chamber. Wherefore, he who valueth the security of his soul will take care to be out of danger, by keeping free from sin, that so he may preserve to himself the advantage {Psalm 6: 6. {Prov. 24: 27. {Matt. 25.

of his former good works. Do thou, therefore, so judge as exe-
Deut. 1: 17. cuting judgment for God. For, as the Scripture saith, *The judgment is the Lord's.* In the first place, therefore, condemn the guilty person with authority; afterwards try to bring him home with mercy and compassion, and readiness to receive him, promising him salvation if he will change his course of life, and come to repentance; and when he is penitent, do thou with thoughtfulness and solemnity receive him, remembering the Lord, who hath said
Luke 15: 7. that *there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.*

XIV.

Concerning those who affirm that a penitent is not to be received into the church; and concerning a righteous person, though he converse with a sinner, &c.

But if thou refuse to receive him that is penitent, thou exposest him to those who lie in wait to destroy, forgetting what David saith,
Psalm 73: 19. *Deliver not my soul, which confesseth to thee, unto destroying beasts.* Wherefore Jeremiah, when he is exhorting men to re-
Jer. 8: 4. pentance, saith, *Shall not he that falleth arise? Or he that turneth away, cannot he return? Wherefore have my people gone back by a shameless backsliding? and they are hardened in their purpose. Turn, ye backsliding children, and I will heal your backslidings.* Receive, therefore, him that is penitent, without any doubting. Be not hindered by those who unmercifully say that we must not be defiled with such, nor so much as speak to them. For these counsels are from men that are unacquainted with God and his providence, and from unreasonable judges and inexorable beasts. They are ignorant that we ought to avoid society with offenders, not
Ezek. 18: 20. in discourse, but in actions. For *the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be*
Ezek. 14: 13. *upon him.* And again, *If a land sinneth against me by trespassing grievously, and I stretch out my hand upon it, and break the staff of bread upon it, and send famine upon it, and destroy man and beast therein; though these three men, Noah, Job, and Daniel, were in the midst of it, they shall only save their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God.*

The Scripture hath most clearly shown, that a righteous man that is with a wicked man doth not perish with him. For in the present world the righteous and the wicked are mingled together in the common affairs of life, but not in holy communion; and in this the friends of God are guilty of no sin. For they do but imitate their *Father who is in heaven, who maketh his sun to rise on the righteous and on the unrighteous, and sendeth his rain on the evil and on the good;* and the righteous man undergoeth no peril on this account. For they who conquer, and they who are conquered, are in the same place of running; but only they who have nobly contended are where the garland is bestowed. And, *No one is crowned, unless he strive lawfully.* For every one shall give account of himself, and God will not destroy the righteous with the wicked; for with him it is a constant rule, that innocence is never punished. For neither did he drown Noah, nor burn up Lot, nor destroy Rahab for company. And if ye desire to know how this matter was among us, Judas was one of us, and participated with us in the ministry; and Simon the magician received the seal of the Lord; yet, both the one and the other proving wicked, the former hanged himself; and the latter, as he flew in the air in a manner unnatural, was dashed against the earth. Moreover, Noah and his sons with him were in the ark; but Ham, who alone was wicked, received punishment in his son. But if fathers are not punished for their children, nor children for their fathers, it is thence clear that neither will wives be punished for their husbands, nor servants for their masters, nor one relation for another, nor one friend for another, nor the righteous for the wicked. But every one will be required an account of his own doing. For neither was punishment inflicted on Noah for the world; nor was Lot destroyed by fire for the Sodomites; nor was Rahab slain for the inhabitants of Jericho; nor Israel for the Egyptians. For not a person's dwelling with the wicked, but his agreeing with them in disposition, condemneth him. We ought not, therefore, to hearken to those who call for death, and hate mankind, and love accusations; and, under fair pretences, bring men to death. For one man shall not die for another, but *every one is held with the chains of his own sins.* And, *Behold the man, and his work is before his face.* Now, we ought to assist those who are with us, and are in danger, and fall; and, as far as

{Matt. 5: 45.

{2 Tim. 2: 5.

{Prov. 5: 22.

{Isa. 62: 11.

lieth in our power, to bring them back to sobriety by our exhorta-
Matt. 9: 12. 18: 14. tions, and to save them from death. For *they that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.* Since *it is not pleasing in the sight of your Father that one of these little ones should perish.* For we ought not to establish the will of hard-hearted men, but the will of the God and Father of the universe, which is revealed to us by Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

For it is not equitable that thou, O Bishop, who art the head, shouldst submit to the tail; that is, to some seditious person among the laity unto the destruction of another, but to God alone. It is thy privilege to govern those under thee, but not to be governed by them. For neither doth a son, who is subject by the course of generation, govern his father; nor a servant, who is subject by law, govern his master; nor doth a scholar govern his teacher; nor a soldier, his king; nor any of the laity, his Bishop. For, that there is no reason to suppose such as converse with the wicked, in order to their instruction in the Word, to be defiled by or to partake of their sins, Ezekiel, as it were on purpose, preventing the sus-
Ezek. 18: 2– picions of ill-disposed persons, saith thus: *Why do ye speak this proverb concerning the land of Israel? — The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not henceforth have occasion to use this proverb in Israel. For all souls are mine; in like manner as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine. The soul that sinneth, it shall die. But the man who is righteous, and doeth judgment and justice* (and so the prophet reckoneth up the rest of the virtues, and then addeth for a conclusion, such a one is just), *he shall surely live, saith the Lord God. And if he beget a son who is a robber, a shedder of blood, and walketh not in the way of his righteous father* (and when the prophet had added what followeth, he addeth in the conclusion), *he shall certainly not live; he hath done all this wickedness; he shall surely die; his blood shall be upon him. Yet they will ask thee, Why? Doth not the son bear the iniquity of the father, or his righteousness, having exercised righteousness himself? And thou shalt say unto them, The soul that sinneth, it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, and the father shall not bear the iniquity of the son. The*

righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him; and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. And a little after he saith, *When the righteous turneth away from his righteousness and committeth iniquity, all his righteousness, by reason of all his wickedness which he hath committed, shall not be remembered. In his iniquity which he hath committed, and in his sin which he hath sinned, in them shall he die.* And a little after he addeth, *When the wicked turneth away from his wickedness which he hath committed, and doeth judgment and justice, he hath preserved his soul; he hath turned away from all his ungodliness which he hath done, he shall surely live, he shall not die.* And afterwards, *I will judge every one of you according to his ways, O house of Israel, saith the Lord.*

XV.

That the Priest must neither overlook offences, nor be rash in punishing them.

Observe, ye who are our beloved sons, how merciful, yet righteous, the Lord our God is; how gracious and kind to men; and yet, most certainly, *He will not acquit the guilty;* but he admitteth {Nah. 1: 3.} the returning sinner, and reviveth him, leaving no room for suspicion to such as would be savage in judging, and utterly reject offenders, and not vouchsafe them so much as any exhortations which might bring them to repentance. In contradiction to such, God, by Isaiah, saith to the Bishops, *Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, ye* {Isaiah, 40: 1.} *Priests; speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem.* It therefore behooveth you, upon hearing these words of his, to encourage those who have offended, and lead them to repentance, and afford them hope, and not vainly suppose that ye shall be partakers of their offences on account of love to such persons. Receive the penitent with alacrity, and rejoice over them, and with mercy and bowels of compassion judge the sinners. For if a person was walking by the side of a river, and ready to stumble, and thou shouldst push him and thrust him into the river, instead of offering him thy hand for his assistance, thou wouldst be guilty of the murder of thy brother; whereas thou oughtest rather to lend thy helping hand, as he was ready to fall, lest he perish without remedy; that both the people

may take warning, and the offender may not utterly perish. It is thy duty, O Bishop, neither to overlook the sins of the people, nor to reject those who are penitent, that thou mayest not unskilfully destroy the Lord's flock, nor dishonor his new name, which is put on his people, and thou thyself be reproached as those ancient Jer. 12: 10. Pastors were, of whom God speaketh thus to Jeremiah: *Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard; they have polluted* Zach. 10: 3. *my heritage;* and in another passage, *My anger is waxed hot against the shepherds, and against the lambs shall I have indignation;* and elsewhere, *Ye are the Priests that dishonor my name.*

XVI.

Of Penance. The manner of it, and rules about it.

When thou seest the offender, with severity command him to be cast out; and, as he is going out, let the deacons also treat him with severity, and then let them go and seek for him, and detain him out of the church; and when they come in, let them entreat thee for him. For our Saviour himself entreated his Father for those who Luke 23: 34. had sinned; as it is written in the Gospel, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* Then order the offender to come in; and if upon examination thou find that he is penitent, and fit to be received at all into the church, when thou hast afflicted him his days of fasting, according to the degree of his offence, as two, three, five, or seven weeks, so set him at liberty, and speak such things to him as are suitable to be said in way of reproof, instruction, and exhortation to a sinner for his reformation; that so he may continue privately in his humility, and pray to God to be Psalm 129: 3. merciful to him, saying, *If thou, O Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, O Lord, who should stand? For with thee there is propitiation.* Of this sort of declaration is that which is said in the Gen. 4: 7. book of Genesis to Cain: *Thou hast sinned, be quiet;* that is, do not go on in sin. For that a sinner ought to be ashamed for his own sin, that oracle of God delivered to Moses concerning Miriam is a sufficient proof, when he prayed that she might be forgiven. For saith God to him, *If her father had spit in her face, should she not be ashamed? Let her be shut out of the camp seven*

days, and afterwards let her come in again. We, therefore, ought to do so with offenders, when they profess their repentance; namely, to separate them, some determinate time, according to the proportion of their offence; and afterwards, like fathers to children, receive them again upon their repentance.

XVII.

That a Bishop must be unblamable, and a pattern for those who are under his charge.

But if the Bishop himself be an offender, how will he be able any longer to prosecute the offence of another? Or how will he be able to reprove another, while either he or his deacons, by the accepting of persons or the receiving of bribes, have not a clear conscience? For when the ruler asketh, and the judge receiveth, judgment is not brought to perfection; but when both are *companions of thieves, and regardless of doing justice to the widows*, those who are under the Bishop will not be able to support and vindicate him. For they will say to him what is written in the Gospel, *Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye*? {Isaiah, 1: 23.} {Luke, 6: 41.}

Let the Bishop, therefore, with his deacons, dread to hear any such thing; that is, let him give no occasion for it. For an offender, when he seeth any other doing as bad as himself, will be encouraged to do the very same things; and then the wicked one, taking occasion from a single instance, worketh in others (which God forbid); and by that means the flock will be destroyed. For the more offenders there are, the greater is the mischief that is done by them. Sin which passeth without correction groweth worse and worse, and spreadeth to others; since *a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump;* and one thief spreadeth the wickedness over a whole nation; and *dead flies spoil the whole pot of sweet ointment;* and *when a king hearkeneth to unrighteous counsel, all the servants under him are wicked.* So one scabby sheep, if not separated from those that are whole, infecteth the rest with the same distemper; and a man infected with the plague is to be avoided by all men; and a mad dog is dangerous to every one that {Gal. 5: 9.} {Eccl. 10: 1.} {Prov. 29: 12.}

he toucheth. If therefore we neglect to separate the transgressor
Matt. 21: 13. from the church of God, we shall make the Lord's house *a den of thieves*. For it is the Bishop's duty not to be silent in the case of offenders, but to convince them, to admonish them, to press them down, to afflict them with fastings; that so he may strike a
Lev. 15: 31. pious dread into the rest. For the Scripture saith, *Make ye the children of Israel pious*. The Bishop must be one who discourageth sin by his exhortations, and setteth a pattern of righteousness, and proclaimeth those good things which are prepared by God, and declareth that wrath which will come at the day of judgment; lest he contemn and neglect the plantation of God, and, on account of
Hosea, 10: 13. his carelessness, hear that which is said in Hosea: *Why have ye held your peace at impiety, and have reaped the fruit thereof?*

XVIII.

That a Bishop must take care that his people do not sin, considering that he is a watchman.

Let the Bishop, therefore, extend his concern to all; to those who have not offended, that they may continue innocent; and to those who have offended, that they may repent. For to you the
Matt. 18: 10. Lord saith, *Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones*. It is your duty also to give remission to the penitent. For as soon as one who hath offended saith in the sincerity of his soul,
2 Kings, 12: 13. *I have sinned against the Lord*, the Holy Spirit answereth, *The Lord also hath forgiven thy sin; be of good cheer; thou shalt not die*. Be sensible, therefore, O Bishop, of the dignity of thy place; that, as thou hast received the power of binding, so hast thou also that of loosing. Having therefore the power of loosing, come forth and behave thyself in this life as becometh thy place,
Luke, 12: 48. knowing that thou hast a great account to give. *For to whom*, as the Scripture saith, *men have entrusted much, of him they will require the more*. For no man is free from sin, excepting him
Job, 14: 4. who was made man for us; since it is written, *No man is pure from filthiness, no, not though he be but a day old*. On which account, the lives and conversations of the ancient holy men and patriarchs are described; not that we may reproach them from our

reading, but that we ourselves may repent, and have hope that we also shall obtain forgiveness. For their blemishes are to us both security and admonition, because we hence learn, when we have offended, that if we repent, we shall have pardon; since it is written, *Who can boast that he hath a clean heart, and who dareth affirm that he is pure from sin?* {Prov. 20: 9.} No man, therefore, is without sin. Do thou therefore labor to the utmost of thy power to be unblamable; and be careful in respect to all, lest any one be made to stumble on thine account, and thereby perish. For the layman is solicitous only for himself, but thou for all, as having a greater burden and carrying a heavier load. For it is written, *And the Lord said unto Moses, Thou and Aaron shall bear the sins of the priesthood.* {Num. 18: 1.} Since, therefore, thou art to give an account of all, take care of all. Preserve those that are sound; admonish those that sin; and when thou hast afflicted them with fasting, give them ease by remission; and when with tears the offender beggeth reädmission, receive him, and let the whole church pray for him; and, when by imposition of thy hand thou hast admitted him, give him leave to abide afterwards in the flock. But the drowsy and the careless convert, strengthen, exhort, heal; knowing how great a reward thou shalt have for doing so, and how great danger thou wilt incur if thou neglect these duties. For Ezekiel speaketh thus to those overseers who take no care of the people: *Woe unto the shepherds of Israel, for they have fed themselves; the shepherds feed not the sheep, but themselves. Ye eat the milk, and are clothed with the wool; ye slay the strong; ye do not feed the sheep. The weak have ye not strengthened, nor have ye healed that which was sick, nor have ye bound up that which was broken, nor have ye brought again that which was driven away, nor have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and insult have ye ruled over them; and they were scattered, because there was no shepherd; and they became meat to all the beasts of the forest.* {Ezek. 34: 2–} And again: *The shepherds did not search for my sheep; and the shepherds fed themselves, but they fed not my sheep.* And a little after: *Behold, I am against the shepherds, and I will require my sheep at their hands, and cause them to cease from feeding my sheep; nor shall the shepherds feed themselves any more. And I will deliver my sheep out of their hands, and they shall not be meat for them.* And he also addeth, speaking to the people, *Behold, I*

will judge between sheep and sheep, and between rams and rams. Seemed it a small thing unto you to have eaten up the good pasture, and to have trodden down with your feet the residue of your pasture, and that the sheep have eaten what was trodden down with your feet? And a little after he addeth, *And ye shall know that I am the Lord, and ye, the sheep of my pasture, are my men, saith the Lord God.*

XIX.

That a shepherd who is careless of his sheep, incurreth penalty; and that a sheep which doth not obey the shepherd, is punished.

Hear, O ye Bishops, and hear, O ye of the laity, how God speaketh: *I will judge between ram and ram, and between sheep and sheep.* And he saith to the shepherds, *Ye shall be judged for your unskilfulness, and for destroying the sheep.* That is, I will judge between one Bishop and another, and between one lay person and another, and between one ruler and another (for these sheep and these rams are not irrational, but rational creatures); lest at any time a lay person should say, I am a sheep, and not a shepherd, and I am not concerned for myself; let the shepherd look to that; for he alone will be required to give an account for me. For as that sheep which will not follow its good shepherd is exposed to the wolves unto its destruction; so that which followeth a bad shepherd is also exposed to unavoidable death, since his shepherd will devour him. Wherefore, care must be had to avoid destructive shepherds.

XX.

How the governed are to obey the Bishops who are set over them.

As to a good shepherd, let the lay person honor him, love him, revere him as his Lord, as his Master, as a high-priest of God, as a teacher of piety. For he that heareth him heareth Christ, and he that rejecteth him rejecteth Christ. And he who doth not receive Christ, doth not receive his God and Father; for, saith he, *He that*
Luke, 10: 16. *heareth you heareth me, and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me, and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me.*

In like manner, let the Bishop love the laity as his children, fostering and cherishing them with affectionate diligence; as eggs in order to the hatching of young ones; or as young ones, taking them in his arms, and rearing them into birds; admonishing all men, reproving all who stand in need of reproof; reproving, but not striking; pressing them down to make them ashamed, but not overthrowing them; warning them in order to their conversion, chiding them in order to their reformation and better course of life; *watching the strong*, that is, keeping him firm in the faith who is already strong; feeding the people peaceably; *strengthening the weak*, that is, confirming with exhortation that which is tempted; *healing that which is sick*, that is, curing by instruction that which is weak in the faith through doubtfulness of mind; *binding up that which is broken*, that is, binding up by comfortable admonitions that which is gone astray, or wounded, bruised, or broken by sins, and put out of the way; easing it of its offences, and giving hope: one that is thus invigorated, restore to the church; bring back to the flock. *Bring again that which is driven away*, that is, do not permit that which is in its sins, and is cast out by way of punishment, to continue excluded; but receiving it, and bringing it back, restore it to the flock, that is, to the people of the undefiled church. *Seek for that which is lost*, that is, do not suffer that which despondeth of its salvation, by reason of the multitude of its offences, utterly to perish. Search thou for that which is grown sleepy, drowsy, and sluggish, and that which is unmindful of its own life, through the depth of its sleep, and which is at a great distance from its own flock, so as to be in danger of falling among the wolves, and being devoured by them. Bring it back by admonition; exhort it to be watchful; and insinuate hope, not permitting it to say that which was said by some, *Our impieties are upon us, and we pine away in them; how shall we then live?* {Ezek. 33: 10.

As far as possible, therefore, let the Bishop make the offence his own, and say to the sinner, Do thou but return, and I will undertake to suffer death for thee, as our Lord suffered death for me and for all men. *For the good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep; but he that is a hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming*, that is, the devil, *and leaveth the sheep and fleeth, and the wolf catcheth them.* {John, 10: 11. We must know, therefore, that God is very merciful to those who offend, and

hath promised repentance with an oath. But he who hath offended, and is unacquainted with this promise of God concerning repentance, and doth not understand his long-suffering and forbearance; and besides, is ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, which proclaim repentance, and hath never learned them, perisheth through his folly. But do thou, like a compassionate shepherd, and a diligent feeder of the flock, search out, and keep an account of the flock. Seek that which is wanting, as the Lord God our gracious Father hath sent his own Son, the good Shepherd and Saviour, our Master Jesus, Matt. 18: 10. Luke, 15: 4— and hath commanded him to *leave the ninety and nine upon the mountains, and to go in search after that which was lost; and, when he had found it, to take it upon his shoulders, and to carry it into the flock, rejoicing that he had found that which was lost.*

In like manner be obedient, O Bishop, and seek that which was lost; guide that which wandereth out of the right way; bring back that which is gone astray. For thou hast authority to bring them Luke, 4: 19. back, and to *deliver those that are broken-hearted, by remission.* By thee the Saviour saith to him who is discouraged under Matt. 9: 2. the sense of his sins, *Thy sins are forgiven thee; thy faith* Mark, 5: 34. *hath saved thee; go in peace.* But this peace and haven of tranquillity is the church of Christ, into which do thou, when thou hast loosed them from their sins, restore them, being now sound and unblamable, of good hope, diligent, laborious in good works. As a skilful and compassionate physician, heal all such as wander in the Matt. 9: 12. ways of sin; *for they that are whole have no need of a* Luke, 19: 10. *physician, but they that are sick. For the Son of Man came to save and to seek that which was lost.* Since thou art, therefore, a physician of the Lord's church, provide remedies suitable to every patient's case. Cure them, heal them by all means Ezek. 34: 4. possible; restore them sound to the church. Feed the Matt. 20: 25. flock, *not with insolence and contempt, as lording it over* Isaiah, 40: 11. *them*, but as a gentle shepherd, *gathering the lambs into thy bosom, and gently leading those which are with young.*

XXI.

That it is a dangerous thing to judge without hearing both sides, or to determine punishment against a person before he is convicted.

Be gentle, gracious, mild; without guile, without falsehood; not rigid, not insolent, not severe, not arrogant, not unmerciful, not puffed up, not a man-pleaser, not timorous, not double-minded; not one that insulteth over the people that are under thee; not one that concealeth the divine laws, and the promises to repentance; not hasty in thrusting out and expelling, but cautious; not delighting in severity, nor rash. Do not admit less evidence to convict any one than that of three witnesses, and those of known and established reputation. Inquire whether they do not accuse out of ill-will or envy; for there are many that delight in mischief, that are forward in discourse, slanderous, haters of the brethren, making it their business to scatter the sheep of Christ; whose affirmation if thou admittest without a careful scanning, thou wilt disperse thy flock, and betray it to be devoured by wolves, that is, by demons and wicked men, or rather not men, but wild beasts in the shape of men, by the heathen, by the Jews, and by the impious heretics. For those destroying wolves soon address themselves to any one that is cast out of the church, and esteem him as a lamb delivered for them to devour, reckoning his destruction their own gain. For {John, 8: 24.} he that is *their father, the devil, is a murderer.*

He also who is separated unjustly by thy want of care in judging, will be overwhelmed with sorrow, and be disconsolate, and so will either wander among the heathen, or be entangled in heresies, and so be altogether estranged from the church, and from hope in God, and will be entangled in wickedness, whereby thou wilt be guilty of his perdition. For it is not fair to be too hasty in casting out an offender, but slow in receiving him when he returneth; to be forward in cutting off, but unmerciful when he is sorrowful, and ought to be healed. For of such as these the divine Scripture saith, *Their feet run to mischief; they are hasty to shed blood. Destruction and misery are in their ways; and the way of peace they have not known. The fear of God is not before their eyes.* {Prov. 1: 16.} {Isaiah, 59: 7.} {Rom. 3: 15.} Now, the way of peace is our Saviour Jesus

Mark, 11: 25. Luke, 6: 38. Christ, who hath taught us, saying, *Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven; give, and it shall be given to you.* That is, give remission of sins, and your offences shall be forgiven you. As Matt. 6: 12. also he instructed us by his prayer to say unto God, *Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.*

If, therefore, ye do not forgive offenders, how can ye expect the remission of your own sins? Do ye not rather bind yourselves more firmly, by pretending in your prayers to forgive, when ye really do not forgive? Will ye not be confronted with your own words, when ye say ye forgive, and do not forgive? For know ye, that he who casteth out one that hath not behaved himself wickedly, or who will not receive him that returneth, is a murderer of his brother, and sheddeth his blood, as Cain did that of Gen. 4: 10. his brother Abel; and his *blood crieth to God*, and will be required. For a righteous man unjustly slain by any one will be in rest with God for ever. The same is the case of him who, without cause, is separated by his Bishop. He who hath cast him out as a pestilent fellow, when he was innocent, is more furious than a murderer. Such a one hath no regard to the mercy of God, nor is mindful of his goodness to those that are penitent, not keeping in his eye the examples of those who, having been once great offenders, received forgiveness upon their repentance. On which account, he who casteth off an innocent person is more cruel than he that murdereth the body. In like manner, he who doth not receive the penitent scattereth the flock of Christ, being really against him. For as God is just in judging sinners, so is he merciful in receiving them when they return; for David, the man after Psalm 101: 1. God's own heart, sang to him both of mercy and of judgment.

XXII.

That David, the Ninevites, Hezekiah, and his son Manasseh, are eminent examples of repentance.

It is thy duty, O Bishop, to have before thine eyes the examples of those that have gone before, and to apply them skilfully to the cases of those who need words of severity or of consolation. Besides, it is reasonable that, in thine administration of justice, thou

shouldst follow the will of God; and as God dealeth with sinners, and with those who return, that thou shouldst act accordingly in thy judging. Now did not God, by Nathan, reproach David for his offence? And yet, as soon as he said that he repented, he delivered him from death, saying, *Be of good cheer, thou shalt not die.* So also when God had caused Jonah to be swallowed up by the sea and the whale, upon his refusing to preach to the Ninevites; when yet he prayed to him out of the belly of the whale, he retrieved his life from corruption. And when Hezekiah had been puffed up for a while, yet, as soon as he prayed with lamentation, he remitted his offence. Moreover, O ye Bishops, hearken to an instance useful on this occasion. For it is written thus in the fourth book of Kings and the second book of Chronicles: 'And Hezekiah died, and Manasseh his son reigned. He was twelve years old when he began to reign; and he reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem, and his mother's name was Hephzibah. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord; and he did not abstain from the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord destroyed from the face of the children of Israel. And Manasseh returned, and built the high places which Hezekiah his father had overthrown; and he reared pillars for Baal, and set up an altar for Baal, and made groves, as did Ahab, king of Israel. And he made altars in the house of the Lord, of which the Lord spake to David and to Solomon his son, saying, Therein will I put my name. And Manasseh set up altars, and by them served Baal, and said, My name shall continue for ever. And he built altars to the host of heaven, in the two courts of the house of the Lord; and he made his children pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom; and he consulted enchanters, and dealt with wizards and familiar spirits, and with conjurers, and observers of times, and with Teraphim; and he sinned exceedingly in the eyes of the Lord, to provoke him to anger; and he set a molten and a graven image, the image of his grove, which he made in the house of the Lord, wherein the Lord had chosen to put his name in Jerusalem the holy city for ever, and had said, I will no more remove my foot from the land of Israel, which I gave to their fathers; only if they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them, and according to all the precepts that my servant Moses commanded them. And they hearkened not. And Manasseh seduced

{2 Kings, 12: 13.}
{Jonah, 1: 17.}
{12.}
{4 Kings, 20.}
{4 Kings, 20 and 21.}
{2 Chron. 32 and 33.}

them to do more evil before the Lord than did the nations whom the Lord cast out from the face of the children of Israel. And the Lord spake concerning Manasseh, and concerning his people, by the hand of his servants the prophets, saying, Because Manasseh, king of Judah, hath done all these wicked abominations in a higher degree than the Amorite did who was before him, and hath made Judah to sin with his idols; thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Behold, I bring evils upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever heareth of them, both his ears shall tingle. And I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab; and I will blot out Jerusalem, as a tablet is blotted out by wiping it. And I will turn it upside down, and I will give up the remnant of mine inheritance, and will deliver them into the hands of their enemies; and they shall become a prey and a spoil to all their enemies; because of all the evils which they have done in mine eyes, and have provoked me to anger from the day that I brought their fathers out of the land of Egypt, even until this day. Moreover, Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another; besides his sins wherewith he made Judah to sin in doing evil in the sight of the Lord.

'And the Lord brought upon him the captains of the host of the king of Assyria; and they caught Manasseh in bonds, and they bound him in fetters of brass, and brought him to Babylon; and he was bound and shackled with iron all over in the house of the prison; and bread made of bran was given unto him scantily, and by weight, and water mixed with vinegar, but a little and by measure, so much as would keep him alive, and he was in straits and sore affliction.

'And when he was violently afflicted, he besought the face of the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the face of the Lord God of his fathers. And he prayed unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, Almighty God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their righteous seed; who hast made heaven and earth, with all the ornament thereof; who hast bound the sea by the word of thy commandment; who hast shut up the deep, and sealed it by thy terrible and glorious name; whom all things fear, and they tremble before thy power. For the majesty of thy glory cannot be borne; and thine angry threatening towards sinners is insupportable. But thy merciful promise is unmeasurable and unsearchable; for thou

art the most high Lord, of great compassion, long-suffering, very merciful, and *repentest thee at the calamities of men.* Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness, hast promised forgiveness to them that have sinned against thee; and of thine infinite mercy hast appointed repentance unto sinners, that they may be saved. Thou, therefore, O Lord, that art the God of the just, hast not appointed repentance to the just, as to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, who have not sinned against thee; but thou hast appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner; for I have sinned above the number of the sands of the sea. My transgressions, O Lord, are multiplied, my transgressions are multiplied; and I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven, for the multitude of mine iniquities. I am bowed down with many iron bands, so that I cannot lift up my head, nor have any release; for I have provoked thy wrath, and done evil before thee. I did not thy will, nor kept thy commandments. I have set up abominations, and have multiplied offences. Now, therefore, I bow the knee of my heart, imploring thy grace. I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned, and I acknowledge mine iniquities. Wherefore, I humbly beseech thee, forgive me, O Lord, forgive me, and destroy me not with mine iniquities. Be not angry with me for ever, by reserving evil for me; nor condemn me into the lower part of the earth. For thou art the God, even the God of them that repent, and in me thou wilt show all thy goodness; for thou wilt save me that am unworthy, according to thy great mercy. Therefore I will praise thee for ever all the days of my life; for all the powers of the heavens do praise thee, and thine is the glory for ever and ever. Amen. {Jonah, 4: 2.

'And the Lord heard his voice, and had compassion upon him; and there appeared a flame of fire about him, and all the iron shackles and chains fell off; and the Lord healed Manasseh from his affliction, and brought him back to Jerusalem unto his kingdom; and Manasseh knew that the Lord is God alone. And he worshipped the Lord God alone, with all his heart, and with all his soul, all the days of his life; and he was esteemed righteous; and he took away the strange gods, and the graven image out of the house of the Lord, and all the altars which he had built in the house of the Lord, and all the altars in Jerusalem; and he cast them out of the city. And he repaired the altar of the Lord, and sacrificed thereon peace-offerings and thank-offerings. And he spake to Judah to serve the Lord God of Israel. And he slept in peace with his fathers;

and Amon his son reigned in his stead. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all things that Manasseh his father had done in the former part of his reign; and he provoked the Lord his God to anger.'

Ye have heard, our beloved children, how the Lord God for a while punished him that was addicted to idols, and had slain many innocent persons; and yet that he received him when he repented, and forgave him his offences, and restored him to his kingdom. For he not only forgiveth the penitent, but reïnstateth them in their former dignity.

XXIII.

Amon may be an example to such as sin with a high hand.

There is no sin more grievous than idolatry; for it is an impiety against God; and yet even this sin hath been forgiven, upon sincere repentance. But if any one sin in direct opposition, and on purpose to try whether God will punish the wicked or not, such a one shall have no remission, although he say with himself, *All is well, and I will walk according to the conversation of mine evil heart.* Such a one was Amon, the son of Manasseh. For the Scripture saith, *And Amon reasoned an evil reasoning of transgression, and said, My father from his childhood was a great transgressor, and repented in his old age; and now I will walk as my soul listeth; and afterwards I will return unto the Lord. And he did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him. And the Lord God soon destroyed him utterly from his good land. And his servants conspired against him, and slew him in his own house; and he reigned two years only.*

XXIV.

That Christ Jesus our Lord came to save sinners by repentance.

Take heed, therefore, ye of the laity, lest any one of you fix the reasoning of Amon in his heart, and be suddenly cut off, and perish. In the same manner, let the Bishop take all the care he can that those who are yet innocent may not fall into sin. And let him heal

and receive those who turn from their sins. But if he is pitiless, and will not receive the repenting sinner, he will sin against the Lord his God, pretending to be more just than God's justice, and not receiving him whom He hath received through Christ; for whose sake he sent his Son upon earth to men, as a man; for whose sake God was pleased that he who was the Maker of man and woman should be born of a woman; for whose sake he did not spare him from the cross, from death and burial; but permitted him to die who by nature could not suffer; his beloved Son, God the Word; {Isaiah, 9: 6.} *the angel of his great council*; that he might deliver those from death who were obnoxious to death. Him do those provoke to anger who do not receive the penitent. For he was not ashamed of me, Matthew, who was formerly a publican; and admitted Peter, who had through fear denied him three times, but had appeased him by repentance, and had wept bitterly; nay, he made him a shepherd to his own lambs. Moreover, he ordained Paul, our fellow apostle, to be of a persecutor an apostle, and declared him a chosen vessel, even when he had heaped many mischiefs upon us before, and had blasphemed his sacred name. He saith also to another, a woman that was a sinner, *Thy sins, which are many, are forgiven; for thou lovedst much.* {Luke, 7: 47.} And when the elders, setting before him another woman who had sinned, had left the sentence to him, and were gone out, our Lord, the searcher of hearts, inquiring of her whether the elders had condemned her, and being answered No, he said unto her, *Go thy way, therefore, for neither do I condemn thee.* {John, 8: 11.}

O ye Bishops, this Jesus, our Saviour, our King, and our God, ought to be set before you as a pattern; and him ye ought to imitate, in being meek, quiet, compassionate, merciful, peaceable, free from anger, apt to teach, and diligent to convert, willing to receive and to comfort; no strikers, not soon angry, not injurious, not arrogant, not supercilious, not wine-bibbers, not drunkards, not vainly expensive, not lovers of delicacies, not extravagant; using the gifts of God, not as another's, but as one's own; as good stewards appointed over them, as those who will be required by God to give an account of the same. Let the Bishop esteem such food and raiment sufficient as suit necessity and decency. Let him not make use of the Lord's goods as another's, but moderately; *for the laborer is worthy of his reward.* {Luke, 10: 7.} Let him not be luxurious in diet, nor

fond of idle furniture; but let him desire those things only which belong to his condition.

XXV.

Of first-fruits and tithes; and after what manner the Bishop is himself to partake of them, or to distribute them to others.

Let him use those tenths and first-fruits which are given according to the command of God, as a man of God. Let him dispense in a right manner the freewill offerings which are brought in on account of the poor, the orphans, the widows, the afflicted, and strangers in distress, as having that God for the examiner of his accounts who hath committed the disposition to him. Moreover, distribute with righteousness to all those who are in want; and use, yourselves, the things which belong to the Lord, but do not abuse them; eating of them, but not eating them all up by yourselves. Communicate with those that are in want, and thereby show yourselves unblamable before God. For if ye shall consume them by yourselves, ye will be reproached by God, who saith, as to insatiable and selfish devourers, *Ye eat up the milk, and clothe yourselves with the wool;* and in another passage, *Must ye alone live upon the earth?* On which account ye are commanded in the law, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.*

Ezek. 34: 3. Isaiah 5: 8. Lev. 19: 18.

Now we say these things, not as if ye might not partake of the fruits of your labors; for it is written, *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox which treadeth out the corn;* but that ye should do it with moderation and righteousness. As therefore the ox that laboreth in the threshing-floor without a muzzle, eateth indeed, but doth not eat all up; so do ye who labor in the threshing-floor, that is, in the church of God, eat of the church; which was also the case of the Levites, who served in the tabernacle of the testimony, which was in all things a type of the church. Moreover, also, its very name implied that that tabernacle was fore-appointed for a *testimony* of the church. Here, therefore, the Levites, who attended upon the tabernacle, partook of those things which were offered to God by all the people, namely, gifts, offerings, and first-fruits, and tithes, and sacrifices, and oblations, without disturbance, they and their wives, and their sons, and their daughters. Since

Deut. 25: 4.

their employment was the ministration of the tabernacle, therefore they had not any lot or inheritance in the land among the children of Israel, because the oblations of the people were the lot of Levi, and the inheritance of their tribe.

Ye, therefore, at the present day, O Bishops, are to your people priests and Levites, ministering to the holy tabernacle, the holy catholic church; who stand at the altar of the Lord your God, and offer to him reasonable and unbloody sacrifices, through Jesus, the great High Priest. Ye are to the laity prophets, rulers, governors, and kings; the mediators between God and his faithful people, who receive and declare his word, well acquainted with the Scriptures. Ye are the voice of God, and witnesses of his will, who bear the sins of all, and intercede for all; whom, as ye have heard, the Word severely threateneth, if ye hide from men the key of knowledge; who are liable to perdition, if ye do not declare his will to the people that are under you; who shall have a sure reward from God, and unspeakable honor and glory, if ye duly minister to the holy tabernacle. For as yours is the burden, so ye receive, as your fruit, the supply of food and other necessaries. For ye imitate Christ the Lord; and, as he *bare the sins of us all upon the tree*, at his crucifixion, the innocent for those who deserved punishment; so also ye ought to make the sins of the people your own. For concerning our Saviour, it is said in Isaiah, *He beareth our sins, and is afflicted for us.* And again, *He bare the sins of many, and was delivered for their offences.* {Luke, 11: 52.} {Isaiah, 53: 4.} {53: 12.}

As therefore ye are patterns for others, so ye have Christ for your pattern; as therefore he himself is the pattern for you all, so are ye for the laity under you. Think not that the office of a Bishop is an easy or light burden. As therefore ye bear the weight, so ye have a right to partake of the fruits before others, and to impart to those that are in want, as having to give an account to Him who without bias will examine your accounts.

For they who attend upon the church ought to be maintained by the church, as being priests, Levites, presidents, and ministers of God. As it is written in the book of Numbers concerning the priests: *And the Lord said unto Aaron, Thou and thy sons, and the house of thy family, shall bear the iniquities of the sanctuary and of your priesthood. Behold, I have given unto you the charge of the first-fruits. From all that are sanctified to me by* {Num. 18: 1.} {8–

the children of Israel; I have given them for a reward to thee, and to thy sons after thee, by an ordinance for ever. This shall be yours out of the holy things, out of the oblations, and out of the gifts, and out of all the sacrifices, and out of every trespass-offering and sin-offering, and all that they render unto me out of all their holy things; they shall belong to thee, and to thy sons. In the sanctuary shall they eat them. And a little after: *All the first-fruits of the oil, and of the wine, and of the wheat, and all that they shall give unto the Lord, to thee have I given them; and all that is first ripe, to thee have I given it, and every devoted thing. Every first-born of man and of beast, clean and unclean, and the breast and the right shoulder of a sacrifice, appertain to the priests, and to the rest who continue with them, namely, the Levites.*

Hear this, ye of the laity also, the elect church of God. For the
Exod. 19: 5, 6. / Heb. 12: 23. / 1 Peter. 2: 9.
people were formerly called, *the people of God, and a holy nation.* Ye, therefore, are the holy and sacred *church of God, enrolled in heaven, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people*, a bride adorned for the Lord God, a great church, a faithful church. Hear attentively now what was said formerly: Oblations and tithes belong to Christ, our High Priest, and to those who minister to him. Tithes of salvation are the first letter of the name of Jesus. Hear, O thou holy catholic church, who hast escaped the ten plagues, and hast received the ten commandments, and hast learned the law, and hast kept the faith, and hast believed in Jesus, and art named after his name, and art established, and shinest in the consummation of his glory. Those which were then the sacrifices are now prayers, and intercessions, and thanksgivings. Those which were then first-fruits, and tithes, and offerings, and gifts, are now oblations, which are presented by holy Bishops to the Lord God, through Jesus Christ, who hath died for them. For these are your high priests, as the presbyters are your priests; and your present deacons are instead of the Levites, as are also your readers, your singers, your porters, your deaconesses, your widows, your virgins, and your orphans. But he who is above all these is the high priest.

XXVI.

According to what pattern and dignity every order of the clergy is appointed by God.

The Bishop is the minister of the Word, the keeper of knowledge, the mediator between God and you in the several parts of your divine worship. He is the teacher of piety; and, next after God, he is your father, who hath begotten you again to the adoption of sons by water and the Spirit. He is your ruler and governor; he is your king and potentate; he is, next after God, your earthly god, who hath a right to be honored by you. For concerning him and such as he, it is that God pronounceth, *I have said, Ye are gods, and ye are all children of the Most High;* and, *Ye shall not speak evil of the gods.* {Psalm 81: 6. {Exod. 22: 28.

Let the Bishop, therefore, preside over you as one honored with the authority of God, which he is to exercise over the clergy, and by which he is to govern all the people. But let the deacon minister to him as Christ doth to his Father, and let him serve him unblamably in all things, as Christ doeth nothing of himself, but doeth always those things that please his Father. Let also the deaconess be honored by you in the place of the Holy Ghost, and not do nor say any thing without the deacon; as neither doth the Comforter say nor do any thing of himself, but giveth glory to Christ by waiting for his pleasure. And as we cannot believe on Christ without the teaching of the Spirit, so let not any woman address herself to the deacon or to the Bishop without the deaconess. Let the presbyters be esteemed by you to represent us the apostles, and let them be the teachers of divine knowledge; since our Lord, when he sent us, said, *Go ye, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.* {Matt. 28: 19,20. Let the widows and orphans be esteemed as representing the altar of burnt-offering; and let the virgins be honored as representing the altar of incense, and the incense itself.

XXVII.

That it is a horrible thing for a man to thrust himself into any sacerdotal office, as did Corah and his company, Saul, and Uzziah.

As therefore it was not lawful for one of another tribe, that was not a Levite, to offer any thing, or to approach the altar without the priest; so also do ye nothing without the Bishop. But if any one doeth any thing without the Bishop, he doeth it to no purpose. For it will not be esteemed as of any avail to him. For as Saul, when 1 Kings, 13: 13. } he had offered without Samuel, was told, *It will not avail for thee;* so every person among the laity, doing any thing without the priest, laboreth in vain. And as Uzziah the king, who was not a priest, and yet would exercise the functions of the priests, was smitten with leprosy for his transgression; so every lay-person shall be punished who despiseth God, and, raging against his priests, Heb. 5: 5. } snatcheth the honor to himself; not imitating Christ, *who glorified not himself to be made a High Priest*, but waited till he Psalm 109: 4. } heard from his Father, *The Lord sware, and will not repent, Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.* If, therefore, Christ did not glorify himself without God the Father, how dareth any man thrust himself into the priesthood who hath not received that dignity from his superior, and do those things which it is lawful only for the priests to do? Were not the followers of Corah, Num. 16. } even they who were of the tribe of Levi, consumed with fire, because they rose up against Moses and Aaron, and meddled with such things as did not belong to them? And Dathan and Abiram went down quick into hell; and the rod that budded put a stop to the madness of the multitude, and showed who was the high priest ordained by God.

Ye ought, therefore, brethren, to bring your sacrifices and your oblations to the Bishop, as to your high priest, either by yourselves or by the deacons; and bring to him not those only, but also your first-fruits, and your tithes, and your free-will offerings. For he knoweth who they are that are in affliction, and giveth to every one as is convenient, so that one may not receive alms twice or oftener the same

day or the same week, while another hath nothing at all. For it is reasonable rather to supply the wants of those who are really in distress, than of those who only appear to be so.

XXVIII.

Of an entertainment; and how each distinct order of the clergy is to be treated by those who invite them to it.

If any determine to invite elder women to an entertainment of love or a feast, as our Saviour hath denominated it, let them most frequently send to her whom the deacons know to be in distress. But let what is the pastor's due, I mean the first-fruits, be set apart in the feast for him (even though he be not at the entertainment), as being your priest, and in honor of that God who hath entrusted him with the priesthood. But whatever be the portion given to each of the elder women, let double be given to the deacons, in honor of Christ. Let also a double portion be set apart for the presbyters, as for those who labor about the Word and doctrine, on account of the apostles of our Lord, whose place they sustain as the counsellors of the Bishop, and the crown of the church. For they are the sanhedrim and senate of the church. If there be a reader there, let him receive a single portion, in honor of the prophets; and let the singer and the porter have as much.

Let the laity, therefore, pay to each distinct order the proper honor, in gifts and in respectful deportment. But let them not on all occasions trouble their ruler; but let them signify their desires by those who minister to him, that is, by the deacons, with whom they may be more free. For neither may we address ourselves to Almighty God, but only by Christ. In the same manner, therefore, let the laity make known all their desires to the Bishop by the deacon; and accordingly let them act as he shall direct them. For there was no holy thing offered or done in the temple formerly without the priest: *for the priest's lips shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the Law at his mouth;* as the prophet somewhere saith; *for he is the messenger of the Lord Almighty.* For if the worshippers of demons, in their hateful, abominable, and impure performances till this very day, imitate the { Mal. 2: 7.

sacred rules (it is a wide comparison indeed, and there is a vast distance between their abominations and God's sacred worship), they neither offer nor do any thing in their delusive acts of worship, without their pretended priest; but they esteem him as the very mouth of their idols of stone, waiting to see what commands he will lay upon them. And whatsoever he commandeth them, that they do; and without him they do nothing; and they honor their pretended priest himself, and esteem his name as venerable in honor of lifeless statues, and in order to the worship of wicked spirits. If these heathens, therefore, who give glory to lying vanities, and place their hope on nothing that is firm, endeavor to imitate the sacred rules, how much more reasonable is it that ye, who have a most certain faith and undoubted hope, and who expect glorious, and eternal, and never-failing promises, should honor the Lord God in those who are set over you, and esteem the Bishops to be the mouth of God!

XXIX.

What is the dignity of a Bishop and of a Deacon.

For if Aaron, because he declared to Pharaoh the words of God from Moses, is called a prophet, and Moses himself is called a god to Pharaoh, on account of his being at once a king and a high priest, as God saith to him, *I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet;* why do not ye also esteem the mediators of the word to be prophets, and revere them as gods?

XXX.

After what manner the Laity are to be obedient to the Deacon.

For now the Deacon is to you *Aaron;* and the Bishop, *Moses.* If, therefore, Moses was called a god by the Lord, let the Bishop be honored among you as a god, and the Deacon as his prophet. For as Christ doeth nothing without his Father, so neither doeth the Deacon any thing without his Bishop. And as the Son without his Father is nothing, so is the Deacon nothing without his Bishop.

And as the Son is subject to his Father, so is every Deacon subject to his Bishop; and as the Son is the messenger and prophet of the Father, so is the Deacon the messenger and prophet of his Bishop. Wherefore, let all things that he is to do with any one be made known to the Bishop, and by him be perfected.

XXXI.

That the Deacon must not do any thing without the Bishop.

Let him not do any thing at all without his Bishop, nor give any thing without his consent. For if he give to any one as to a person in distress, without the Bishop's knowledge, he will give it so that it must tend to the reproach of the Bishop, and will accuse him as careless of the distressed. But he that casteth reproach on his Bishop, either by word or by deed, opposeth God, not hearkening to what he saith, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the gods.* {Exod. 22: 28. For he did not make that law concerning deities of wood and of stone, which are abominable, because they are falsely called gods; but concerning the priests and the judges, to whom God also said, *Ye are gods and children of the Most High.* {Psalm 81: 3.

XXXII.

That the Deacon must not make any distributions without the consent of the Bishop, because that will turn to the reproach of the Bishop.

If, therefore, O Deacon, thou knowest any one to be in distress, put the Bishop in mind of him, and so give to him; but do nothing in a clandestine way, tending to his reproach, lest thou raise a murmur against him. For the murmur will not be against him, but against the Lord God. And the Deacon, with the rest, will hear what Aaron and Miriam heard, when they spake against Moses, *How is it that ye were not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?* {Num. 12: 8. And again, Moses saith to those who rose up against him, *Your murmuring is not against us, but against the Lord* {Exod. 16: 8.

Matt. 5: 22. } *our God.* For if he that calleth one of the laity *Raca*, or fool, shall be punished as doing injury to the name of Christ, how dareth any man speak against his Bishop, by whom the Lord gave the Holy Spirit among you upon the laying on of his hands; by whom ye have learned the sacred doctrines, and have known God, and have believed in Christ; by whom ye were known of God; by whom ye were sealed with the oil of gladness and the ointment of understanding; by whom ye were declared to be the children of light; by whom the Lord in your illumination testified by the imposition of the Bishop's hands, and sent out his sacred voice upon Psalm 2: 7. } every one of you, saying, *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee.* By thy Bishop, O man, God adopteth thee for his child. Acknowledge, O son, that right hand which was a mother to thee. Love him who, after God, is become a father to thee, and honor him.

XXXIII.

After what manner the Priests are to be honored and to be reverenced as our spiritual parents.

For if the Divine Oracle saith concerning our parents according Exod. 20: 12. } to the flesh, *Honor thy father and thy mother, that it may* 21: 27. } *be well with thee;* and, *He that curseth his father or his mother, let him die the death;* how much more should the Word exhort you to honor your spiritual parents, and to love them as your benefactors and ambassadors with God, who have regenerated you by water, and endued you with the fulness of the Holy Spirit, who have fed you with the word as with milk, who have nourished you with doctrine, who have confirmed you by their admonitions, who have imparted to you the saving body and precious blood of Christ, who have loosed you from your sins, who have made you partakers of the holy and sacred Eucharist, who have admitted you to be partakers and fellow-heirs of the promise of God! Reverence these, and honor them with all kinds of honor; for they have received from God the power of life and death in judging sinners and condemning them to the death of eternal fire, as also in loosing the penitent from their sins, and restoring them to a new life.

XXXIV.

That the Priests are to be preferred before the Rulers and Kings.

Account these worthy to be esteemed your rulers and kings, and bring them tribute as to kings. For by you they and their families ought to be maintained. As Samuel made constitutions for the people concerning a king, in the first book of Kings, and {1 Kings 8.} Moses, concerning priests, in Leviticus; so do we also make constitutions for you concerning Bishops. For if there the multitude distributed the inferior services in proportion to so great a king, ought not therefore the Bishop much more now to receive of you those things which are divinely determined for the sustenance of himself, and of the rest of the clergy with him? But, if any thing further ought to be said, let the Bishop receive more than the other received of old. For he only managed the affairs of the soldiery, being intrusted with war and peace for the preservation of men's bodies; but the other is intrusted with the exercise of the priestly office in relation to God, in order to preserve both body and soul from dangers. By how much, therefore, the soul is more valuable than the body, so much the priestly office is beyond the kingly. For it bindeth and looseth those that are worthy of punishment or of remission. Wherefore, ye ought to love the Bishop as your father, and fear him as your king, and honor him as your lord, bringing to him your fruits and the works of your hands, for a blessing upon you, giving to him your first-fruits, and your tithes, and your oblations, and your gifts, as to the priest of God; the first-fruits of your wheat, and wine, and oil, and autumnal fruits, and wool, and all things which the Lord God giveth thee. And thine offering shall be accepted as a savor of a sweet smell to the Lord thy God; and the Lord will bless the works of thy hands, and will multiply the good things of thy land. *For a blessing is upon the head of him that giveth.* {Prov. 11: 26.}

XXXV.

That both the Law and the Gospel prescribe offerings.

Now ye ought to know, that although the Lord hath delivered you from the additional bonds, and hath brought you out of them to your refreshment, and doth not permit you to sacrifice irrational creatures for sin-offerings, and purifications, and scape-goats, and continual washings and sprinklings, yet hath he nowhere freed you from those oblations which ye owe to the priests, nor from doing Matt. 5: 28. good to the poor. For the Lord saith to you in the Gospel, *Unless your righteousness abound more than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall by no means enter into the kingdom of heaven.* Now herein will your righteousness exceed theirs, if ye take greater care of the priests, the orphans, and the widows: as it is Psalm 111: 9. written, *He hath scattered abroad, he hath given to the poor,* Prov. 15: 27. *his righteousness remaineth for ever.* And again, *By acts of righteousness and faith, iniquities are purged.* And again, Prov. 11: 25. *Every bountiful soul is blessed.*

So, therefore, shalt thou do as the Lord hath appointed, and shalt give to the priest what things are due to him, the first-fruits of thy floor and of thy wine-press, and sin-offerings, as to the mediator between God and such as stand in need of purification and forgiveness. For it is thy duty to give, and his to administer, as being the administrator and disposer of ecclesiastical affairs.

Yet thou shalt not call thy Bishop to account, nor watch his administration, how he performeth it, when, or to whom, or where, or whether he do it well or ill, or indifferently; for he hath one who will call him to an account, the Lord God, who put this administration into his hands, and thought him worthy of the priesthood of so great dignity.

XXXVI.

Mention of the ten commandments; and after what manner they prescribe.

Have before thine eyes the fear of God, and always remember the ten commandments of God: to love the one and only Lord God with all thy strength; to give no heed to idols, or such like, as being lifeless gods, or irrational beings, or demons. Consider the manifold workmanship of God, which received its beginning through Christ. Thou shalt observe the Sabbath, on account of Him who ceased from his work of creation, but ceased not from his work of providence. It is a rest for meditation of the law, not for idleness of the hands. Reject every unlawful lust, every thing destructive to men, and all anger. Honor thy parents, as the authors of thy being. Love thy neighbor as thyself. Communicate the necessaries of life to the needy. Avoid swearing falsely, and swearing often, and in vain; for thou shalt not be held guiltless. Appear not before the priests empty; and offer thy free-will offerings continually. Moreover, do not neglect the church of Christ; but go thither in the morning before all thy work, and again meet there in the evening, to return thanks to God that he hath preserved thy life. Be diligent, and constant, and laborious in thy calling. Offer to the Lord thy free-will offerings; for saith he, *Honor the Lord with the fruit of thine honest labors.* {Prov. 3: 9.} If thou art not able to cast any thing considerable into the sacred treasury, yet at least bestow upon the strangers one or two or five mites. *Lay up for thyself heavenly treasure, which neither the moth nor thieves can destroy.* {Matt. 6: 20.} And, in doing this, judge not thy Bishop, nor any of thy neighbors among the laity; for if thou judge thy brother, thou becomest a judge, without being constituted such by any body; for the priests only are intrusted with the power of judging. For to them it is said, *Judge righteous judgment;* and again, *Approve yourselves to be exact money-changers.* {Deut. 1: 16.} For to you this is not intrusted; for, on the contrary, it is said to those who are not of the dignity of magistrates or ministers, *Judge not, and ye shall not be judged.* {Luke 6: 37.}

XXXVII.

Concerning accusers and false accusers; and how a judge is not rashly either to believe them or to disbelieve them, but after an accurate examination.

But it is the duty of the Bishop to judge rightly; as it is written, *Judge righteous judgment;* and elsewhere, *Why do ye not, even of yourselves, judge what is right?* Be ye therefore as skilful dealers in money. For as these reject bad money, but take to themselves what is current; in the same manner it is the Bishop's duty to retain the unblamable, but either to heal, or, if they be past cure, to cast off those that are blameworthy, so as not to be hasty in cutting off, nor to believe all accusations. For it sometimes happeneth that some, either through passion or envy, insist on a false accusation against a brother; as did the two elders in the case of Susanna, in Babylon, and the Egyptian woman in the case of Joseph. Do thou, therefore, as a man of God, not rashly receive such accusations, lest thou take away the innocent, and slay the righteous. For he that will receive such accusations is the author of anger, rather than of peace. But where there is anger, there the Lord is not. For that anger, which is the friend of Satan, — I mean that which is excited unjustly by the means of false brethren, — never suffereth unanimity to be in the church. Wherefore, when ye know such persons to be foolish, quarrelsome, passionate, and delighting in mischief, do not give credit to them; but observe such as they are, when ye hear any thing from them against their brother. For murder is nothing in their eyes, and they cast a man down in such a way as one would not suspect.

John, 7: 24. Luke, 12: 57. Dan. 13. Gen. 39.

Do thou, therefore, consider diligently the accuser, wisely observing his conversation, what, and of what sort, it is; and in case thou find him a man of veracity, do according to the doctrine of the Lord; and, taking him who is accused, rebuke him privately, that he may repent. But, if he be not persuaded, take with thee one or two more, and thus show him his fault, and admonish him with mildness and instruction; for *wisdom will rest upon a heart that is good, but is not understood in the heart of the foolish.*

Prov. 14: 33.

XXXVIII.

That they who sin are to be privately reproved, and the penitent to be received, according to the constitution of our Lord.

If, therefore, he be persuaded by the mouth of you three, it is well. But if any one harden himself, *Tell it to the church.* {Matt. 18: 17. *But if he neglect to hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen man and a publican;* and receive him no longer into the church as a Christian, but reject him as a heathen. But if he be willing to repent, receive him. For the church doth not receive a heathen or a publican to communion, before they every one repent of their former iniquities. For our Lord Jesus, the Christ of God, hath appointed place for the acceptance of men upon their repentance.

XXXIX.

Examples of Repentance.

For I, Matthew, one of the twelve who speak to you in this doctrine, am an apostle, having myself been formerly a publican, but now have obtained mercy through believing, and have repented of my former practices, and have been accounted worthy to be an apostle, and preacher of the word. And Zaccheus, whom the Lord received upon his repentance and prayers to him, was also himself in the same manner a publican at first. And besides, even the soldiers and multitude of publicans, who came to hear the word of the Lord concerning repentance, heard this from the prophet John, after he had baptized them, *Do nothing more than* {Luke, 3: 13. *that which is appointed you.* In like manner, life is not refused to the heathen, if they repent, and cast away their unbelief.

Esteem, therefore, every one that is convicted of any wicked action, and has not repented, as a publican or a heathen. But if he afterwards repent, and turn from his error, then as we receive them into the church indeed to hear the word, but do not receive them to communion, until they, having received the seal, are made complete Christians; so do we also permit such as these to enter only

to hear, until they show the fruit of repentance, that, by hearing the word, they may not utterly and irrecoverably perish. But let them not be admitted to communion in prayer; and let them depart after the reading of the Law, and the Prophets, and the Gospel, that by such departure they may be made better in their course of life, by endeavoring to meet every day about the public assemblies, and to be frequent in prayer, that they also may be at length admitted, and that those who behold them may be affected, and be more secured by fearing to fall into the same condition.

XL.

That we are not to be implacable towards him who hath once or twice offended.

But yet do not thou, O Bishop, presently abhor any person who hath fallen into one or two offences, nor shalt thou exclude him from the word of the Lord, nor reject him from common intercourse; since neither did the Lord refuse to eat with publicans and sinners; and, when he was accused by the Pharisees on this account, he said, Matt. 9: 12. *They that are well have no need of a physician, but they that are sick.* Converse and dwell, therefore, with those who are separated from you for their sins, and take care of them, comfort- Isaiah, 35: 3. ing them, and confirming them, and saying, *Be strengthened, ye weak hands and feeble knees.* For ye ought to comfort those that mourn, and afford encouragement to the faint-hearted, lest by immoderate sorrow they degenerate into distraction; since *he that* Prov. 14: 29. *is faint-hearted is exceedingly distracted.*

XLI.

How we ought to receive the penitent, and how to bear with them that sin, and when to cut them off from the church.

But if any one return, and show forth the fruit of repentance, Luke, 15: 11– then receive him to prayer, as *the lost son, the prodigal, who had consumed his father's substance with harlots; who fed*

swine, and desired to be fed with husks, and could not obtain them. When this son repented, and returned to his father, and said, *I have sinned against Heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son;* the father, full of affection to his child, received him with music, and restored to him his former robe, and ring, and shoes, and slew the fatted calf, and made merry with his friends.

Do thou, therefore, O Bishop, act in the same manner; and as thou receivest a heathen, after thou hast instructed and baptized him, so do thou let all join in prayers for this man, and restore him by imposition of hands to his ancient place among the flock, as one purified by repentance. And that imposition of hands shall be to him instead of baptism. For, by the laying on of our hands, the Holy Ghost was given to believers. And, in case some one of those brethren who had stood immovable accuse thee because thou art reconciled to him, say to him, *Thou art always with me, and all that I have is thine. It was meet to make merry and be glad; for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found.*

For that God doth not only receive the penitent, but restoreth them to their former dignity, holy David is a sufficient witness; who, after his sin in the matter of Uriah, prayed to God, and said, *Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with thy free spirit.* {Psalm 50.} And again, *Turn thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine offences. Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit in mine inward parts. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy spirit from me.*

As a compassionate physician, therefore, do thou heal all that sin, making use of saving methods of cure; not only cutting and searing, or using corrosives, but binding up, and dressing with lint, and using gentle healing medicines, and sprinkling comfortable words. If it be a hollow wound or great gash, nourish it with a suitable plaster, that it may be filled up, and become even with the rest of the whole flesh. If it be foul, cleanse it with corrosive powder, that is, with the words of reproof. If it have proud flesh, eat it down with a sharp plaster, the threats of judgment. If it spread farther, sear it, and cut off the putrid flesh, subduing it with fastings. But if, after all that thou hast done, thou perceivest that from the feet to the head there is no room for a fomentation, or oil, or bandage, but that the malady spreadeth, and preventeth all cure,

as a gangrene, which corrupteth the entire member; then, with a great deal of consideration, and the advice of other skilful physicians, cut off the putrified member, that the whole body of the church be not corrupted. Be not therefore ready and hasty to cut off, nor do thou easily have recourse to the saw, with its many teeth; but first use a lancet to lay open the wound, that the inward cause, whence the pain is derived, being drawn out, may keep the body free from pain. But if thou seest any one past repentance, and he hath become insensible, then, with sorrow and lamentation, cut off from the church the incurable. For, *Put away from among yourselves that wicked person.* And, *Ye shall make the children of Israel circumspect.* And, again, *Thou shalt not accept the persons of the rich in judgment.* And, *Thou shalt not pity a poor man in his cause; for the judgment is the Lord's.*

1 Cor. 5: 13. Deut. 17: 7. Lev. 15: 31. Deut. 1: 17. Lev. 19: 15. Exod. 23: 3.

XLII.

That a Judge must not be a respecter of persons.

But if the slanderous accusation be false, and ye that are the pastors, with the deacons, admit that falsehood for truth, either by acceptance of persons or by receiving bribes, as willing to do that which will be pleasing to the devil; and so ye thrust out him that is accused, but is clear of the crime; ye shall give an account in the day of the Lord. For it is written, *The innocent and the righteous thou shalt not slay. Thou shalt not take gifts to smite the soul; for gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and destroy the words of the righteous.* And, again, *They that justify the wicked for gifts, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him.*

Exod. 23: 7, 8. Deut. 27: 25. 16: 19. Isaiah, 5: 23.

Take care, therefore, lest by any means ye become accepters of persons, and thereby fall under this voice of the Lord. Be careful therefore not to condemn any unjustly, and so to assist the wicked. For, *Woe to him that calleth evil good, and good evil, bitter sweet, and sweet bitter; that putteth light for darkness, and darkness for light.* For if ye condemn others unjustly, ye pass sentence against yourselves. For the Lord saith, *With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and as ye condemn, ye shall be condemned.*

Isaiah, 5: 20. Matt. 7: 2. Luke, 6: 37.

If, therefore, ye judge without respect of persons, ye will discover that accuser who beareth false witness against his neighbor, and will prove him to be a sycophant, a spiteful person, and a murderer, causing perplexity (by accusing the man as if he were wicked), inconstant in his words, contradicting himself in what he affirmetn, and entangled with the words of his own mouth. For his own lips are a dangerous snare to him. Whom, when thou hast convicted him of speaking falsely, thou shalt judge severely, and shalt deliver him to the fiery sword, and thou shalt do to him as he wickedly purposed to do to his brother. For, as much as in him lay, he slew his brother, by forestalling the ears of the judge. Now, it is written, that *He that sheddeth man's blood, for that his own blood shall be shed.* And, *Thou shalt take away from thee that innocent blood which was shed without cause.* {Deut. 19: 19.} {Gen. 9: 6.} {Deut. 19: 13.}

XLIII.

How false accusers are to be punished.

Thou shalt, therefore, cast him out of the congregation as a murderer of his brother. Sometime afterwards, if he say that he repenteth, mortify him with fastings; and afterwards ye shall lay your hands upon him, and receive him; but still securing him, that he do not disturb any one a second time. But if, when he is admitted again, he be alike troublesome, and will not cease to disturb, and to quarrel with his brother, spying faults out of a contentious spirit, cast him out as a pernicious person, that he may not lay waste the church of God. For such a one is a raiser of disturbances in cities; for he, though he be within, doth not become the church, but is a superfluous and vain member, casting a blot, as far as in him lieth, on the body of Christ. For if such men as are born with superfluous members of their body, which hang to them, as fingers, or excrescences of flesh, cut them away from themselves on account of their unseemliness, and nothing that is unseemly cometh any more, the man recovering his natural good shape by means of the surgeon; how much more ought ye, the pastors of the church (for the church is a perfect body and sound members, such as believe God, in the fear of the Lord and in love), to do the like, when there is

found in it a superfluous member, with wicked designs, and rendering the rest of the body unseemly, and disturbing it with sedition, and war, and evil speaking; causing fears, disturbances, blots, calumnies, accusations, disorders, and doing the like works of the devil, as if he were ordained by the devil to cast reproach on the church by slanders, and much disorder, and strife, and division!

Such a one, therefore, when he is a second time cast out of the church, is justly cut off entirely from the congregation of the Lord. And now the church will be more beautiful than it was before, when it had a superfluous, and, to itself, a disagreeable member. Wherefore, henceforward it will be free from blame and reproach, and become clear of such wicked, deceitful, abusive, unmerciful, traitor- 2 Tim. 3: 3, 4. ous persons, of such as are *haters of those that are good, lovers of pleasure*, affecters of vain glory, deceivers, and pretenders to wisdom, such as make it their business to scatter, or rather utterly to disperse, the lambs of the Lord.

Do thou, therefore, O Bishop, together with thy subordinate clergy, endeavor rightly to divide the word of truth. For the Lord Lev. 26: 27. saith, *If ye walk cross-grained to me, I will walk cross-* Psalm 17: 26. *grained to you.* And elsewhere, *With the holy thou wilt be holy, and with the perfect man thou wilt be perfect, and with the froward thou wilt be froward.* Proceed, therefore, in a holy manner, that ye may rather appear worthy of praise from the Lord, than, on the contrary, of reproach.

XLIV.

That the Deacon is to ease the burden of the Bishops, and to order the smaller matters himself.

Being, therefore, unanimous among yourselves, O ye Bishops, be at peace with one another; be sympathetic, and be filled with brotherly love. Feed the people with care; teach, with one consent, those that are under you to be of the same sentiments, and to be of 1 Cor. 1: 10. the same opinions, about the same matters, *that there may be no schisms among you, that ye may be one body, and one spirit,* Eph. 4: 4. *perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment*, according to the appointment of the Lord.

And let the Deacon refer all things to the Bishop, as Christ doth to his Father. But let him order such things as he is able by himself, receiving power from the Bishop, as the Lord did from his Father the power of creation and providence. But the weighty matters let the Bishop judge. But let the Deacon be the Bishop's ear, and eye, and mouth, and heart, and soul, that the Bishop may not be distracted with many cares, but with such only as are more considerable; as Jethro appointed for Moses, and his counsel was received. {Exod. 18.

XLV.

That contentions and quarrels are unbecoming Christians.

It is indeed a beautiful encomium for a Christian to have no contest with any one. But if, by any management or temptation, a contest arise with any one, let him endeavor that it may be composed, though thereby he be obliged to lose somewhat; and let it not come before a heathen tribunal. Still further, ye are not to permit that the rulers of this world pass sentence against your people. For by them the devil contriveth mischief to the servants of God, and causeth a reproach to be cast upon us, as though we had not *one wise man that is able to judge between his brethren*, or to decide their controversies. {1 Cor. 6: 5.

XLVI.

That believers ought not to go to law before unbelievers; nor ought any unbeliever to be called for a witness against believers.

Let not the heathen, therefore, know of your differences with one another, nor receive ye unbelievers as witnesses against yourselves, nor be judged by them; nor owe them any thing on account of imposts or taxes; but, *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's*, as taxes or tribute, or what was levied on every Jew; as our Lord, by giving a piece of money, was freed from disturbance. Choose, therefore, rather to suffer harm, and to endeavor after those things that make for peace, {Matt. 22: 21.

not only among the brethren, but also among the unbelievers. For, by suffering loss in the affairs of this life, thou wilt be sure not to suffer in the concerns of piety, and wilt live religiously, and according to the command of Christ. But if brethren have lawsuits one with another, which God forbid, ye who are the rulers ought thence to learn that such as these perform the work, not of brethren in the Lord, but rather of public enemies; and one of the parties will be found to be mild, gentle, and the child of light; but the other, unmerciful, insolent, and covetous.

He, therefore, who is condemned, let him be punished, let him be separated, let him undergo the punishment of his hatred to his brother. Afterward, when he repenteth, let him be received; and so, when they have learned prudence, they will ease your judicatures. It is also a duty to forgive each other's trespasses; not the duty of those that judge, but of those that have quarrels; as the Matt. 18: 21. Lord determined when I, Peter, asked him, *How oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? Till seven times?* He replied, *I say not unto thee, until seven times, but until seventy times seven.* For so would our Lord have us to be truly his disciples, and never to have any thing against any one; as, for instance, anger without measure, passion without mercy, covetousness without justice, or hatred without reconciliation. By your instruction draw those who are angry to friendship, and those who are at variance to Matt. 5: 9. agreement. For the Lord saith, *Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the children of God.*

XLVII.

That the judicatures of Christians ought to be held on the second day of the week.

Let your judicatures be held on the second day of the week, that, if any controversy arise about your sentence, having an interval till the Sabbath, ye may be able to set the controversy right, and to bring the contending parties to peace, against the Lord's day.

Let also the deacons and presbyters be present at your judicatures, to judge without acceptance of persons, as men of God, with righteousness.

When, therefore, both the parties are come, according as the Law saith, they shall both stand in the middle of the court; and {Deut. 19: 17.} when ye have heard them, give your votes religiously, endeavoring to make them both friends before the sentence of the Bishop, that judgment against the offender may not go abroad into the world; knowing that he (the Bishop) hath in the court the Christ of God, observing and approving his judgment. But if any persons are accused by any one, and their fame suffereth, as if they did not walk uprightly in the Lord; in like manner, ye shall hear both parties, the accuser and the accused, but not with prejudice, nor with hearkening to one party only, but with righteousness, as passing a sentence concerning eternal life or death. For, saith God, *He shall prosecute that which is right justly.* {Deut. 16: 20.} For he that is justly punished and separated by you is rejected from eternal life and glory. He becometh dishonorable among holy men, and one condemned of God.

XLVIII.

That the same punishment is not to be inflicted for every offence, but different punishments for different offenders.

Do not pass the same sentence for every sin, but one suitable to each crime, distinguishing, with much prudence, all the several sorts of offences, the small and the great. Treat a wicked action after one manner, and a wicked word after another, and a base intention still otherwise. So also in the case of a contumely or a suspicion. And some thou shalt curb by threatenings alone; some thou shalt punish by fines to the poor; some thou shalt mortify with fastings; and others thou shalt separate, according to the greatness of their several crimes. For the Law did not allot the same punishment to every offence, but had a different regard to a sin against God, against the priest, against the temple, or against the sacrifice, from a sin against the king or ruler, or a soldier, or a fellow-subject; and so were the offences different which were against a servant, or a possession, or an irrational creature. And again, sins were differently rated, according as they were against parents and kinsmen, and those differently which were done on purpose, from those that happened involuntarily. Accordingly the punishments were different; as death,

either by crucifixion or by stoning; fines, scourgings, or the suffering of the same mischiefs which the criminal had done to others.

Wherefore do ye also allot different penalties to different offences, lest any injustice should happen, and provoke God to indignation. For of what unjust judgment soever ye are the instruments, of the same ye shall receive the reward from God. *For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged.* Matt. 7: 2.

XLIX.

What are to be the characters of accusers and witnesses.

When, therefore, ye are seated in your tribunal, and the parties are both of them present (for we will not call them brethren, until they receive each other in peace), examine diligently concerning those who appear before you; and first concerning the accuser, whether this be the first person he hath accused, or whether he hath advanced accusations against some others before; and whether this contest and accusation do not arise from some quarrel of the parties; and what is the general conduct of the accuser. Yet, though he be of a good conscience, do not give credit to him alone; for that is contrary to the Law. But let him have others to join in his testimony, and those of the same course of life. As the Law saith, *At the mouth of two or three witnesses every thing shall be established.* Deut. 19: 15.

But why did we say that the life of the witnesses was to be inquired after, of what sort it is? Because it frequently happeneth that two and more testify for mischief, and with joint consent prefer a lie; as did the two elders against Susanna, in Babylon, and the sons of transgressors against Naboth, in Samaria, and the multitude of the Jews against our Lord, at Jerusalem and against Stephen, his first martyr. Let the witnesses, therefore, be meek, free from anger, full of equity, kind, prudent, continent, free from wickedness, faithful, religious; for the testimony of such persons is firm on account of their character, and true on account of their deportment. But as to those of a different character, receive not their testimony, although they seem to agree together in their evidence against the accused. For it is ordained

Dan. 13. — 3 Kings, 21. — Matt. 26. — Acts, 6 & 7.

in the Law, *Thou shalt not be with a multitude for wickedness. Thou shalt not receive a vain report. Thou shalt not consent with a multitude to pervert judgment.* { Exod. 23: 1, 2.

Ye ought also particularly to know him that is accused, what he is in his course of life and in his deportment, whether he hath a good report as to his life, whether he hath been unblamable, whether he hath been zealous in holiness, whether he is a lover of the widows, a lover of the strangers, a lover of the poor, and a lover of the brethren; whether he is not given to filthy lucre; whether he is not an extravagant person, or a spendthrift; whether he is sober, and free from luxury, or a drunkard, or a glutton; whether he is compassionate and liberal.

L.

That former offences sometimes render subsequent ones credible.

For if he hath been before addicted to wicked works, the accusations which are now brought against him will thence, in some measure, appear to be true, unless justice do plainly plead for him. For it may be, that, though he had formerly been an offender, yet that he may not be guilty of this crime of which he is accused. Wherefore, be thoroughly cautious about such circumstances, and so render your sentences, when pronounced against an offender convicted, safe and firm. And if, after his separation, he beg pardon, and fall down before the Bishop, and acknowledge his fault, receive him. But suffer not a false accuser to go unpunished, lest he either calumniate another who liveth virtuously, or encourage some other person to do like himself. On the other hand, indeed, suffer not a person convicted to go off clear, lest another be ensnared in the same crimes. For neither shall a witness of mischiefs be unpunished, nor shall he that offendeth be without censure.

LI.

Against judging without hearing both sides.

We said before that judgment ought not to be given upon hearing only one of the parties. For if ye hear one of them when the other is not present, and so cannot make his defence to the accusation brought against him, and rashly give your notes for condemnation, ye will be found guilty of that man's destruction, and partakers with the false accuser before God, the just Judge. For, *As he that holdeth the tail of a dog, so is he that presideth at unjust judgment.* Prov. 26: 17.

But if ye become imitators of the elders in Babylon, who, when they had borne witness against Susanna, unjustly condemned her to death, ye will become obnoxious to their judgment and condemnation. For the Lord, by Daniel, delivered Susanna from the hand of the ungodly, but condemned to the fire those elders who were guilty of her blood; and he reproacheth you by him, saying, *Are ye so foolish, ye children of Israel? Without examination, and without knowing the truth, ye have condemned a daughter of Israel. Return again to the place of judgment; for these men have borne false witness against her.*

LII.

The caution observed at heathen tribunals before the condemnation of criminals, affordeth Christians a good example.

Consider even the judicatures of this world, by whose power we see murderers, adulterers, wizards, robbers of sepulchres, and thieves, brought to trial; for those that preside, when they have received their accusations from those that brought them, ask the malefactor whether those things are so. And though he acknowledge the crime, they do not presently send him out to punishment, but for several days they make inquiry concerning him, with a full council, and with the veil interposed. And he that is to pass the final decree and suffrage of death against him, lifteth up his hands to the sun, and solemnly affirmeth that he is innocent of the blood of the

man. Though they are heathens, and know not the Deity, nor the vengeance which will fall upon men from God, on account of those that are unjustly condemned, yet they avoid such unjust judgments.

LIII.

That Christians ought not to have contentions one with another.

But ye who know who our God is, and what are his judgments, how can ye bear to pass an unjust judgment, since your sentence will be immediately known to God? And if ye have judged righteously, ye will be deemed worthy of the recompenses of righteousness, both now and hereafter; but, if unrighteously, ye will partake of the like. We therefore advise you, brethren, rather to deserve commendation from God than rebukes; for the commendation of God is eternal life to men, as is his rebuke everlasting death.

Be ye, therefore, righteous judges, peace-makers, and without anger. For *He that is angry without a cause is obnoxious to the judgment.* { Matt. 5: 22. But if it happen, that by any one's contrivance ye are angry at any body, *Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.* { Eph. 4: 26. For, saith David, *Be angry, and sin not;* { Psalm 4: 4. that is, be soon reconciled, lest your wrath continue so long that it turn to a settled hatred, and work sin. *For the souls of those that bear a settled hatred are to death,* { Prov. 12: 28. saith Solomon. But our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ saith in the Gospels, *If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.* { Matt. 5: 23, 24. Now the gift is every one's eucharistical prayer and thanksgiving. If, therefore, thou hast any thing against thy brother, or he hath any thing against thee, neither will thy prayers be heard, nor will thy thanksgivings be accepted, by reason of that hidden anger. But it is your duty, brethren, to pray continually; yet, because God heareth not those who are at enmity with their brethren by unjust quarrels, even though they should pray three times an hour, it is our duty to compose all our enmity and bitterness of soul, that we may be able to pray with a pure and unpolluted

heart. For the Lord commanded us to love even our enemies, and
Lev. 19: 17. by no means to hate our friends. And the lawgiver saith, *Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy mind. Thou shalt certainly*
Deut. 23: 7. *reprove thy brother, and not incur sin on his account. Thou shalt not hate an Egyptian, for thou wast a sojourner with him. Thou shalt not hate an Idumæan, for he is thy brother.* And
Psalm 7: 5. David saith, *If I have repaid those that requited me evil.*

Wherefore, if thou wilt be a Christian, follow the Law of the
Isaiah, 58: 6. Lord: *Loose every band of wickedness.* For the Lord hath given thee authority to remit to thy brother those sins which he hath committed against thee, as far as *seventy times seven*, that is, four hundred and ninety times. How often, therefore, hast thou remitted to thy brother, that thou art unwilling to do it now? when
Zech. 8: 17. thou hast heard Jeremiah saying, *Do not any of you impute the wickedness of his neighbor in your hearts.* But thou remem-
Matt. 5: 22. berest injuries, and keepest enmity, and comest into judgment, and art suspicious of his anger, and thy prayer is hindered. Nay, if thou hast remitted to thy brother four hundred and ninety times, do thou still multiply thine acts of gentleness more to do good for thine own sake. Although he may not do so, yet do thou en-
Matt. 5: 45. deavor to forgive thy brother for God's sake, that thou mayest be the son of thy Father who is in heaven; and, when thou prayest, mayest be heard of God.

LIV.

That the Bishops must by their Deacon put the people in mind of the obligation they are under to live peaceably together.

Wherefore, O Bishops, when ye are to go to prayer, after the lessons, and the psalmody, and the instruction out of the Scriptures, let the Deacon stand nigh you, and with a loud voice say, *Let no one have any quarrel against another; let no one come in hypocrisy;* — that, if there be any controversy found among any of you, they may be affected in conscience, and may pray to God, and be reconciled to their brethren.

For if, upon coming into any one's house, we are to say, *Peace be to this house*, like sons of peace bestowing peace on those who are worthy, as it is written, *To them that are nigh, and to them that are far off, whom the Lord knoweth to be his;* much more is it incumbent on those that enter into the church of God before all things to pray for the peace of God. But if one pray for it upon others, much more let himself be within the same, as a child of light; for he that hath it not within himself is not fit to bestow it upon others. On which account, before all things, it is our duty to be at peace in our own minds; for he that doth not find any disorder in himself, will not quarrel with another, but will be peaceable, friendly, gathering the Lord's people, and a fellow-worker with him, in order to increase the number of those that shall be saved in unanimity. For those who contrive enmities, and strifes, and contests, and lawsuits, are wicked, and aliens from God.

LV.

An enumeration of several instances of Divine Providence, and how, in every age from the beginning, God hath invited all men to repentance.

For God, being a God of mercy from the beginning, called every generation to repentance, by righteous men and prophets. He instructed those before the flood by Abel, and Shem, and Seth; also by Enos, and by Enoch, that was translated; those at the flood, by Noah; the inhabitants of Sodom, by hospitable Lot; those after the flood, by Melchisedek, and the patriarchs, and Job, the beloved of God; the Egyptians, by Moses; the Israelites, by him, and Joshua, and Caleb, and Phineas, and the rest; those after the Law, by angels and prophets; and the same, by his own incarnation proceeding from the Holy Spirit and from the Virgin; those a little before his bodily appearance, by John, his forerunner; and the same, by the same person after Christ's birth, saying, *Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand;* those after his passion, by us the twelve apostles, and Paul, the chosen vessel. {Mark, 1: 15.

We, therefore, who have been accounted worthy of being the witnesses of his appearance, together with James, the brother of our Lord, and the seventy-two disciples, and his seven deacons, have

heard from the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by exact knowl-
Rom. 12: 2. edge declare *what is the will of God, that good, and acceptable, and perfect will*, which is made known to us by Jesus; that none should perish, but that all men, with one accord, should believe in him, and send up to him harmonious praise, and thus have everlasting life.

LVI.

That it is the will of God that men should be of one mind in matters of religion, like the heavenly powers.

For this is that which our Lord taught us, when we pray, to say
Matt. 6: 10. to his Father, *Thy will be done, as in heaven, so upon earth;* that as the heavenly natures of the incorporeal powers do all glorify God with one consent, so also upon earth, all men, with one mouth and one purpose, may glorify the only, the one and true God, by Christ, his only-begotten.

It is therefore his will that men should praise him with unanimity, and adore him with one consent. For this is his will in Christ, that those who are saved by him may be many; but that ye do not occasion any loss or diminution to him, nor to the church, nor lessen the number by one soul of man, as destroyed by you, which might have been saved by repentance; and which, therefore, perisheth not only by its own sin, but also by your treachery, whereby ye fulfil that
Matt. 12: 30. which is written, *He that gathereth not with me scattereth.* Such a one is a disperser of the sheep, an adversary, an enemy of God, a destroyer of those lambs whose shepherd was the Lord; and we were the collectors out of various nations and tongues, by much pains and danger, and perpetual labor, by watchings, by fastings, by lyings on the ground, by persecutions, by stripes, by imprisonments, that we might do the will of God, and fill the feast-chamber with guests to sit down at his table, that is, the holy catholic church, with joyful and chosen people, singing hymns and praises to God, who hath called them by us to life. And ye, as much as in you lieth, have dispersed them.

Moreover, do ye also of the laity be at peace with one another; endeavoring, like wise men, to increase the church, and to turn back, and tame, and restore those who seem wild. For this is the

greatest reward by his promise from God, *If thou fetch out the worthy and precious from the unworthy, thou shalt be as my mouth.* {Jer. 15: 19.

LVII.

An exact description of a church, and the clergy; and what things in particular every one is to do in the solemn assemblies of the clergy and laity for religious worship.

But be thou, O Bishop, holy, unblamable, no striker, not soon angry, not cruel; but one that buildeth up, a converter, apt to teach, firm in enduring evil, of a gentle mind, meek, long-suffering, ready to exhort, ready to comfort, as a man of God.

When thou callest an assembly of the church, as one that is the commander of a great ship, appoint the assemblies to be made with all possible skill; charging the Deacons, as mariners, to prepare places for the brethren, as for passengers, with all due care and decorum.

And first, indeed, let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its vestries on both sides at the east end; and so it will be like a ship. In the middle let the Bishop's throne be placed; and on each side of him let the Presbytery sit down; and let the Deacons stand near at hand, in close and small girt garments; for they are like the mariners and managers of the ship. Through the care of these, let the laity sit in the other part, with all quietness and good order; and let the women sit by themselves, keeping silence. In the middle let the Reader stand upon some high place. Let him read the books of Moses, of Joshua the son of Nun, of the Judges, and of the Kings, and of the Chronicles, and those written after the return from the captivity; and besides these, the books of Job and of Solomon, and of the sixteen prophets. But when there have been two lessons severally read, let some other person sing the hymns of David, and let the people join at the conclusions of the verses. Afterwards, let our Acts be read, and the Epistles of Paul, our fellow-worker, which he sent to the churches under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and afterwards let a Deacon or a Presbyter read the Gospels, both those which I, Matthew, and John have delivered to you, and those which Luke and Mark, the fellow-workers of Paul, received and left to you.

And while the Gospel is read, let all the presbyters and deacons, and all the people, stand up in great silence; for it is written, *Be* Deut. 27: 9. 5: 31. *silent and hear, O Israel.* And again, *But do thou stand there and hear.*

In the next place, let the Presbyters, one by one, not all together, exhort the people, and the Bishop in the last place, as being the commander.

Let the Porters stand at the entries of the men, and observe them. Let the Deaconesses also stand at those of the women, like Deut. 23: 1– ship-men. For the same description and pattern was both in the tabernacle of the testimony and in the temple of God. But if any one be found sitting out of his place, let him be rebuked by the Deacon, as a messenger of the fore-ship, and be removed into the place proper for him. For the church is not only like a ship, but also like a sheep-fold; for as the shepherds place all the irrational animals distinctly, I mean goats and sheep, according to their kind and age; and still every one runneth together, like to his like; so is it to be in the church. Let the young persons sit by themselves, if there be a place for them; if not, let them stand up. But let those who are already stricken in years sit in order. As to the children that stand, let their fathers and mothers take them to themselves. Let the younger women also sit by themselves, if there be a place for them; but, if there be not, let them stand behind the women. Let those women who are married, and have children, be placed by themselves. But let the virgins, and the widows, and the elder women, stand first of all, or sit; and let the Deacon be the disposer of the places, that every one of those that come in may go to his proper place, and may not sit at the entrance. In like manner let the Deacon oversee the people, that no one may whisper, nor slumber, nor laugh, nor nod. For in the church all ought to stand wisely, and soberly, and attentively, having their attention fixed upon the word of the Lord.

After this, let all rise up with one consent, and, looking towards the east, after the catechumens and the penitents are gone out, pray Psalm 67: 39. to God eastward, *who ascended up to the heaven of heavens to the east;* remembering also the ancient situation of paradise in the east, whence the first man, when he had yielded to the persuasion of the serpent, and disobeyed the command of God, was expelled.

As to the Deacons, after the prayer is over, let some of them attend upon the oblation of the Eucharist, ministering to the Lord's body. Let others of them watch the multitude, and keep them silent. But let that Deacon who is at the High Priest's hand, say to the people, *Let no one have any quarrel against another. Let no one come in hypocrisy.* Then let the men give the men, and the women give the women, the Lord's kiss. But let no one do it with deceit, as Judas betrayed the Lord with a kiss.

After this let the Deacon pray for the whole church, for the whole world, and the several parts of it, and the fruits of it; for the priests and the rulers, for the high priest and the king, and for universal peace. After this, let the High Priest pray for peace upon the people, and bless them in these words: *The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and give thee peace.* {Num. 6: 24.} Let the Bishop pray for the people, and say, *Save thy people, O Lord, and bless thine inheritance, which thou hast obtained with the precious blood of thy Christ, and hast called a royal priesthood and a holy nation.*

Then let the sacrifice follow, all the people standing, and praying silently; and, when the oblation hath been made, let every rank by itself partake of the Lord's body and precious blood, in order, and approach with reverence and holy fear, as to the body of their King. Let the women approach with their heads covered, as is becoming the order of women. Moreover, let the door be watched, lest there come in any unbeliever, or one not yet initiated.

LVIII.

Of commendatory letters in favor of strangers, lay persons, clergymen, and Bishops; and that those who come into the church assemblies are to be received without regard to their quality.

If any one, a brother or a sister, come in from another parish, bringing recommendatory letters, let the Deacon be the judge of that affair, inquiring whether they are of the faithful, and of the church; whether they are not defiled by heresy; and, besides, whether the sister is a married woman or a widow. And when he is satisfied in these questions, that they are really of the faithful,

and of the same sentiments in the things of the Lord, let him conduct every one to the place proper for him. And if a Presbyter come from another parish, let him be received to communion by the Presbyters; if a Deacon, by the Deacons; if a Bishop, let him sit with the Bishop, and be allowed the same honor with himself. And thou, O Bishop, shalt desire him to speak to the people words of instruction; for the exhortation and admonition of strangers is very acceptable, and exceedingly profitable. For, as the Scripture saith, Luke, 4: 24. John, 4: 44. *No prophet is accepted in his own country.* Thou shalt also permit him to offer the Eucharist. But if, out of reverence to thee, and as a wise man, to preserve the honor belonging to thee, he will not offer, at least thou shalt compel him to give the blessing to the people.

But if, after the congregation are seated, any other person come upon you, of good fashion and character in the world, whether he be a stranger, or one of your own country, neither do thou, O Bishop, if thou art speaking the word of God, or hearing him that singeth, or that readeth, accept persons so far as to leave the ministry of the word, that thou mayest appoint an upper place for him; but continue quiet, not interrupting thy discourse nor thine attention; but let the brethren receive him by the Deacons. And if there be not a place, let the Deacon, by speaking, but not in anger, cause some younger person to rise, and place the stranger there. And it is but reasonable that one who loveth the brethren should do so of his own accord: but, if he refuse, let him raise him up by force, and set him behind all; that the rest may be taught to give place to those who are more honorable. Nay, if a poor man, or one of a low family, or a stranger, come upon you, whether he be old or young, and there be no place, the Deacon shall find a place even for these, with all his heart; that, instead of accepting persons before men, his ministration may be well pleasing to God. The very same thing let the Deaconess do for those women that come, whether they be poor or rich.

LIX.

That every Christian ought to frequent the church diligently, both morning and evening.

When thou instructest the people, O Bishop, command and exhort them to come constantly to church, morning and evening, every day, and by no means to forsake it on any account, but to assemble together continually; nor to diminish the church by withdrawing themselves, and causing the body of Christ to be without its members. For it is spoken not only concerning the priests, but let every one of the laity hearken to it, as concerning himself; considering that it is said by the Lord, *He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad.* Do not ye, therefore, scatter yourselves abroad, who are the members of Christ, by not assembling together; since, according to his promise, ye have Christ, your Head, present, and communicating to you. Be not careless of yourselves, nor deprive your Saviour of his own members, nor divide his body, nor disperse his members, nor prefer the occasions of this life to the Word of God; but assemble yourselves together every day, morning and evening, singing psalms, and praying in the Lord's house, — in the morning saying the sixty-second psalm, and in the evening the hundred and fortieth; but principally on the Sabbath-day, and on the day of our Lord's resurrection, which is the Lord's day, meet more diligently, sending up praise to God that made the universe by Jesus, and sent him to us, and condescended to let him suffer, and raised him from the dead. Otherwise what apology to God will he make, who doth not assemble on that day to hear the saving word concerning the resurrection? On which day we pray thrice, standing, in memory of him who arose in three days; and on which are the reading of the prophets, the preaching of the gospel, the oblation of the sacrifice, and the gift of the holy food.

{ Matt. 12: 30.

LX.

The vain zeal which the Heathen and the Jews show, in frequenting their temples and synagogues, is a proper example and motive to excite Christians to frequent the church.

What, moreover, but an adversary to God can he be who taketh pains about temporary things night and day, but taketh no care of things eternal? Who taketh care of washings and temporary food every day, but doth not take care of interests that endure for ever? How can such a one, even now, avoid hearing that word of Ezek. 16: 52. the Lord, *The Gentiles are justified more than you?* as he saith by way of reproach to Jerusalem, *Sodom is justified rather than thou.* For if the Gentiles every day, when they arise from sleep, run to their idols to worship them, and first of all pray to them, before all their work and all their labors; and in their feasts and in their solemnities do not keep away, but attend upon them; and not only those at the place, but those living far distant, do the same; and in their public shows all come together, as into a synagogue; — in the same manner, those who are vainly called Jews, resting from work after every period of six days, come together into their synagogue on the seventh day, never leaving nor neglecting either rest from labor or assembling together; while yet they are deprived of the efficacy of the word in their unbelief; nay, and of the force of that name *Judah*, by which they call themselves; for *Judah* is interpreted *confession;* but these, having unjustly occasioned the suffering on the cross, do not confess to God, so as to be saved on their repentance; — if, therefore, those who are not saved frequently assemble together for such purposes as do not profit them, what apology to the Lord God wilt thou make, who forsakest his church, not imitating so much as the heathen, but by thine absence growest slothful, or turnest apostate, or committest Ezek. 5. 7. iniquity? To whom the Lord saith by Jeremiah, *Ye have* 16: 47. *not kept mine ordinances; nay, ye have not walked according to the ordinances of the heathen, and ye have in a manner* Jer. 3: 11. *exceeded them.* And again, *Israel hath justified his soul* 2: 11, 10. *more than treacherous Judah.* And afterwards, *Will the Gentiles change their gods, which are not gods? Wherefore*

pass over to the isles of Chittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and observe diligently whether such things have been done. For those nations have not changed their ordinances. But, saith he, *my people have changed its glory for that which will not profit.*

How, therefore, will any one make his apology, who hath despised or absented himself from the church of God?

LXI.

That we must not prefer the affairs of this life to those which concern the worship of God.

But if any one bring forward the pretence of his own work, and so is a despiser, offering pretences for his sins, let such a one know that the trades of the faithful are works by the by; but the worship of God is their great work. Follow, therefore, your trades, as by the by, for your maintenance, but make the worship of God your main business; as also our Lord said, *Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth unto everlasting life.* {John, 6: 27.} And, again, *This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.* {John, 6: 29.}

Endeavor, therefore, never to forsake the church of God. But, if any one neglect it, and go either into a polluted temple of the heathen, or into a synagogue of the Jews, or of the heretics, what apology will such a one make in the day of judgment, who hath forsaken the oracles of the living God, that are living and quickening, and able to deliver from eternal punishment, and hath gone into a house of demons, or into a synagogue of the murderers of Christ, or the congregation of the wicked? not hearkening to him that saith, *I have hated the congregation of the wicked, and I will not enter with the ungodly. I have not sat with the assembly of vanity, nor will I sit with the ungodly.* {Psalm 25: 5.} {Psalm 25: 4.} And again, *Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, and hath not sat in the seat of the scornful; but his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in his law will he meditate day and night.* {Psalm 1: 1.} But thou, forsaking the gathering together of the faithful, the church of God, and his laws, hast respect to those *dens of thieves*, calling those things holy which

he hath called profane, and making those things unclean which he hath sanctified. And not only so, but thou already runnest after the pomps of the Gentiles, and hastenest to their theatres, being desirous to be reckoned one of those that enter into them, and to partake of unseemly, not to say abominable words; not hearkening Jer. 15: 17. to Jeremiah, who saith, *O Lord, I have not sat in their assemblies, for they are scorners; but I was afraid, because of thy* Job 31: 5. *hand;* nor to Job, who speaketh in like manner, *If I have gone at any time with the scornful; for I shall be weighed in a just balance.* But why wilt thou be a partaker of the heathen oracles, which are nothing but dead men, declaring, by the inspiration of the devil, deadly things, and such as tend to subvert the faith, and to draw to polytheism those that attend to them?

Do ye, therefore, who attend to the laws of God, esteem those laws more honorable than the necessities of life, and pay a greater respect to them, and run together to *the church of the Lord.* Acts 20: 28. *which he hath purchased with the blood of Christ, the beloved,* Col. 1: 15. *the first-born of every creature.* For this church is the daughter of the Highest, which hath been in travail of you by the word of grace, and hath *formed Christ in you;* of whom ye are made partak- Eph. 5: 27. ers, and thereby become his holy and chosen members, *not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but as being holy and unspotted in the faith, ye are complete in him, after the image of God that created you.*

LXII.

That Christians must abstain from all the impious practices of the heathen.

Take heed, therefore, not to join yourselves in your worship with those that perish, which is the assembly of the Gentiles, to your decay and destruction. For there is no fellowship between God and the devil. For he that assembleth himself with those that savor the things of the devil, will be esteemed one of them, and will inherit a woe.

Avoid also unbecoming spectacles, I mean the theatres and the pomps of the heathen, their enchantments, observations of omens, soothsayings, purifications, divinations, observations of birds, their

necromancies, and invocations. For it is written, *There is no divination in Jacob, nor soothsaying in Israel.* And again, *Divination is iniquity.* And elsewhere, *Ye shall not be soothsayers, and follow observers of omens, nor diviners, nor dealers with familiar spirits. Ye shall not preserve alive wizards.* Wherefore Jeremiah exhorteth, saying, *Walk ye not according to the ways of the heathen, and be not afraid of the signs of heaven.* So that it is the duty of a believer to avoid the assemblies of the impious heathen and Jews, and of the rest of the heretics, lest, by uniting ourselves to them, we bring snares upon our own souls; that we may not, by joining in their feasts, which are celebrated in honor of demons, be partakers with them in their impiety. Ye are also to avoid their public meetings, and those sports which are celebrated in them. For a believer ought not to go to any of those public meetings, unless to purchase a slave, and save a soul; and at the same time to buy such other things as suit our necessities.

{ Num. 23: 23. } { 1 Kings, 15: 23. } { Lev. 19: 26. } { Deut. 18: 10. } { Jer. 10: 2.

Abstain, therefore, from all idolatrous pomp and display, the festival assembly, compotations, duels, and all shows belonging to demons.

LXIII.

That no Christian who will not work must eat; as Peter and the rest of the apostles were fishermen; Paul and Aquila, tent-makers; and Jude, the son of James, a husbandman.

Let the young persons of the church endeavor to minister diligently in all necessaries. Attend to your business with all becoming seriousness, that so ye may always have sufficient to support yourselves, and those that are needy, and not burden the church of God. For we ourselves, besides our attention to the word of the Gospel, do not neglect our inferior employments; for some of us are fishermen, some tent-makers, some husbandmen, that so we may never be idle. So saith Solomon somewhere, *Go to the ant, thou sluggard, and consider her ways diligently, and become wiser than she. For she, having neither field, overseer, nor ruler, prepareth her food in the summer, and layeth up a great store in the harvest. Or else go to the bee, and learn how laborious she is, and her work*

{ Prov. 6: 6–

how valuable it is, whose labors both kings and private men make use of for their health. She is desirable and glorious: though she be weak in strength, yet, by honoring wisdom, she is improved. How long wilt thou lie on thy bed, O sluggard? When wilt thou awake out of thy sleep? Thou sleepest a while, thou liest down a while, thou slumberest a while, thou foldest thy hands on thy breast to sleep a while. Then poverty cometh on thee like an evil traveller, and want as a swift racer. But if thou be diligent, thy harvest shall come as a fountain; and want, as a bad man, shall fly from thee. Prov. 12: 11. Eccl. 4: 5. And again, *He that manageth his own land shall be filled with bread.* And elsewhere he saith, *The slothful hath folded his hands together, and hath eaten his own flesh.* And Prov. 19: 24. Eccl. 10: 18. afterwards, *The sluggard hideth his hand; he will not be able to bring it to his mouth.* And again, *By slothfulness of the hands a floor will be brought low.*

Labor, therefore, continually; for the blot of the slothful is not to 2 Thess. 3: 10. be healed. *But if any one do not work, let him not eat* among you. For the Lord our God hateth the slothful, and no one of those who worship him ought to be idle.

BOOK III.

CONCERNING WIDOWS.

CHAPTER I.

That those who are chosen widows ought to be not under sixty years of age.

Choose your widows not under sixty years of age, that in some 1 Tim. 5: 9. measure the suspicion of a second marriage may be prevented by their age. But if ye admit one younger into the order of widows, and she cannot bear her widowhood in her youth, and marrieth, she will procure indecent reflections on the glory of the order of the widows, and shall give an account to God; not because

she married a second time, but because she hath *waxed wanton against Christ*, and not kept her promise. Wherefore, such a promise ought not to be rashly made, but with great caution. *For it is better for her not to vow, than to vow and not to pay.* {1 Tim. 5: 11. {Eccl. 5: 4.

But if any younger woman, who hath lived only a little while with her husband, and hath lost him by death, or some other occasion, remain by herself, having the gift of widowhood, she will be found to be blessed, and to be like the widow of Serepta, belonging to Sidon, with whom the holy prophet of God, Elijah, was entertained as a guest. Such a one may also be compared to *Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, who departed not from the temple, but continued in supplications and prayers, night and day; who was fourscore years old, and had lived with a husband seven years from her virginity;* who glorified the coming of Christ, and *gave thanks to the Lord, and spake concerning him to all those who looked for redemption in Israel.* Such a widow will have a good report, and will be honored, having both glory with men upon earth, and eternal praise with God in heaven. {Luke, 2: 36.

II.

That we must avoid the choice of younger widows, because of suspicion.

But let not the younger widows be placed in the order of widows, lest, under pretence of inability to be continent in the flower of their age, they accede to a second marriage, and become embarrassed. But let them be assisted and supported, that so they may not, under pretence of being deserted, come to a second marriage, and so be ensnared in an unseemly embarrassment. For ye ought to know this, that once marrying according to the law, is righteous, as being according to the will of God; but second marriages, after the promise, are wicked; not on account of the marriage itself, but because of the falsehood. Third marriages are indications of incontinency. But such marriages as are beyond the third, are manifest fornication and unquestionable uncleanness. For God, in the creation, gave one woman to one man; for *they two shall be one flesh.* {Gen. 2: 24.

But to the younger women let a second marriage be allowed, after the death of their first husband, lest they fall into the condemnation of the devil, and many snares, and foolish lusts, which are hurtful to souls, and which bring upon them punishment rather than rest.

III.

Of what character the widows ought to be, and how they ought to be supported by the Bishop.

But the true widows are those who have had only one husband, having a good report among the generality for good works; *widows indeed*, sober, chaste, faithful, pious, who have brought up their children well, and have *entertained strangers* unblamably; who are to be supported, as devoted to God.

Besides, do thou, O Bishop, be mindful of the needy, both reaching out thy helping hand, and making provision for them, as the steward of God, distributing seasonably the oblations to every one of them, to the widows, the orphans, the friendless, and those who are tried with affliction.

IV.

That we ought to be charitable to all sorts of persons in want.

For what if some are neither widows nor widowers, but stand in need of assistance, either through poverty, or some disease, or the maintenance of a great number of children? It is thy duty to oversee all people, and to take care of them all. For they that bestow gifts do not immediately, and without the use of discretion, give them to the widows, but barely bring them in, calling them *free-will offerings*, that so thou, who knowest those that are in affliction, mayest, as a good steward, give them their portion of the gift. For God knoweth the giver, though thou distributest it to those in want, when he is absent. And he hath the reward of well-doing, but thou the blessedness of a just distribution of it. But do thou tell them who was the giver, that they may pray for him by name. For it is our duty to do good to all men, not fondly preferring one

or another, whoever they may be. For the Lord saith, *Give to every one that asketh thee.* {Luke 6: 30.} It is evident that it is meant of every one that is really in want, whether he be friend or foe, whether he be a kinsman or a stranger, whether he be single or married.

For in all the Scripture the Lord giveth us exhortations in respect to the needy, saying, first by Isaiah, *Deal thy bread to the hungry, and bring the poor who have no covering into thy house. If thou seest the naked, do thou cover him; and thou shalt not overlook those who are of thine own family and seed.* {Isaiah 58: 7.} And then by Daniel he saith to the potentate, *Wherefore, O king, let my counsel please thee, and purge thy sins by acts of mercy, and thine iniquities by bowels of compassion to the needy.* {Dan. 4: 24.} And he saith by Solomon, *By acts of mercy and of faith, iniquities are purged.* {Prov. 15: 27.} And he saith again by David, *Blessed is he that hath regard to the poor and needy; the Lord shall deliver him in the evil day.* {Psalm 40: 2.} And again, *He hath dispersed abroad; he hath given to the needy; his righteousness remaineth for ever.* {Psalm 111: 9.} And Solomon saith, *He that hath mercy on the poor lendeth to the Lord; according to his gift it shall be paid him again.* {Prov. 19: 17.} And afterwards, *He that stoppeth his ear, that he may not hear him that is in want, he also himself shall call, and there shall be none to hear him.* {Prov. 21: 13.}

V.

That the widows are to be very careful of their deportment.

Let every widow be meek, quiet, gentle, sincere, free from anger; not talkative, not clamorous, not hasty of speech, not given to evil-speaking, not captious, not double-tongued, not a busy-body. If she see or hear any thing that is not right, let her be as one that doth not see, and as one that doth not hear; and let the widow mind nothing but to pray for those that give, and for the whole church; and when she is asked any thing by any one, let her not easily answer, except questions concerning faith, and righteousness, and hope in God; remitting to the rulers those that desire to be instructed in the doctrines of godliness. Let her answer only so as may tend to subvert the error of polytheism, and demonstrate the doctrine concerning the monarchy of God. But of the remaining

doctrines, let her not answer any thing rashly, lest, by saying any thing unlearnedly, she should cause the Word to be blasphemed.

For the Lord hath taught us, that the Word is like *a grain of* Matt. 13: 31. *mustard seed*, which is of a fiery nature; and, if any one useth it unskilfully, he will find it bitter. For in the mystical points we ought not to be rash, but cautious. For the Lord exhorteth us, say- Matt. 7: 6. ing, *Cast not your pearls before swine, lest they trample them with their feet, and turn again and rend you.* For unbelievers, when they hear the doctrine concerning Christ not explained as it ought to be, but defectively, and especially that concerning his incarnation or his passion, will rather reject it with scorn, and laugh at it as false, than praise God for it. And so the aged women will be guilty of rashness, and of causing blasphemy, and will inherit a Isaiah, 52: 5. woe. For, saith he, *Woe to him by whom my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles.*

VI.

That women ought not to teach, because it is unseemly; and what women followed our Lord.

1 Cor. 14: 34. We do not permit our *women to teach in the church*, but only to pray, and to hear those that teach. For our Master and Lord, Jesus Christ himself, when he sent us, the twelve, to make disciples of the people and of the nations, did nowhere send out women to preach, although he did not want such; for there were with us the mother of our Lord, and his sisters; also Mary Magdalen; and Mary, the mother of James; and Martha and Mary, the sisters of Lazarus; Salome, and certain others. For, had it been necessary for women to teach, he himself would have first commanded these also to instruct 1 Cor. 11: 3. the people with us. For, if *the head of the wife be the man*, it is not reasonable that the rest of the body should govern the head.

Let the widow, therefore, own herself to be the *altar of God*, and let her sit in her house, and not enter into the houses of the faithful, under any pretence, to receive any thing; for the altar of God never runneth about, but is fixed in one place. Let, therefore, the virgin and the widow be such as do not run about, or gad to the houses of those who are alien from the faith. For such as these are

gadders and impudent; they do not make their feet to rest in one place, because they are not widows, but purses ready to receive, triflers, evil speakers, counsellors of strife, without shame, impudent; who, being such, are not worthy of him that called them. For they do not come to the common resting place of the congregation on the Lord's day, as those that are watchful. But they either slumber, or trifle, or allure men, or beg, or ensnare others, bringing them to the evil one; not suffering them to be watchful in the Lord; but taking care that they go out as vain as they came in, because they do not hear the Word of the Lord either taught or read. For of such as these the prophet Isaiah saith, *Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive; for the heart of this people is waxen gross.* {Isaiah, 6: 9.

VII.

What are the characters of widows, falsely so called.

In the same manner, therefore, the ears of the hearts of such widows as these are stopped, so that they will not sit within in their cottages to speak to the Lord, but will run about with the design of getting, and, by their foolish prattling, fulfil the desires of the adversary. Such widows, therefore, are not affixed to the altar of Christ.

For there are some widows who esteem gain their business; and, since they ask without shame, and receive without being satisfied, they render the generality more backward in giving. For when they ought to be content with their subsistence from the church, as having moderate desires; on the contrary, they run from the house of one of their neighbors to that of another, and disturb them, heaping up to themselves plenty of money, and lend at bitter usury; and are solicitous only about Mammon, whose bag is their god; who prefer eating and drinking before all virtue, saying, *Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die;* who esteem these things as if they were durable, and not transitory. For she that useth herself to nothing but talking of money, worshippeth Mammon instead of God; that is, she is a servant to gain, but cannot be pleasing to God, nor resigned to his worship; not being able to in- {Isaiah, 22: 13. {1 Cor. 15: 32.

tercede with him, because her mind and disposition run after money; Matt. 6: 21. for *where the treasure is, there will the heart be also.* For she is thinking in her mind whither she may go to receive, or that a certain woman, her friend, hath forgotten her, and she hath somewhat to say to her. She that thinketh of such things as these will no longer attend to her prayers, but to that thought which offereth itself; so that, although sometimes she may wish to pray for some one, she will not be heard, because she doth not offer her petition to the Lord with the whole heart.

But she that will attend to God will sit within, and mind the things of the Lord, day and night, offering her sincere petition with a mouth ready to utter the same without ceasing. As, therefore, Judith, most famous for her wisdom, and of a good report for her Judith, 9 and 12. modesty, *prayed to God night and day for Israel;* so also the widow who is like her, will offer her intercession, without ceasing, for the church of God; and he will hear her, because her mind is fixed on this thing alone, and is disposed to be neither insatiable nor expensive; when her eye is pure, and her hearing clean, and her hands undefiled, and her feet quiet, and her mouth prepared for neither gluttony nor trifling, but speaking the things that are fit, and partaking of only such things as are necessary for her maintenance. So being grave, and giving no disturbance, she will be pleasing to God; and, as soon as she asketh any thing, the gift will anti- Isaiah, 58: 9. cipate her; as he saith, *While thou art speaking, I will say, Behold I am here.* Let such a one also be free from the love of money, free from arrogance, not given to filthy lucre, not insatiable nor gluttonous; but continent, meek, giving nobody disturbance, pious, modest, sitting at home, singing, and praying, and reading, and watching, and fasting; speaking to God continually in songs and hymns. And let her take wool, and assist others, rather than herself be in need of any thing; being mindful of that widow who is honored with the Lord's testimony, who, coming into the temple, *cast into the treasury two mites, which make a farthing.* And Christ our Lord and Master, and Searcher of hearts, saw her, and Matt. 12: 43. Luke, 21: 3. said, *Verily I say unto you, that this widow hath cast into the treasury more than they all. For all they have cast in of their abundance; but this woman of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had.*

The widows, therefore, ought to be grave, obedient to their Bish-

ops, and their Presbyters, and their Deacons, and besides these to the Deaconesses, with piety, reverence, and fear; not usurping authority, nor desiring to do any thing beyond the constitution, without the consent of the Deacon; as suppose the going to any one to eat or drink with him, or to receive any thing from any body; but, if without direction she do any one of these things, let her be punished with fasting, or else let her be separated on account of her rashness.

VIII.

That a widow ought not to accept of alms from the unworthy; nor ought a Bishop, nor any other of the faithful.

For how doth such a one know of what character the person is from whom she receiveth; or from what sort of ministration he supplieth her with food, — whether it doth not arise from rapine, or some other ill course of life? while the widow is unmindful, that, if she receive in a way unworthy of God, she must give an account for every one of these things. For neither will the priests at any time receive a free-will offering from such a one, as suppose from a rapacious person, or from a harlot. For it is written, *Thou shalt not covet* those things that are *thy neighbor's;* and, *Thou shalt not offer the hire of a harlot to the Lord God.* From such as these no offerings ought to be accepted, nor indeed from those that are separated from the church. {Exod. 20: 17. Lev. 23: 18.}

Let the widows also be ready to obey the commands given them by their superiors, and let them do according to the appointment of the Bishop, being obedient to him as to God. For he that receiveth from one so deserving of blame, or from one excommunicated, and prayeth for him while he purposeth to go on in a wicked course, and while he is not willing at any time to repent, holdeth communion with him in prayer, and grieveth Christ, who rejecteth the unrighteous; and he confirmeth them by means of the unworthy gift, and is defiled with them, not suffering them to come to repentance, so as to fall down before God with lamentation, and pray to him.

IX.

That women ought not to baptize; because it is impious, and contrary to the doctrine of Christ.

Now as to women's baptizing, we let you know, that there is no small peril to those that undertake it. Therefore we do not advise you to do it; for it is dangerous, or, rather, wicked and impious. 1 Cor. 11: 3. For if the *man* be *the head of the woman*, and he be originally ordained for the priesthood, it is not just to abrogate the order of the creation, and, leaving the ruler, to come to the subordinate body. For the woman is the body of the man, taken from his side, and subject to him, from whom also she was separated for Gen. 3: 16. the procreation of children. For the Scripture saith, *He shall rule over thee.* For the man is ruler of the woman, as being her head. But if in the foregoing *Constitutions* we have not permitted them to teach, how will any one allow them, contrary to nature, to perform the office of a priest? For this is one of the ignorant practices of the Gentile atheism, to ordain women priests to the female deities; not one of the constitutions of Christ.

But, if baptism were to be administered by women, certainly our Lord would have been baptized by his own mother, and not by John; or, when he sent us to baptize, he would have sent along with us women also for this purpose. But now he hath nowhere, either by constitution or by writing, delivered to us any such thing; as knowing the order of nature and the decency of the action; as being the Creator of nature, and the Legislator of the constitution.

X.

That a Layman ought not to perform a priestly work, — baptism, or sacrifice, or laying on of hands, or blessing.

Nor do we permit the laity to perform any of the offices belonging to the priesthood; as, for instance, neither the sacrifice, nor baptism, nor the laying on of hands, nor the blessing, whether the Heb. 5: 4. smaller or the greater. For *no one taketh this honor to*

himself, but he that is called of God. For such sacred offices are conferred by the laying on of the hands of the Bishop. But a person to whom such an office is not committed, but who seizeth upon it for himself, shall undergo the punishment of Uzziah. {2 Chron. 26.

XI.

That none but a Bishop or a Presbyter, none even of the inferior ranks of the clergy, are permitted to do the offices of the Priests; that ordination belongeth wholly to the Bishop, and to no other person.

Nay farther, we do not permit to the rest of the clergy to baptize; as, for instance, either to Readers, or Singers, or Porters, or Ministers, but only to the Bishops and Presbyters; yet so that the Deacons are to minister to them therein. But those who venture upon it shall undergo the punishment of the companions of {Num. 16. Corah. We do not permit Presbyters, but only Bishops, to ordain Deacons, or Deaconesses, or Readers, or Servants, or Singers, or Porters. For this is the ecclesiastical order and harmony.

XII.

The rejection of all uncharitable actions.

Now concerning envy, or passion, or evil speaking, or strife, or the love of contention, we have already said to you, that these are alien from a Christian, and chiefly in the case of widows. But because the devil, who worketh in men, is in his conduct cunning, and full of various devices, he goeth to those that are not truly widows, as formerly to Cain; for some say they are widows, but do not perform the injunctions agreeable to the widowhood; as neither did Cain discharge the duties due to a brother. For they do not consider that it is not the name of widowhood that will bring them to the kingdom of God, but true faith and holy works.

But if any one possesseth the name of widowhood, but performeth the works of the adversary, her widowhood will not be imputed;

but she will be thrust out of the kingdom, and delivered to eternal punishment. For we hear that some widows are jealous, envious, calumniators, cavilling at the comforts of others. Such widows as these are not the disciples of Christ, nor of his doctrine. For it becometh them, when one of their fellow-widows is clothed by any one, or receiveth money, or food, or drink, or shoes, at the sight of the refreshment of their sister, to say,—

XIII.

How the widows are to pray for those who supply their necessities.

Thou art blessed, O God, who hast refreshed my fellow-widow. Bless, O Lord, and glorify him who hath bestowed these things upon her; and let his good work ascend in truth to thee; and remember him for good in the day of his visitation. And as for my Bishop, who hath so well performed his duty to thee, and hath ordered such a reasonable alms to be bestowed on my fellow-widow, in need of clothing, do thou increase his glory, and give him a crown of rejoicing in the day when thy visitation shall be revealed.

In the same manner, let the widow who hath received the favor join with the other in praying for him who bestowed it.

XIV.

That she who hath been kind to the poor ought not to boast, and tell abroad her name, according to the constitution of the Lord.

But if any woman hath done a kindness, let her, as a prudent person, conceal her own name, not sounding a trumpet before her, that her alms may be with God in secret, as the Lord saith, Matt. 6: 2. *When thou doest thine alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine alms may be in secret.* And let the widow pray for him that gave her the alms, whosoever he be, as she is the holy altar of Christ; and the Father, who seeth in secret, will reward openly him that did good.

But those widows who will not live according to the command of

God, are solicitous and inquisitive what Deaconess it is that hath administered the charity, and what widows have received it. And when such a one hath learned those things, she murmureth at the Deaconess who distributed the charity, saying, Dost not thou see that I am in more distress and in greater want of thy charity? Why, therefore, hast thou preferred her before me? She saith these things foolishly, not understanding that this doth not depend on the will of man, but on the appointment of God. For if she is herself a witness that she was nearer, and proved herself in greater want and more in need of clothing, than the other, she ought to understand who it is that made this constitution, and to hold her peace, and not to murmur at the Deaconess who distributed the charity, but to enter into her own house, and to cast herself prostrate on her face, to make supplication to God that her sin may be forgiven her. For God commanded her who did the kindness not to proclaim it; and this widow murmured, because proclamation was not made, so that she might know, and run to receive; nay, did not only murmur, but also cursed her, forgetting him that said, *He that blesseth thee is blessed, and he that curseth thee is cursed.* {Gen. 27: 27.} But the Lord saith, *When ye enter into a house, say, Peace be to this house; and if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it. But if it be not worthy, your peace shall return to you.* {Luke, 10: 5.} {Matt. 10: 13.}

XV.

That it doth not become us to revile our neighbors, because cursing is contrary to Christianity.

If, therefore, peace returneth upon those that sent it, nay, upon those that before had actually given it, because it did not find persons fit to receive it, much rather will a curse return upon the head of him that unjustly sent it, because he to whom it was sent was not worthy to receive it. For all those who abuse others without cause, curse themselves; as Solomon saith, *As birds and sparrows fly away, so the curse causeless shall not come upon any one.* {Prov. 26: 2.} And again he saith, *Those that bring reproaches are exceeding foolish.* {Prov. 10: 18.} But as the bee, a creature as to its strength feeble, if she stingeth any one, loseth her sting, and

becometh a drone; in the same manner, ye also, whatsoever injustice
Psalm 7: 16. ye do to others, will bring it upon yourselves. *He hath excavated and digged a pit; and he shall fall into the ditch that he*
Prov. 26: 27. *hath made.* And again, *He that diggeth a pit for his neighbor shall fall into it.* Let him, therefore, who would avoid a
Tob. 4: 16. curse, not curse another. For *what thou hatest should be done to thee, do not thou to another.*

Wherefore admonish the widows that are feeble-minded, strengthen those of them that are weak, and praise such of them as walk in holiness. Let them rather bless, and not calumniate. Let them make peace, and not stir up contention. Nor let a Bishop, nor a Presbyter, nor a Deacon, nor any one else of the sacerdotal catalogue, defile his tongue with calumny, lest he inherit a curse instead of a blessing. And let it also be the Bishop's business and care, that no lay person utter a curse. For he ought to take care of the Clergy, of the Virgins, of the Widows, of the Laity.

For which reason, O Bishop, do thou ordain thy fellow-workers, the laborers for life and for righteousness, — such Deacons as are pleasing to God, such as thou provest to be worthy among all the people, and such as shall be ready for the necessities of their ministration. Ordain also a Deaconess, who is faithful and holy, for the ministrations to the women. For sometimes thou canst not send a Deacon, who is a man, to the women in certain houses, on account of the unbelievers. Thou shalt therefore send a woman, a Deaconess, on account of the imaginations of the bad.

And we stand in need of a woman, a Deaconess, for many occasions; and first in the baptism of women, the Deacon shall anoint their forehead with the holy oil, and after him the Deaconess shall anoint them. For there is no necessity that the women should be seen by the men; but only, in the laying on of hands, the Bishop shall anoint her head, as the priests and kings were formerly anointed, not because those who are now baptized are ordained priests, but as being Christians, or anointed, from Christ the
1 Pet. 2: 9. Anointed; *a royal priesthood and a holy nation; the*
1 Tim. 3: 15. *church of God, the pillar and ground of the present light;* who formerly were not a people, but now are beloved and chosen; upon whom is called his new name, as Isaiah the prophet testifieth,
Isaiah, 62: 2. *And they shall call the people by his new name, which the Lord shall name for them.*

XVI.

Concerning the divine Initiation of holy Baptism.

Thou, therefore, O Bishop, according to that type, shalt anoint the head of those that are to be baptized, whether they be men or women, with the holy oil, for a type of the spiritual baptism. Then, either thou, O Bishop, or a Presbyter that is under thee, shall pronounce over them the sacred name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and shall dip them in the water; and let a Deacon receive the man, and a Deaconess the woman, that so the conferring of this inviolable seal may be done with a becoming decency. And, after this, let the Bishop anoint those that are baptized with ointment.

XVII.

What is the meaning of Baptism into Christ; and on what account every thing therein is said and done.

This baptism, therefore, is given into the death of Jesus. The water is instead of the burial; and the oil, instead of the Holy Ghost; the seal, instead of the cross; the ointment, the confirmation of the confession; the mention of the Father, as of the author and sender; the joint mention of the Holy Ghost, as of the witness; the descent into the water, the dying together with Christ; the ascent out of the water, the rising again with him. The Father is the God over all; Christ is the only-begotten God, the beloved Son, the Lord of glory; the Holy Ghost is the Comforter, who is sent by Christ, and is taught by him, and proclaimeth him.

XVIII.

Of what character he ought to be who is Initiated.

And let him who is to be baptized be free from all iniquity, one that is not disposed to sin; the friend of God, the enemy of the

devil; the heir of God the Father, the fellow-heir of his Son; one that hath renounced Satan, and the demons, and Satan's deceits; chaste, pure, holy, beloved of God, a son of God, praying as a son to his Father, and saying, as from the common congregation of the faithful, thus: *Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever. Amen.*

XIX.

Of what character a Deacon ought to be.

Let the Deacons be in all things unspotted, as the Bishop himself is to be, only more active; in number according to the largeness of the church, that they may minister to the infirm, as workmen that are not ashamed; and let the woman appointed be diligent in taking care of the women. Moreover, let both the Deacons and the Deaconesses be ready to carry messages, to travel about, to minister and serve; as spake Isaiah concerning the Lord, saying, *To* Isaiah 53: 11. *justify the righteous, who serveth many faithfully.*

Let all, therefore, know their proper place, and perform their duty diligently with one consent, with one mind, as knowing the reward of their ministration. But let them not be ashamed to minister to those that are in want; as even our Lord Jesus Christ Matt. 20: 28. *came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.* So therefore ought they also to do, and not to hesitate, if it should be needful to lay down their life for a brother. For our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ did not hesitate John, 10: 15. 15: 13. to *lay down his life*, as himself saith, *for his friends.* If, therefore, the Lord of heaven and earth underwent all his sufferings for us, how then do ye make a difficulty to minister to such as are in want; — ye who ought to imitate him that underwent for us servitude, and want, and stripes, and the cross? It is therefore a duty that we, too, serve the brethren, in imitation of Matt. 20: 26. Christ. For he saith, *He that will be great among you, let him be your minister; and he that will be first among you, let him*

be your servant. For so did he really, and not in word only, fulfil the prediction of *serving many faithfully.* For when he had taken a towel, he girded himself. After that, he poureth water into a basin; and, as we were sitting at meat, he came and washed the feet of us all, and wiped them with the towel. By doing this he indicated to us the affectionateness of brotherly love, that we also might do the same to one another. {Isaiah 53: 11. {John 13: 45.

If, therefore, our Lord and Master so humbled himself, how can ye, the laborers of the truth and administrators of piety, be ashamed to do the same to such of the brethren as are weak and infirm? Minister, therefore, affectionately, not murmuring nor mutinying; for ye do not do it on account of man, but on account of God; and ye shall receive from him the reward of your ministry in the day of your visitation. Ye, therefore, who are Deacons, ought to visit all those who stand in need of being visited. And tell your Bishop of all those that are in affliction. For ye ought to be his soul and sensation; being active and attentive in all things to him, as to your Bishop, and father, and master.

XX.

That a Bishop ought to be ordained by three or by two Bishops, but not by one; for that would be invalid.

We command that a Bishop be ordained by three Bishops, or at least by two: but it is not lawful that he be set over you by one; for the testimony of two or three witnesses is more firm and secure.

But a Presbyter, and a Deacon, and the rest of the clergy, are to be ordained by one Bishop. Nor must either a Presbyter or a Deacon ordain from the laity into the clergy. But the Presbyter is only to teach, to offer, to baptize, and to bless the people; and the Deacon is to minister to the Bishop and to the Presbyters, that is, to do the office of a ministering Deacon, and not to meddle with the other offices.

BOOK IV.

CONCERNING ORPHANS.

CHAPTER I.

That it is highly commendable to receive orphans kindly, and adopt them.

When any Christian is left an orphan, whether a boy or a girl, it is good that some one of the brethren, who is without a child, should take the lad, and esteem him in the place of a son; and that he who hath a son of an age corresponding with that of the maid, should connect her with him, when she is marriageable. For they who do so, perform a great work, and become fathers to the orphans, and shall receive the reward of this charity from the Lord God.

But if any one that walketh in the way of man-pleasing, being rich, is ashamed of the orphan members, the Father of orphans and Judge of widows will make provision for the orphan; but himself shall have such an heir as will spend what was laid up by his parsimony. And it shall happen to him according as it is said, *What things the holy people have not eaten, those shall the Assyrians eat.* Isaiah, 1: 7. As also Isaiah saith, *Your land—strangers devour it in your presence.*

II.

How the Bishop ought to provide for the orphans.

Do ye, therefore, O Bishops, be solicitous about their maintenance, being in nothing wanting to them; exhibiting to the orphans the care of parents, and to widows the care of husbands; to those of suitable age, marriage; to the artificer, work; to the unable, commiseration; to the strangers, a house; to the hungry, food; to the thirsty, drink; to the naked, clothing; to the sick, visitation; to the prisoners, assistance. Besides these, have a greater care of

the orphans, that nothing may be wanting to them; to the maid, indeed, till she arrive at the age of marriage, and ye give her in marriage to a brother; and assist ye the lad, that he may learn a trade, and may be maintained by the advantage arising from it, that, when he is dexterous in its management, he may thereby be enabled to buy himself the tools of his trade, so that he may no longer burden any of the brethren, or their sincere love to him, but may support himself. For, certainly, he is a happy man who is able to support himself, and doth not take up the place of the orphan, the stranger, and the widow; —

III.

Who ought to be supported, according to the Lord's Constitution.

Since even the Lord said, that *the giver is happier than the receiver.* {Acts 20: 35.} For it is again said by him, *Woe to those that have, and receive in hypocrisy, or who are able to support themselves, yet will receive of others; for both of them shall give an account to the Lord God in the day of judgment.* But an orphan, who, by reason of his youth, or he who by the feebleness of old age, or the incidence of a disease, or the bringing up of many children, receiveth alms, such a one shall not only not be blamed, but shall be commended. For he shall be esteemed an altar to God, and be honored by God, since he is zealously and constantly praying for those that give to him; not receiving idly, but to the utmost of his power recompensing by his prayer what is bestowed upon him. Such a one, therefore, shall be blessed by God in eternal life. But he that hath, and receiveth in hypocrisy or through idleness, instead of working, and assisting others, shall be obnoxious to punishment before God, because he hath snatched away the morsel of the needy.

IV.

Concerning the love of money.

For he that hath money, and doth not bestow it upon others, nor use it himself, is like the serpent, which, they say, sleepeth over

the treasures; and of him is that Scripture true which saith, *He hath gathered riches of which he shall not taste;* and they will be of no use to him when he perisheth justly. For it saith, *Riches will not profit in the day of wrath.* For such a one hath not believed in God, but in his own gold; esteeming that his god, and trusting therein. Such a one is a dissembler of the truth, an accepter of persons, unfaithful, cheating, fearful, unmanly, light, of no value, a complainer, ever in pain, his own enemy, and nobody's friend. Such a person's money shall perish, and a man that is a stranger shall consume it, either by theft, while he is alive, or by inheritance, when he is dead. *For riches unjustly gotten shall be vomited up.*

Job 20: 18. Prov. 11: 4. Job 20: 15.

V.

With what fear men ought to partake of the Lord's oblations.

We exhort, therefore, the widows and orphans to partake of those things that are bestowed upon them, with all fear and all pious reverence, and to return thanks to God, who giveth food to the needy, and lift up their eyes to him. For the Scripture saith, *Which of you shall eat, or who shall drink without him? For he openeth his hand, and filleth every living thing with his kindness; giving wheat to the young men, and wine to the maidens, and oil for the joy of the living, grass for the cattle, and green herb for the service of men, flesh for the wild beasts, seeds for the birds, and suitable food for all creatures.* Wherefore the Lord saith, *Consider the fowls of heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns, and your Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? Be not therefore solicitous, saying, What shall we eat? or what shall we drink? For your Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.*

Eccl. 2: 25. Psalm 144: 16. Zach. 9: 17. Psalm 103: 14, 15. Matt. 6: 26.

Since ye therefore enjoy such a providential care from him, and are partakers of the good things that are derived from him, ye ought to return praise to Him that receiveth the orphan and the widow, — to Almighty God, through his beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord; through whom glory be to God in spirit and truth, for ever. Amen.

VI.

Whose oblations are to be received, and whose are not to be received.

Now it behooveth the Bishop to know whose oblations he ought to receive, and whose he ought not. For he is to avoid corrupt dealers, and not receive their gifts. *For a corrupt dealer shall not be justified from sin.* {Ecclus. 26: 29.} For of them it was that Isaiah reproached Israel, and said, *Thy corrupt dealers mingle wine with water.* {Isaiah, 1: 22.} He is also to avoid fornicators; for, *Thou shalt not offer the hire of a harlot to the Lord.* He is also to avoid extortioners, and those that covet other men's goods, and adulterers; for the sacrifices of such as these are abominable with God: also those that oppress the widow, and overbear the orphan, and fill prisons with the innocent, and abuse their own servants wickedly, I mean with stripes, and hunger, and hard service; nay, destroy whole cities. Do thou, O Bishop, avoid such as these, and their odious oblations. Thou shalt also refuse rogues, and such advocates as plead on the side of injustice, and idol-makers, and thieves, and unjust publicans, and those that deceive by false balances and deceitful measures, and a soldier that is a false accuser, and not content with his wages, but doeth violence to the needy; a murderer, an executioner, and an unjust judge, a subverter of causes, him that lieth in wait for men, a worker of abominable wickedness, a drunkard, a blasphemer, a Sodomite, an usurer, and every one that is vicious and opposeth the will of God. For the Scripture saith that with God all such as these are abominable. Those that receive from such persons, and thereby support the widows and the orphans, shall be obnoxious to the tribunal of God; as Adonias the prophet, in the book of Kings, when he disobeyed God, and both ate bread and drank water in the place which the Lord had forbidden him, because of the wickedness of Jeroboam, was slain by a lion. {3 Kings, 13.}

For the bread which is distributed to the widows from labor is better, though it be short and little, than that from injustice and false accusation, though it be much and fine. For the Scripture saith, *Better is a little to the righteous, than great riches of the sinners.* {Psalm 36: 16.} Now, although a widow who eateth and is filled from the wicked, pray for them, she shall not be heard; for God, who

knoweth the heart, with judgment hath declared concerning the
Jer. 15: 1. 7: 16. } unrighteous, saying, *If Moses and Samuel stand before my face in their behalf, I will not hear them.* And, *Pray thou not for this people, and do not ask mercy for them, and do not intercede with me for them; for I will not hear thee.*

VII.

That the oblations of the unworthy, while they are such, do not only not propitiate God, but, on the contrary, provoke him to indignation.

And not these only, but those that are in sin, and have not repented, will not only not be heard when they pray, but will provoke God to anger, as putting him in mind of their own wickedness. Avoid, therefore, such ministrations, as you would the price of a
Deut. 23: 18. } dog, and the hire of a harlot; for both of them are forbidden
4 Kings, 8. } by the laws. For neither did Elisha receive the presents
3 Kings, 14. } which were brought by Hazael, nor Ahijah those from Jeroboam. If now the prophets of God did not admit of presents from the ungodly, it is reasonable, O Bishops, that neither should you. Nay, when Simon the magician offered money to me, Peter, and John, and endeavored to obtain the invaluable grace by purchase, we did not admit it, but bound him with everlasting maledictions, because he thought to possess the gift of God, not by a pious mind towards God, but by the price of money.

Avoid, therefore, such oblations to God's altar as are not from a
Isaiah, 54: 14. } good conscience. For saith he, *Abstain from all injustice, and thou shalt not fear, and trembling shall not come nigh thee.*

VIII.

That it is better to present to the widows from our own labors, though it be inconsiderable and few contributions, than to present those which are many and large, received from the ungodly. For it is better to perish by famine than to receive an oblation from the ungodly.

But if ye say that those who give alms are such as these, and if we do not receive from them, whence shall we administer to the widows? and whence shall the poor among the people be maintained? Ye shall hear from us that for this purpose ye have received the gift of the Levites, the oblations of your people, that ye might have enough for yourselves, and for those that are in want, and that ye might not be so straitened as to receive from the wicked. But if the churches be so straitened, it is better to perish, than to receive any thing from the enemies of God, to the reproach and abuse of his friends. For of such as these the prophet speaketh, *Let not the oil of a sinner moisten my head.* {Psalm 140: 5.

Be ye therefore examiners of such persons, and receive from such as walk piously, and supply the afflicted. But receive not from those that are excommunicated, until they are thought worthy to become members of the church; but, if a gift be wanting, inform the brethren, and make a collection from them; and thence minister to the orphans and widows in righteousness.

IX.

That the people ought to be exhorted by the Priest to do good to the needy, as saith Solomon the Wise.

Say unto the people under thee what Solomon the Wise saith, *Honor the Lord out of thy just labors, and pay thy first-fruits to him out of thy fruits of righteousness, that thy garners may be filled with fulness of wheat, and thy presses may burst out with wine.* {Prov. 3: 9. Therefore maintain and clothe those that are in want, from the righteous labor of the faithful. And the sums of money

collected, as we have before said, from them, appoint to be laid out in the redemption of the saints, the deliverance of slaves, and of captives, and of prisoners, and of those that have been abused, and of those who by tyrants have been condemned to single combat and to death. For the Scripture saith, *Deliver those that are led to death, and redeem those that are ready to be slain; do not spare.* Prov. 24: 11.

X.

A Constitution, that if any one of the ungodly by force will cast money to the Priests, they spend it in wood and coals, but not in food.

But if at any time ye be forced unwillingly to receive money from any ungodly person, lay it out in wood and coals, that so neither the widow nor the orphan may receive any of it, or be under the necessity of buying with it either food or drink, which it is unfit to do. For it is reasonable that such gifts of the ungodly be fuel for fire, and not food for the pious. And this method is plainly appointed by the Law, when it calleth a sacrifice kept too long a thing not fit to be eaten, and commandeth it to be consumed with fire. For such oblations are not evil in their nature, but on account of the mind of those that bring them. And this we ordain, that we may not repel those who come to us; for we know that intercourse with the pious hath often been very profitable to the ungodly, but that only religious communion with them is hurtful. Let so much, therefore, be spoken to you, beloved, in order to your security.

XI.

Of Parents and Children.

Ye fathers, educate your children in the Lord, bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and teach them such trades as are agreeable and suitable to the Word, lest they, becoming extravagant through opportunity, and remaining without correction from their parents, having had their liberty prematurely,

break away from virtue. Wherefore be not afraid to reprove them, and to teach them wisdom with severity. For your corrections will not kill them, but rather preserve them. As Solomon saith somewhere in the book of Wisdom, *Chasten thy son, and he will refresh thee; so wilt thou have good hope of him. Thou verily shalt smite him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from death.* And again saith the same Solomon thus: *He that spareth his rod hateth his son;* and afterwards, *Beat his sides while he is an infant, lest he be hardened, and disobey thee.* {Prov. 29: 17. {19: 18. {23: 14. {Prov. 13: 24. {Ecclus. 30: 12.

He, therefore, who neglecteth to admonish and instruct his son, hateth his own child. Do ye, therefore, teach your children the Word of the Lord. Moreover, bring them under, even with stripes, and make them subject from their infancy, teaching them the Holy Scriptures, both ours and divine, and delivering to them every sacred writing, not giving such liberty that they get the mastery, and act against your judgment; not permitting them to club together for a drinking party with their equals. For so they will be turned to disorderly courses, and will fall into fornication; and if this happen by the carelessness of their parents, those that begat them will be guilty of their souls. For if the offending children get into the company of debauched persons, by the negligence of those that begat them, they will not be punished alone; but their parents also will be condemned on their account. For this cause, endeavor, at the time when they are of an age fit for marriage, to join them in wedlock, and settle them together, lest, in the heat and fervor of their age, their course of life become dissolute, and ye be required by the Lord God to give an account in the day of judgment. {Ecclus. 30: 11.

XII.

Of Servants and Masters.

But as to servants, what can we say more, than that the servant bring a good will to his master, with the fear of God, although he be impious and wicked; yet, indeed, let him not yield any compliance as to his worship. And let the master love his servant. Although he be his superior, let him consider wherein {Eph. 6: 5. {1 Pet. 2: 18.

1 Tim. 6: 2. they are equal, even as he is a man. And *he that hath a believing master*, the master's authority being preserved, let him love him, both as his master, and as of the same faith, and as a Eph. 6: 6. father; *not as an eye-servant, but as a lover of his master,* Col. 3: 22. *as knowing that God will recompense him for his service.* In like manner, let a master who hath a believing servant, the service being continued, love him as a son, or as a brother, on account of their communion in the faith.

XIII.

In what things we ought to be subject to the rulers of this world.

Be ye subject to all royal power and dominion, in things that 1 Pet. 2: 13. are pleasing to God, as to the ministers of God, and the pun- Tit. 3: 1. ishers of the wicked. Render all the fear that is due to Rom. 13: 1, 4, 7. them, all offerings, all customs, all honor, gifts and taxes. 8. For this is God's command, that ye owe nothing to any one, but the pledge of love, which God hath commanded by Christ.

XIV.

Concerning Virgins.

1 Cor. 7: 25. Concerning virginity we have received no commandment; but we leave it to the power of those that are willing, as a vow; exhorting them so far in this matter, that they do not promise any Eccl. 5: 4. thing rashly; since Solomon saith, *It is better not to vow, than to vow and not pay.*

1 Cor. 7: 34. Let such a virgin, therefore, *be holy in body and soul*, as a temple of God, as a house of Christ, as a habitation of the Holy Spirit. For she that voweth ought to do such works as are suitable to her vow; and to show that her vow is real, and made on account of leisure for piety, not to cast a reproach on marriage. Let her not be a gadder abroad, nor one that rambleth about unseasonably; not double-minded; but grave, continent, sober, pure, avoiding the conversation of many, and especially of those that are of ill reputation.

BOOK V.

CONCERNING MARTYRS.

CHAPTER I.

That it is reasonable for the faithful to supply, according to the constitution of the Lord, the wants of those who, by the unbelievers, are afflicted for the sake of Christ.

If any Christian, on account of the name of Christ, and love and faith towards God, be condemned by the ungodly to the games, to the beasts, or to the mines, neglect him not; but send to him from your labor and your very sweat, for his sustenance, and for a reward to the soldiers, that he may be eased, and be taken care of, that, as far as lieth in your power, your blessed brother may not be afflicted. For he that is condemned for the name of the Lord God is a holy martyr, a brother of the Lord, a son of the Highest, a receptacle of the Holy Spirit (by whom every one of the faithful hath received the illumination of the glory of the holy Gospel), in being accounted worthy of the incorruptible crown, and the testimony of Christ's sufferings, and the fellowship of his blood, that he might be made conformable to the death of Christ, and be adopted as a child.

For this cause, all ye of the faithful, by your Bishop, minister to the saints from your substance and from your labor. But if any one hath not, let him fast a day, and set apart what is thus saved, and order it for the saints. If, however, any one hath abundance, let him minister more to them, according to the proportion of his ability. But, if he can possibly sell all his livelihood, and redeem them out of prison, he will be blessed, and a friend of Christ. For if he that giveth his goods to the poor be perfect, after a knowledge of divine things, much rather is he that giveth them on account of the martyrs. For such a one is worthy of God, and will do his will by supplying those who have confessed him before nations and kings, and the children of Israel; concerning whom our Lord declared, saying, *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before* {Matt. 10: 32.

my Father. And if these be such as to be attested to by Christ before his Father, ye ought not to be ashamed to go to them in the prisons. For if ye do this, it will be esteemed to you for a testimony; because their testimony was what they actually experienced, and yours will be your zealous good will, as being partakers of their combat. For the Lord speaketh somewhere to such as these, saying,

Matt. 25: 34— *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink. I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me. I was sick, and ye visited me. I was in prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the righteous answer, and say, Lord, when saw we thee hungry, and fed thee? or thirsty, and gave thee drink? When saw we thee naked, and clothed thee? or sick, and visited thee? When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or in prison, and came unto thee? And he will answer and say unto them, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me. And these shall go away into life everlasting. Then shall he say unto them on his left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry, and ye gave me no food. I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink. I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall they also answer and say, When saw we thee hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he answer and say unto them, Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, neither have ye done it unto me. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment.*

II.

That we are to avoid intercourse with false brethren, when they continue in their perversity.

But if any one who calleth himself a brother is seduced by the evil one, and doeth wickedness, and is convicted, and condemned to death, as an adulterer or a murderer, depart from him, that ye may

be secure, and none of you may be suspected as a partner in the abominable crime, and that no evil report may be spread abroad, as if all Christians took a pleasure in unlawful actions. Wherefore, keep far from them. But with all diligence assist those who, for the sake of Christ, are abused by the ungodly, and shut up in prison, or who are given over to death, or bonds, or banishment, in order to deliver your fellow-members from wicked hands. And if any one who accompanieth with them is taken, and falleth under ill-treatment, blessed is he; because he is partaker with the martyr, and is one that imitateth the sufferings of Christ. For we ourselves also, when we often received stripes from Caiaphas, and Alexander, and Annas, *went out rejoicing that we were counted worthy to suffer such things* for our Saviour. Do ye also rejoice when ye suffer such things; for ye shall be blessed in that day.

{Acts, 4: 6. 5: 41.}
{Luke, 6: 22, 23.}

III.

That we ought to afford a helping hand to such as are plundered for the sake of Christ, although we should incur danger ourselves.

Receive also those that are persecuted on account of the faith, and that *flee from city to city* on account of the Lord's commandment; and assist them as martyrs, rejoicing that ye are made partakers of their persecution, knowing that they are declared by our Lord to be blessed. For himself saith, *Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, because your reward is great in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets who were before us.* And again, *If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you;* and afterwards, *If they persecute you in this city, flee ye to another. For in the world ye have tribulation; for they shall deliver you into the synagogues, and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, and for a testimony to them.* And, *He that endureth unto the end, the same shall be saved.* For he that is persecuted for the sake of the faith, and beareth witness to Christ, and *endureth*, — this person is truly a man of God.

{Matt. 10: 23.}
{Matt. 5: 11.}
{Matt. 5: 12.}
{John, 15: 20.}
{John, 16: 33. Matt. 10: 17.}
{Matt. 10: 22.}

IV.

That it is a horrible and destructive thing to deny Christ.

But he that denieth his being Christ's, that he may not be hated of men, and so loveth his own life more than the Lord, in whose hand his breath is,—this person is wretched and miserable, as being detestable and abominable, who desireth to be the friend of men, but is the enemy of God, having no longer his portion with the saints, but with those that are accursed; choosing, instead of the kingdom of the blessed, that eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels; not being any longer hated by men, but rejected by God, and cast out from his presence. For of such a Matt. 10: 33. Luke, 9: 26. one our Lord declared, saying, *Whosoever shall deny me before men, and shall be ashamed of my name, I also will deny and be ashamed of him before my Father who is in heaven.* Matt. 10: 37– And again, he speaketh thus to ourselves, his disciples, *He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his* Matt. 16: 26. *life for my sake shall find it. For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?* And afterwards, *Fear not* Matt. 10: 28. *them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.*

V.

That we ought to imitate Christ in suffering, and with zeal to follow his patience.

Every one, therefore, who learneth any art, when he seeth his master, by his diligence and skill, perfecting his art, doth himself earnestly endeavor to make what he taketh in hand, similar to the article made by his master. If he is not able, he is not perfected in his work. We, therefore, who have a Master, our Lord Jesus

Christ, why do we not follow his doctrine? — since he renounced repose, pleasure, glory, riches, pride, the power of revenge, his mother and brethren, nay, and moreover, his own life, on account of his piety towards his Father, and his love to us, the human family; and suffered not only persecution and stripes, reproach and mockery, but also crucifixion, that he might save the penitent, both Jews and Gentiles. If, therefore, he, for our sake, renounced his repose, was not ashamed of the cross, and did not esteem death inglorious, why do we not imitate his sufferings, and renounce, on his account, even our own life, with that patience which he giveth us? For he did all for our sake, but we for our own sake; for he doth not stand in need of us, but we stand in need of his mercy. He requireth only the sincerity and readiness of our faith, as saith the Scripture, *If thou art righteous, what dost thou give to him? or what will he receive at thy hand? Thy wickedness is to a man like thyself, and thy righteousness is to a son of man.* { Job 35: 7.

VI.

That a believer ought neither rashly to run into danger, through security; nor to be over-timorous, through pusillanimity; but to fly away for fear; yet, if he fall into the enemy's hand, to strive earnestly on account of the crown that is laid up for him.

Let us therefore renounce our parents, and kinsmen, and friends, and wife, and children, and possessions, and all the enjoyments of life, when any of these things become an impediment to piety. For we ought to pray that we may not enter into temptation; but, if we be called to martyrdom, with constancy to confess his precious name; and if, on this account, we be punished, let us rejoice, as hastening to immortality. When we are persecuted, let us not think it strange. Let us not love the present world, nor the praises which come from men, nor the glory and honor of rulers; as some of the Jews wondered at the mighty works of our Lord, yet did not believe on him, for fear of the high priests and the rest of the rulers. *For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.* { John 12: 43.

But now, by avowing a good confession, we not only save ourselves, but we confirm those who are newly illuminated, and

strengthen the faith of the catechumens. But, if we remit any part of our confession, and deny godliness by the faintness of our persuasion, and the fear of a very short punishment, we not only deprive ourselves of everlasting glory, but we shall also become the causes of the perdition of others; and shall suffer double punishment, as affording suspicion, by our denial, that that truth in which we gloried so much before is an erroneous doctrine.

Wherefore, neither let us be rash and hasty to thrust ourselves
Matt. 26: 41. into dangers; for the Lord saith, *Pray that ye fall not into temptation; the spirit, indeed, is willing, but the flesh is weak;* nor let us, when we do fall into dangers, be fearful or ashamed of our profession. For if a person, by the denial of his own hope, which is Jesus the Son of God, should be delivered from a temporary death, and the next day should fall dangerously sick upon his bed, with a malady in his bowels, his stomach, or his head, or any of the incurable diseases, as a consumption, or gangrene, or looseness, or iliac passion, or dropsy, or cholic, and have a sudden catastrophe, and depart this life; is he not deprived of the things present, and doth he not lose those which are eternal? Or, rather, is he not
Matt. 8: 12. within the verge of eternal punishment, and gone *into outer darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth?*

But he who is deemed worthy of the honor of martyrdom, let him rejoice with joy in the Lord, as obtaining thereby so great a crown, and departing out of this life by his confession. Nay, though he be but a catechumen, let him depart without trouble; for his suffering for Christ will be to him a more genuine baptism, because he dieth with Christ in reality, but the rest only in a figure. Let him there-
Luke 6: 40. fore rejoice in the invitation of his Master; since it is thus ordained, *Let every one be perfect, as his Master.* Now, his and our Master, Jesus the Lord, was smitten for our sake. He underwent reproaches and revilings, with long-suffering. He was spit upon; he was smitten on the face; he was buffeted; and when he had been scourged, he was nailed to the cross. He had vinegar and gall to drink; and when he had fulfilled all things that were
Luke 23: 46. written, he said to his God and Father, *Into thy hands I commend my spirit.* Wherefore, let him that desireth to be his disciple, earnestly follow his conflicts. Let him imitate his patience;
Dan. 3. knowing that, although he be burned in the fire by men, he will suffer nothing, as the three children; or, if he suffer any thing,

he shall receive a reward from the Lord, believing in the one and only true God and Father, through Jesus Christ, the great High Priest, and Redeemer of our souls, and Rewarder of our sufferings; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

VII.

Several demonstrations concerning the Resurrection, concerning the Sibyl, and what the Stoics say concerning the bird called Phœnix.

For the Almighty God himself will raise us up through our Lord Jesus Christ, according to his infallible promise, and grant us a resurrection with all those that have slept from the beginning of the world. And we shall then be such as we now are, in our present form, without any defect or corruption; since we shall rise incorruptible. For whether we die at sea, or are scattered on the earth, or are torn to pieces by wild beasts and birds, he will raise us by his own power; because the whole world is held together by the hand of God. Moreover, he saith, *A hair of your head shall not perish.* { Luke 21: 18. Wherefore he exhorteth us, saying, *In your patience possess ye your souls.* { 19.

Besides, concerning the resurrection of the dead, and the recompense of reward for the martyrs, Gabriel saith to Daniel, *And many of them that sleep shall arise out of the dust of the earth, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.* { Dan. 12: 2. *And they that understand shall shine as the sun, and as the firmament, and as the stars.* { Dan. 12: 3. Therefore the most holy Gabriel foretold that the saints should shine like the stars; for his sacred name testified to them that they might understand the truth.

Nor is a resurrection declared only for the martyrs, but for all men, righteous and unrighteous, godly and ungodly, that every one may receive according to his desert. For *God*, saith the Scripture, *will bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.* { Eccles. 12: 14. This resurrection was not believed by the Jews, when of old they said, *Our bones are withered, and we are gone.* { Ezek. 37: 11. To whom God answered, and said, *Behold, I open your graves, and will bring you out of them,*

and will put my spirit into you; and ye shall live, and ye shall know that I, the Lord, have spoken it, and will do it. And he saith by Isaiah, 26: 19. Isaiah, *The dead shall rise, and those that are in the graves shall be raised up. And those that rest in the earth shall rejoice; for the dew which is from thee shall be healing to them.*

There are, indeed, many and various things said concerning the resurrection, and concerning the continuance of the righteous in glory, and concerning the punishment of the wicked, their fall, rejection, condemnation, shame, eternal fire, and endless worm. And that, if it had pleased him that all men should be immortal, it was in his power, he showed in the examples of Enoch and Elijah, while he did not suffer them to have any experience of death. Or, if it had pleased him in every generation to raise those that died, that this also he was able to do he hath made manifest both by him- 3 Kings, 17. 4 Kings, 2. self and by others; as when he raised the widow's son by Elijah, and the Shunamite's son by Elisha.

But we are persuaded that death is not a retribution of punishment, because even the saints have undergone it; nay, even the Lord of the saints, Jesus Christ, the life of them that believe, and the resurrection of the dead. On this account, therefore, as if [to exhibit a spectacle] for those who live in a great city, after the combats he bringeth a dissolution for a little while, that, when he raiseth up every one, he may either reject or crown him. For he that made the body of Adam out of the earth will raise up the bodies of the rest, and that of the first man, after the dissolution to, pay what is owing to the rational nature of man; we mean the continuance in being through all ages. He, therefore, who bringeth on the dissolution will himself also procure the resurrection. And Gen. 2: 7. he who said, *The Lord took dust from the ground, and formed man, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man* Gen. 3: 19. *became a living soul;* and who added, after the disobedience, *Earth thou art, and unto earth shalt thou return;* himself John, 5: 28, 25. promised us a resurrection afterwards, For, saith he, *All that are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.*

Besides these arguments, we believe, even from the resurrection John 11. Mark, 5. Luke, 7. of our Lord, that there is to be a resurrection. For he himself who raised Lazarus, when he had been in the grave four days, and Jairus's daughter, and the widow's son; and

who, by the command by the Father, raised himself in the space of three days, is the pledge of our resurrection. For, saith { John 11: 25. he, *I am the resurrection and the life.* He that brought Jonah, in the space of three days, alive and unhurt, out of the belly of the whale, and the three children out of the furnace of Babylon, and Daniel out of the mouth of the lions, will be in no want of power also to awake us.

But if the Gentiles laugh at us, and disbelieve our Scriptures, let at least their own prophetess, the Sibyl, oblige them to believe, who saith thus to them, in so many words:

But when all things shall be reduced to dust and ashes,
And the immortal God, who kindled the fire, shall have quenched it,
Bones and ashes God himself shall again form into a man,
And shall place mortals again as they were before.
And then, indeed, shall be a judgment, in which God himself will render justice,
Judging the world again; and whoever have impiously sinned,
These the earth again shall cover;
But all the pious shall live again in the world,
God giving spirit, life, and favor to them, the devout.
Then, moreover, all shall see themselves.

Orac. Sibyl — B. IV. (end.)

If, therefore, this prophetess herself confesseth the resurrection, and doth not deny the restoration of all things, and distinguisheth the godly from the ungodly, it is in vain for them to deny our doctrine. Nay, indeed, they say they can show a resemblance of the resurrection (while they do not believe the things which they themselves declare). For they say that there is a bird, single in its kind, which affordeth a rich evidence of the resurrection. This bird, they affirm, is without a mate, and the only one in the creation. They call it a Phœnix, and relate that, every five hundred years, it cometh into Egypt, to what is called the altar of the sun, and bringeth with it a great quantity of cinnamon, and cassia, and balsam wood, and, standing towards the east, as they say, and praying to the sun, of its own accord, is burnt, and becometh dust; but that a worm ariseth again out of those ashes; and when this is warmed, it is formed into a new-born Phœnix; and when it is able to fly, it goeth to Arabia, which is beyond the Egyptian countries. If now, as even themselves say, a resurrection is exhibited by means of an irrational bird, why do they vainly disparage our accounts,

when we profess that He who, by his power, bringeth that into being which was not in being before, is able also to restore this body, and raise it up again after its dissolution?

For, on account of this full assurance of hope, we undergo stripes, and persecutions, and deaths. Otherwise, we should to no purpose undergo such things, if we had not a full assurance of these promises, of which we profess ourselves to be the preachers. As, therefore, we believe Moses, when he saith, *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth;* and we know that he was not in need of matter, but by his will alone brought those things into being which Christ was commanded to make; we mean the heaven, the earth, the sea, the light, the night, the day, the luminaries, the stars, the fowls, the fishes, the four-footed beasts, the creeping things, the plants, and the herbs; so also will he raise all men up by his will, not wanting any assistance. For it is the work of the same power to create the world and to raise the dead. And then he made man, who was not a man before, of different parts; giving to him a soul made out of nothing. But now he will restore the bodies, which have been dissolved, to the souls that are still in being; for the rising again belongeth to things laid down, not to things which have no being. The same Being, therefore, that made the original matter out of nothing, and out of it formed various bodies, will also vivify and again raise up those that are dead.

For he that formed man in the womb out of a little seed, and created in him a soul which was not in being before, as himself somewhere saith to Jeremiah, *Before I formed thee in the womb, I knew thee;* and elsewhere, *I am the Lord who established the heaven, and laid the foundations of the earth, and formed the spirit of man in him;* he himself will also raise up all men, as being his workmanship; as also the divine Scripture testifieth that God said to Christ, his only-begotten, *Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness. And God made man; after the image of God made he him; male and female made he them.* And the most divine and patient Job, of whom the Scripture saith, *It is written that he shall rise again with those whom the Lord raiseth up*, thus addresseth God: *Hast thou not milked me like milk, and curdled me like cheese? Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and hast formed me with bones and sinews. Thou hast granted me life and favor, and thy visita-*

Jer. 1: 5. Zech. 12: 1. Gen. 1: 26. Job. 42: 17. 10: 10.

tion hath preserved my spirit. Having these things within me, I know that thou canst do all things, and that nothing is impossible with thee. Wherefore, also, our Saviour and Master, Jesus Christ, saith, that *what is impossible with men is possible with God.* {Luke, 18: 27.} And David, the beloved of God, saith, *Thy hands have made me, and fashioned me.* {Psalm 118: 73.} And again, *Thou knowest my frame;* {102: 14.} and afterwards, *Thou hast fashioned me, and laid thy hand upon me. The knowledge of thee is declared to be too wonderful for me. It is very great; I cannot attain unto it. Thine eyes did see my substance, being yet imperfect; and all men shall be written in thy book.* {138: 5.} But also Isaiah saith in his prayer to him, *We are the clay, and thou art the Framer of us.* If, therefore, man be his workmanship, made by Christ, by him most certainly will he, after he is dead, be raised again, for the purpose of being either crowned for his good actions, or punished for his transgressions. But if, being the lawgiver, he judgeth with righteousness, as he punisheth the wicked, so doth he do good to and save the faithful. And those saints who, for his sake, have been slain by men, some of them he will cause to shine as the stars, {Daniel, 12: 3.} and others he will make bright as the luminaries; as Gabriel said to Daniel.

All we of the faithful, therefore, who are the disciples of Christ, believe his promises. For he that hath promised, cannot lie. But, saith the blessed prophet David, *The Lord is faithful in all his words, and holy in all his works.* {Psalm 114: 13.} For he that framed for himself a body out of a virgin, is also the Former of other men. And he that raised himself from the dead, will also raise again all that are lying in death. He who raiseth wheat out of the ground, with many stalks from one grain; he who maketh the tree that is cut down, send forth fresh branches; he who made Aaron's dry rod put forth buds, will himself also raise us up in glory. He {Matt. 9: 2.} who raised up to perfect health him that had the palsy, and {Mark, 3: 1.} healed him that had the withered hand; he who, from clay {John, 9: 1.} and spittle, supplied a defective part to him who was born blind, the same will also raise us up. He that satisfied five thousand {Matt. 14: 17.} men with five loaves and two fishes, and caused a remainder of twelve baskets; and out of the water made wine, and sent a {John, 2: 3.} piece of money out of a fish's mouth, by me Peter, to {Matt. 17: 24.} those who demanded tribute; he also will raise the dead. For we

testify all these things concerning him, and the prophets testify the other.

We, who have eaten and drunk with him, and have been spectators of his wonderful works, and of his life, and of his deportment, and of his words, and of his sufferings, and of his death, and of his resurrection from the dead, and who conversed with him forty days after his resurrection, and who received a command from him *to* Matt. 28: 19. *preach the Gospel to all the world, and to make disciples of all nations, and to baptize them* into his death, by the authority of the God of the universe, who is his Father; and by the testimony of the Spirit, who is the Comforter,— we teach you all these things Acts, 1: 3. which he appointed us by his constitutions, before *he was received up in our sight into heaven*, to him that sent him. And if ye will believe, ye shall be happy; but if ye will not believe, we shall be found innocent, and clear from your incredulity.

VIII.

Concerning James, the brother of the Lord, and Stephen, the first Martyr.

Now, concerning the martyrs, we say to you, that they are to be held in all honor with you, as we honor the blessed James, the Bishop, and the holy Stephen, our fellow-servant. For these are accounted by God to be blessed, and are honored by holy men, as being pure from all transgressions, immovable, when tempted to sin, or persuaded from good works; undoubtedly entitled to encomiums. Psalm 115: 15. Of whom also David said, *Precious in the sight of the Lord* Prov. 10: 7. *is the death of his holy ones;* and Solomon, *The memory* Isaiah. 57: 1. *of the just is with praise.* Of whom also the prophet said, *Righteous men are taken away.*

IX.

Concerning False Martyrs.

These things we have said concerning those who, in truth, have been martyrs for Christ, but not concerning false martyrs, concerning whom the oracle saith, *The name of the wicked is extinguished.* For, *A faithful witness will not lie, but an unfaithful witness inflameth lies.* For he that departeth this life in testimony for the truth, without falsification, is a faithful martyr, worthy to be believed in those things in which he strove, by his own blood, for the word of piety.

{ Prov. 10: 7.
{ 14: 5.

X.

A moral admonition that we are to abstain from vain talking, obscene talking, jesting, drunkenness, lasciviousness, and luxury.

Moreover, we exhort you, brethren and fellow-servants, to avoid vain talk, and obscene discourses, and jesting, drunkenness, lasciviousness, luxury, and unbounded passions, with foolish talking; since neither on the Lord's days, which are days of joy, do we permit you to speak or act any thing unseemly. For the Scripture somewhere saith, *Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice unto him with trembling.* Even your very rejoicings, therefore, ought to be done with fear and trembling. For a Christian who is faithful ought neither to repeat a heathen hymn, nor an obscene song; because he will be obliged, by that hymn, to make mention of the idolatrous names of demons; and, instead of the Holy Spirit, the wicked one will enter into him.

{ Psalm 2: 11.

XI.

An admonition, instructing men to avoid the abominable sin of Idolatry.

Ye are also forbidden to swear by them, or to utter their abominable names through your mouth, and to worship them, or fear them as gods; for they are not gods, but either wicked demons, or the ridiculous contrivances of men. For somewhere God saith concerning
Jer. 5: 7. Zech. 13: 2. the Israelites, *They have forsaken me, and sworn by them that are no gods;* and afterwards, *I will take away the names of the idols out of their mouth;* and elsewhere, *They have*
Deut. 32: 21. *provoked me to jealousy with them that are no gods; they have provoked me to anger with their idols.* And in all the Scriptures these things are forbidden by the Lord God.

XII.

That we ought not to sing a heathen or an obscene song; nor to swear by an idol, because it is an impious thing, and contrary to the knowledge of God.

But not only concerning idols do our holy statutes give us prohibitions, but also concerning the luminaries. They admonish us not
Deut. 4: 19. to swear by them, nor to serve them. For they say, *Lest when thou seest the sun and the moon, and the stars, thou shouldst*
Jer. 10: 2. *be seduced to worship them;* and elsewhere, *Learn not to walk after the ways of the heathen, and be not afraid of the signs of heaven.* For the stars and the luminaries were given to men to shine upon them, but not for worship; although the Israelites, by the perverseness of their temper, worshipped the creature instead of the Creator, and became injurious to their Maker, and admired the
Exodus, 32: 4. Num. 25: 3. Judges, 2: 13. Ezek. 8: 14. 3 Kings, 11: 5. creature more than was fit. And sometimes they made a calf, as in the wilderness; sometimes they worshipped Baal-peor; another time, Baal, and Thammuz, and Astarte of Sidon; and again, Moloch and Chamos; another time, the sun; as it is written in Ezekiel; nay, and besides,

irrational creatures, as, amongst the Egyptians, apes and the Mendesian goat; and gods of silver and gold, as in Judea. On account of all which things, he threatened them, and said by the prophet, *Is it a small thing to the house of Judah to do these abominations, which they have done? For they have filled the land with their wickedness, to provoke me to anger. And behold, they are as those that mock. But I will act with anger; mine eye shall not spare, nor will I have mercy. And they shall cry in mine ears with a great voice, and I will not hearken unto them.* { Ezek. 8: 16.

Consider, beloved, how many things the Lord declareth against idolaters, and the worshippers of the sun and moon. Wherefore it is the duty of a man of God, as he is a Christian, not to swear by the sun, nor by the moon, nor by the stars, nor by the heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any of the elements, whether small or great. For if our Master charged us not to swear by the true God, { Matt. 5: 34. that our word might be firmer than an oath, nor by heaven { 23: 16. itself, for that is a heathenish impiety, nor by Jerusalem, nor by the sanctuary of God, nor the altar, nor the gift, nor the gilding of the altar, nor one's own head; for this custom is a piece of Jewish corruption, and on that account it was forbidden; and if he enjoined upon the faithful that their yea be yea, and their nay nay; and said that *what is more than these is of the evil one;* how much more blamable are those who appeal to deities falsely so called, as the objects of an oath, and who glorify imaginary beings instead of those that are real! whom God, for their perverseness, *delivered over to foolishness, to do those things that are not convenient.* { Rom. 1: 28.

XIII.

A catalogue of the feasts of the Lord which are to be kept; and when each of them ought to observed.

Brethren, observe the festival days, and first indeed the birth-day of our Lord, which is to be celebrated by you on the twenty-fifth of the ninth month.* After which, let Epiphany be to you the

* Corresponding to our December; for this is the *ninth* from the Macedonian *Xanthicus* (April,) which the writer regarded as the *first* month. See the next chapter.— C.

most honorable, in which the Lord made to us a manifestation of his own divinity; but let this festival be observed on the sixth of the tenth month. Subsequently the Quadragesimal fast (Lent) is to be observed by you, as containing a memorial both of our Lord's deportment and of his legislation. But let this fast be observed before the fast of the Passover, beginning from the second day of the week, and ending at the day of the Preparation. After which solemnities, breaking off your fast, begin the Holy Week of the Passover, fasting in the same all of you with fear and trembling, praying in those days for the perishing.

XIV.

Concerning the Passion of our Lord, and what was done on each day of his sufferings; and concerning Judas; and that Judas was not present when the Lord delivered the mysteries to his disciples.

For they began to hold a council against the Lord on the second day of the week, in the first month, which is Xanthicus; and the deliberation continued on the third day of the week; but on the fourth day, they determined to take away his life by crucifixion. And Judas knowing this, who for a long time had been perverted, but was then smitten by the devil himself with the love of money, although he had long been entrusted with the purse, and used to steal what was set apart for the needy, yet was not cast off by the Lord, through much long-suffering. Besides, when we were once feasting with him, being willing both to bring him back to his duty, and to instruct us in his own foreknowledge, he said, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you will betray me.* And every one of us saying, *Is it I?* and the Lord being silent, I, who was one of the twelve, and more beloved by him than the rest, arose up from lying in his bosom, and besought him to tell who it should be that should betray him. Yet neither then did our gracious Lord declare his name, but gave two signs of the betrayer; one by saying, *He that dippeth with me in the dish;* and a second, *To whom I shall give the sop when I have dipped it.* Although even he said, *Master, is it I?* the Lord did not say yes, but *Thou hast*

said. And being willing to terrify him in the matter, he said, *Woe to that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed. Good were it for him if he had never been born.* And having heard these things, he went away, and said to the priests, *What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they bargained with him for thirty pieces of silver.* And the Scripture was fulfilled which saith, *And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, and gave them for the house of the potter.* {Matt. 26: 15.} {Matt. 27: 9.}

And on the fifth day of the week, when we had eaten the Passover with him, and when Judas had dipped his hand into the dish, and received the sop, and was gone out by night, the Lord said to us, *The hour is come that ye shall be dispersed, and shall leave me alone.* And every one vehemently affirming that we would not forsake him, I, Peter, adding this promise that I would even die with him, he said, *Verily I say unto thee, before the cock croweth, thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.* And when he had delivered to us the representative mysteries of his precious body and blood, Judas not being present with us, he went out to the Mount of Olives, near the brook Cedron, where there was a garden; and we were with him, and *sang a hymn*, according to the custom; and being separated from us, he prayed earnestly to his Father, saying, *Father, remove this cup away from me; yet not my will, but thine, be done.* And when he had done this thrice, while we out of despondency were fallen asleep, he came and said, *The hour is come, and the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners.* {John 16: 32.} {Matt. 26: 31.} {Luke 22: 34.} {John 18: 1.} {Matt. 26: 30.} {Luke 22: 42.} {Matt. 26: 39.} {Matt. 26: 45.}

And behold, Judas, and with him a multitude of ungodly men, to whom he showeth the signal by which he was to betray him, a deceitful kiss. But they, when they had received the signal agreed on, took hold of the Lord; and, having bound him, they led him to the house of Caiaphas, the high priest, in which were assembled many, not the people, but a rabble, not a holy council of elders, but an assembly of the wicked, and senate of the ungodly, who did many things against him, and left no kind of injury untried, spitting upon him, deriding him, beating him, smiting him on the face, reviling him, tempting him, seeking vain divination instead of true prophecies from him, calling him a deceiver, a transgressor of Moses, a destroyer of the temple, a taker away of sacrifices, an enemy to

the Romans, an adversary to Cæsar. And these reproaches did
Psalm 21: 13, 17. these bulls and dogs, in their madness, cast upon him, till it was very early in the morning; and then they led him away to Annas, who was father-in-law to Caiaphas; and when they had done the like things to him there, it being the day of the Preparation, they delivered him to Pilate, the Roman governor, accusing him of many and great things, none of which they could prove.

Upon which, the governor, being out of patience with them, said,
Luke 23: 14. *I find no cause against him.* But they brought two false
John 18: 38. witnesses, and wished thus to substantiate a slanderous accusation against him; but, these being found disagreeing, they
Luke 23: 2. referred the matter to loyalty, saying, *This fellow saith that he is a king, and forbiddeth to give tribute to Cæsar.* And themselves became accusers, and witnesses, and judges, and authors
Luke 23: 21. of the sentence, saying *Crucify him, crucify him;* that it might be fulfilled which is written by the prophets concerning him,
Psalm 26: 12. *Unjust witnesses were gathered together against me, and in-*
21: 17. *justice lied to itself.* And again, *Many dogs compassed me about; the assembly of the wicked laid siege against me.* And
Jer. 2: 8. elsewhere, *My heritage hath become to me as a lion in a forest, and hath sent forth her voice against me.* Pilate, therefore, disgracing his authority by his pusillanimity, convicteth himself of wickedness, by regarding the multitude more than this just person, and bearing witness to him as innocent, yet delivering him up, as guilty, to the punishment of the cross; although the Romans had made laws that no man unconvicted should be put to death.

But the executioners took the Lord of glory, and nailed him to the cross, crucifying him indeed at the tenth hour, but having received the sentence of his condemnation at the third hour. After this they gave him vinegar to drink, mingled with gall. Then they divided his garments by lot. Then they crucified two malefactors with him, on each side one, that it might be fulfilled which was writ-
Psalm 68: 22. ten, *They gave me gall to eat; and when I was thirsty, they gave me vinegar to drink.* And again, *They divided my garments*
Psalm 21: 19. *among themselves, and upon my vesture they have cast lots.*
Isaiah 53: 12. And in another place, *And I was reckoned with the transgressors.*

Then there was darkness for three hours, from the sixth to the ninth, and again light in the evening; as it is written, *It shall not*

be day nor night; and at the evening there shall be light. {Zech. 14: 7.
All which things when those malefactors saw that were crucified with him, one of them reproached him, as though he was weak, and unable to deliver himself; but the other rebuked the ignorance of his companion, and, turning to the Lord, as being enlightened by him, and acknowledging who he was that suffered, he prayed that he would *remember him in his kingdom* hereafter. The Lord then immediately granted him the forgiveness of his former sins, and brought him into Paradise to enjoy the mystical good things. He also, about the ninth hour, cried out and said to his Father, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* And a little afterwards, when he had cried with a loud voice, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do;* and had added, *Into thy hands I commend my spirit, he gave up the ghost;* and, before sunset, he was buried in a new sepulchre. {Matt. 27: 46. {Luke 23: 34. {Luke 23: 46.

But when the first day of the week dawned, he arose from the dead, and fulfilled those things which before his passion he foretold to us, saying, *The Son of Man must continue in the heart of the earth three days and three nights.* And when he was risen from the dead, he appeared first to Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James; then to Cleopas in the way; and, after that, to us his disciples, who had fled away for fear of the Jews, but privately were very inquisitive concerning him. But these things are also written in the Gospel. {Matt. 12: 40. {Mark 16: 9. {Luke 24: 18. {Mark 16: 14.

XV.

Of the Great Week; and on what account they enjoin us to fast on Wednesday and Friday.

He therefore himself charged us to fast these six days, on account of the impiety and transgression of the Jews; commanding us to mourn over them, and lament for their perdition. For even he himself *wept over them, because they knew not the time of their visitation.* But he commanded us to fast on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday), and on the Preparation (Friday), — the former on account of his being betrayed, and the latter on account of his Passion. But he appointed us to break our fast on the {Luke 19: 44.

seventh day at the cock-crowing, but to fast during the Sabbath itself; not that the Sabbath is a day of fasting, it being the rest from the creation, but because we ought to fast this one Sabbath only, while on this day the Creator was yet under the earth. For on their very Feast day they apprehended the Lord, that that oracle might be fulfilled which saith, *They placed their signs in the middle of their feast, and knew them not.* Ye ought, therefore, to mourn over them, because when the Lord came they did not believe on him, but rejected his doctrine, judging themselves unworthy of salvation.

Psalm 73: 4.

Consequently, ye are blessed, who once were not a people, but are now a holy nation, delivered from the deceit of idols, from ignorance, from impiety; who once had not obtained mercy, but now have obtained mercy, through your hearty obedience. For to you, the converted Gentiles, is opened the gate of life, who formerly were not beloved, but are now beloved; a people ordained for the possession of God, to show forth his virtues; concerning whom our Saviour said, *I was found of them that sought me not; I was made manifest to them that asked not after me. I said, Behold me, to a nation that did not call upon my name.* For when they did not seek after him, then were they sought for by him; and ye who have believed in him have hearkened to his call, and have left the madness of polytheism, and have fled to the true monarchy, to Almighty God, through Christ Jesus, and are become the completion of the number of the saved, *Ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;* as it is written in David, *A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand.* And again, *The chariots of God are by tens of thousands, and thousands of the prosperous.* But to unbelieving Israel he saith, *All the day long have I stretched out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, which go in a way that is not good, but after their own sins; a people provoking me before my face.*

Isaiah 65: 1.

Dan. 7: 10.

Psalm 90: 7.

Psalm 67: 17.

Isaiah 65: 2.

XVI.

An enumeration of the prophetical predictions which declare Christ; whose completion though the Jews saw, yet, out of the evil temper of their mind, they did not believe he was the Christ of God, and condemned the Lord of glory to the cross.

See how the people provoked the Lord by not believing in him. Therefore he saith, *They provoked the Holy Spirit, and he was turned to be their enemy.* {Isaiah, 63: 10.} For blindness is cast upon them by reason of the wickedness of their mind; because, when they saw Jesus, they did not believe him to be the Christ of God, who was before all ages begotten of him, his only-begotten Son, God the Word, whom they did not own, through their unbelief, neither on on account of his mighty works, nor yet on account of the prophecies which were written concerning him. For that he was to be born of a virgin, they read this prophecy, *Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel.* {Isaiah, 7: 14.} *For to us a child is born, to us a son is given, whose government is upon his shoulders; and his name is called the Angel of the great Council, the Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Potentate, the Prince of Peace, the Father of the future age.* {Isaiah, 9: 6.} Moreover, that through their exceedingly great wickedness, they would not believe in him, the Scripture saith, *Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?* {Isaiah, 53: 1.} And afterwards, *Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive; for the heart of this people is waxed gross.* {Isaiah, 6: 9.}

Wherefore knowledge was taken from them, because seeing, they overlooked; and hearing, they heard not. But to you, the converted of the Gentiles, is the kingdom given, because ye, who knew not God, have believed by preaching, and *have known him, or rather are known of him,* through Jesus, the Saviour and Redeemer of those that hope in him. {Gal. 4: 9.} For ye are translated from your former vain and tedious customs, and have contemned the lifeless idols, and despised the demons which are in darkness, and have hastened to the *true light,* and by it have *known the one and only true God and Father,* and so are owned to be heirs of his kingdom. {John, 1: 9. 17. 3.}

Rom. 6: 3. 1 Pet. 2: 2. 1 Cor. 6: 19. For since ye have been *baptized into the Lord's death*, and into his resurrection, as *new-born babes*, ye ought to be wholly free from all sinful actions. *For ye are not your own, but his that bought you* with his own blood. For concerning the former Israel, the Lord said, on account of their unbelief, that Matt. 12: 43. *the kingdom of God shall be taken from them, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof;* that is to say, that, having given the kingdom to you who were once far estranged from him, he expecteth the fruits of your gratitude and probity. For ye are those that were once sent into the vineyard, and did not obey, but these they that did obey; but ye have repented of your denial, and ye work therein now. But they, being uneasy on account of their own covenants, have not only left the vineyard uncultivated, but have also killed the stewards of the lord of the vineyard; one with stones, another with the sword; one they sawed asunder, another they slew in the holy place, *between the temple and the altar;* nay, Matt. 23: 35. at last they *cast the heir himself out of the vineyard, and slew him.* And by them he was rejected as an unprofitable stone; Matt. 21: 42. but by you he was received as a corner-stone. Wherefore Psalm 17: 45. he saith concerning you, *A people whom I knew not have served me; and at the hearing of the ear they obeyed me.*

XVII.

How the Passover ought to be celebrated.

Therefore, brethren, ye, who are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, ought diligently to celebrate the days of the Passover, with all carefulness, after the equinox, that ye keep not the memorial of the one passion twice in a year, but once only in a year for him that died but once; no longer indeed scrupulously caring to celebrate the feast with the Jews; for with them we now have no fellowship. For they are deceived in respect to the computation itself, which they think to carry into effect; as on every side they are deceived, and are separated from the truth. But do ye regard attentively the vernal equinox, which occurreth on the twenty-second day of the twelfth month (which is March), watching carefully until the twenty-first day of the moon, lest the fourteenth day of the moon

fall on another week; and, an error being made, ye through ignorance celebrate the Passover twice in the year; or keep the feast commemorative of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus, on some other than the Lord's day.

XVIII.

A Constitution concerning the great Passover Week.

In the days, therefore, of the Passover, fast, beginning from the second day of week until the Preparation and the Sabbath, six days; making use of only bread, and salt, and herbs, and water for your drink; but abstain from wine and flesh on these days; for they are days of lamentation, and not of feasting. Do ye who are able fast the day of the Preparation and the Sabbath entirely, tasting nothing till the cock-crowing of the night; but if any one is not able to join them both together, at least let him retain the Sabbath; for the Lord saith somewhere, speaking of himself, *When the bride-groom shall be taken away from them, in those days shall they fast.* {Mark 2: 20.} In these days, therefore, he was taken from the Jews, falsely so named, and fastened to the cross, and *was numbered among the transgressors.* {Isaiah 53: 12.}

XIX.

Concerning the watching all the night of the great Sabbath, and concerning the day of the Resurrection.

Wherefore we exhort you to fast on those days, till the evening, as we also fasted when he was taken away from us. But on the rest of the days, before the day of the Preparation, let every one eat at the ninth hour, or at the evening, or as every one is able. But on the Sabbath, extending the fast till cock-crowing, discontinue it at the dawning of the first day of the week, which is the Lord's day. From the evening till cock-crowing keep awake, and assemble together in the church; watch, praying and entreating God; reading, when ye sit up all night, the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, until cock-crowing; and baptizing your catechumens, and reading the gospel with fear and trembling, and speaking to the people such

things as tend to their salvation, put an end to your sorrow, and beseech God that Israel may be converted, and that he will allow them place of repentance, and the remission of their impiety. For the judge, who was a foreigner, washed his hands, and said, *I am* Matt. 27: 24, 25. *innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it.* But Israel cried out, *His blood be on us, and on our children.* And John. 19: 15. when Pilate said, *Shall I crucify your king? they cried* 19: 6. *out, We have no king but Cæsar; crucify him, crucify* 19: 12. *him; for every one that maketh himself a king, speaketh against Cæsar.* And, *If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend.* And Pilate the governor, and Herod the king, commanded him to be crucified; and that oracle was fulfilled which Psalm 2: 1. saith, *Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ.* Isaiah, 14: 19. And, *They cast away the beloved, as a dead man, who is abominable.*

And since he was crucified on the day of the Preparation, and rose again at the break of day on the Lord's day, the Scripture was Psalm 81: 8. fulfilled which saith, *Arise, O God, judge the earth; for thou shalt have an inheritance in all the nations.* And again, *I will* Psalm 11: 6. *arise, saith the Lord; I will put him in safety; I will wax* 40: 10. *bold through him.* And, *But thou, Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up again, and I shall requite them.* For this reason do ye also, now the Lord is risen, offer your sacrifice, con- Luke, 22: 19. cerning which he made a constitution by us, saying, *This do in remembrance of me;* and thenceforward leave off your fasting, and rejoice, and keep a festival, because Jesus Christ, the pledge of our resurrection, is risen from the dead. And let this be an everlasting ordinance till the consummation of the world, until the Lord 1 Cor. 11: 26. come. For to the Jews the Lord is still dead, but to Christians he is risen: to the former, by their unbelief; to the latter, by their full assurance of faith. For the hope in him is immortal and eternal life.

After eight days, let there be another feast observed with honor, the eighth day itself, on which he gave me, Thomas, who was hard John. 20: 25. of belief, full assurance, by showing me *the print of the nails*, and the wound made in his side by the spear.

And again, from the first Lord's day count forty days, from the

Lord's day till the fifth day of the week; and celebrate the Feast of the Ascension of the Lord, in which he finished all his dispensation and constitution, and returned to the God and Father who had sent him; sitting down at the right hand of power, and {Matt. 26: 64. Heb. 10: 13.} remaining there until his enemies be put under his feet. He {Mark, 13: 26.} will also come at the end of the world, with power and {2 Tim. 4: 1. Rom. 2: 6.} great glory, to judge the living and the dead, and to recompense every one according to his works. And then shall they *see* the beloved Son of God, *whom they pierced;* and when they {John, 19: 37.} know him, *they shall mourn for themselves, tribe by tribe,* {Zech. 12: 10–} *and their wives apart.*

XX.

A Prophetic Prediction concerning Christ Jesus.

For even now, on the tenth day of the month September, when they assemble together, they read the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in which it is said, *The spirit before our face, Christ the Lord* {Lam. 4: 20.} *was taken in their destructions;* and Baruch, in whom it is written, *This is our God; no other shall be esteemed with him. He* {Bar. 3: 36.} *found out every way of knowledge, and showed it to Jacob his son, and Israel his beloved. Afterwards he was seen upon earth, and conversed with men.* And when they read them, they lament and bewail, as themselves suppose, that desolation which happened by Nebuchadnezzar; but, as the truth showeth, they unwillingly make a prelude to that lamentation which will overtake them.

But after ten days from the ascension, which, from the first Lord's day, is the fiftieth day, let there be to you a great festival. For on that day, at the third hour, the Lord Jesus sent on us the gift of the Holy Ghost, and we were filled with his energy, and we *spake* {Acts, 2: 4.} *with new tongues, as that Spirit suggested to us;* and we preached both to Jews and Gentiles, that he is the Christ of God, who is *determined by him to be the Judge of the living and the* {Acts, 10: 42.} *dead.* To him did Moses bear witness, saying, *The Lord* {Gen. 19: 24.} *received fire from the Lord, and rained it down.* Him Jacob saw as a man, and said, *I have seen God face to face, and my* {Gen. 32: 30.} *soul is preserved.* Him Abraham entertained, and acknowl- {18: 25, 27.}

Exod. 3: 2. } edged to be *the Judge* and his own Lord. Him Moses saw
Deut. 18: 18. } in the bush. Concerning him he said in Deuteronomy, *A Prophet will the Lord your God raise up unto you out of your brethren, like unto me. Him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall be, that every soul that will not hear that Prophet shall be destroyed from among his people.* Him
Josh. 5: 14. } did Joshua, the son of Nun, see, as the captain of the Lord's host, in armor, for his assistance against Jericho; to whom he fell down and worshipped, as a servant doth to his master. Him Sam-
1 Kings, 12: 3. } uel knew, as the *anointed of God*, and thence named the priests and the kings the anointed. Him David knew, and sung a hymn concerning him, saying, *A song concerning the Beloved;* and,
Psalm 44: 3— } addressing it to his person, he said, *Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou who art mighty, in thy beauty and renown. Go on and prosper, and reign, for the sake of truth, and meekness, and righteousness; and thy right hand shall guide thee after a wonderful manner. Thy darts are sharp,— O thou that art mighty, the people shall fall under thee,—in the heart of the king's enemies. Wherefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.* Concerning him spake Solomon, as in his person: *The Lord created me the beginning of his ways, for*
Prov. 8: 22— } *his works. Before the world he founded me; in the beginning, before he made the earth, before the fountains of waters came, before the mountains were fastened, before all the hills, he begat me.*
Prov. 9: 1. } And again, *Wisdom built herself a house.* Concerning
Isaiah, 11: 1. } him also Isaiah said, *A branch shall come out of the root of*
11: 10. } *Jesse; and a flower shall spring out of his root.* And *there shall be a root of Jesse, and he that is to rise to reign over the Gentiles;*
Zech. 9: 9. } *in him shall the Gentiles trust.* And Zechariah saith, *Behold thy king cometh unto thee, just, and having salvation, meek, and riding upon an ass, even a colt, the foal of an ass.* Him
Dan. 7: 13. } Daniel describeth as *the Son of Man coming to the Father,*
2: 34. } and receiving all judgment and honor from him; and as *the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, and becoming a great mountain, and filling the whole earth,* dashing to pieces the many governments of the smaller countries, and the polytheism of the gods; but preaching the one God, and ordaining the monarchy of the Romans. Concerning him also prophesieth Jeremiah, saying,
Lam. 4: 20. } *The Spirit before his face, Christ the Lord, was taken in*

their snares, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the Gentiles. Ezekiel also, and the subsequent prophets, affirm everywhere that he is the Christ, the Lord, the King, the Judge, the Lawgiver, the Angel of the Father, the only-begotten God. Him, therefore, do we also preach to you, and declare to be God the Word, who ministered to his God and Father for the creation of the universe. Believing in him, ye shall live; but not believing, ye shall be punished. For *he that is disobedient to the Son* {John, 3: 36. *shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.*

Therefore, after ye have kept the festival of the Pentecost, keep festival one week more; and after that, fast one; for it is reasonable to rejoice for the gift of God, and to fast after that relaxation. For both Moses and Elias fasted forty days; and Dan- {Exod. 34: 28. {3 Kings, 19: 8. iel for *three weeks of days did not eat desirable bread, and* { Dan. 10: 2. *flesh and wine did not enter into his mouth;* and blessed Hannah, when she asked for Samuel, said, *I have not drunk wine,* {1 Kings, 1: 15. *nor strong drink, and I pour out my soul before the Lord;* and the Ninevites, when they *fasted three days and three nights,* { Jonah, 3: 5. escaped the execution of wrath. And Esther, and Mor- { Esther, 4: 16. decai, and Judith, by fasting escaped the insurrection of { Judith, 8: 6. the ungodly Holofernes and Haman. And David saith, {Psalm 108: 24. *My knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh faileth for want of oil.*

Do ye, therefore, fast, and ask your petitions of God. We enjoin you to fast every fourth day of the week, and every day of the Preparation; and what is saved by your fasting bestow upon the needy. Every Sabbath except one, and every Lord's day, hold your religious assemblies, and rejoice; for he will be guilty of sin who fasteth on the Lord's day, it being the day of the resurrection, or during the time of Pentecost, or, in general, who is sad on a festival day to the Lord; for then we ought to rejoice, and not to mourn.

BOOK VI.

CONCERNING SCHISMS.

CHAPTER I.

Who they were that ventured to make Schisms, and did not escape punishment.

ABOVE all things, O Bishops, avoid the sad, and dangerous, and lawless heresies, eschewing them as fire that burneth those who come near it. Avoid also schisms; for it is neither lawful to turn one's mind towards wicked heresies, nor, out of ambition, to separate from the men who agree with you in sentiment. For, in ancient times, certain persons who ventured to do thus, did not escape punishment. Dathan and Abiram, who set up in opposition to Moses, were swallowed down into the earth. And Corah, and those two hundred and fifty who with him raised a sedition against Aaron, were consumed by fire. Miriam also, who reproached Moses, was cast out of the camp for seven days; for she alleged that Moses *had married an Ethiopian woman.* Nay, there is the case of Azariah and Uzziah; the latter of whom was king of Judah, but, venturing to usurp the priesthood, and desiring to offer incense, which it was not lawful for him to do, was forbidden by Azariah, the high priest, and the fourscore priests; and when he would not obey, he perceived the leprosy to rise in his forehead; and he hastened to go out, because the Lord had reproved him.

Num. 16.

Num. 12: 1.

2 Chron. 26: 16–20.

II.

That it is not lawful to rise up against either the kingly or the priestly office.

Let us, therefore, beloved, consider what sort of glory that of the seditious is, and what their condemnation. For if he that riseth up against kings is worthy of punishment, even though he be a son or

a friend; how much more he that riseth up against the priests! For by how much the priesthood is more noble than the royal power, as having its concern about the soul, so much hath he a greater punishment who ventureth to oppose the priesthood, than he who ventureth to oppose the royal power, although neither of them goeth unpunished. For neither did Absalom and {2 Kings, 18 & 20.} Abedadan* escape without punishment; nor Corah and Dathan. The former two rose against David, and strove concerning {Num. 16.} the kingdom; the latter, against Moses, concerning preëminence. And they spake evil, Absalom of his father David, as of an unjust judge, saying to every one, *Thy words are good; but there* {2 Kings, 15: 3.} *is no one that will hear thee, and do thee justice. Who will make me a ruler?* and Abedadan said, *I have no part in David,* {2 Kings, 20: 1.} *nor any inheritance in the son of Jesse.* It is plain that he could not endure to be under David's government, of whom God spake: *I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after my heart,* {Acts, 13: 22.} *who will do all my commands.* But Dathan and Abiram, and the followers of Corah, said to Moses, *Is it a small thing that* {Num. 16: 13.} *thou hast brought us out of the land of Egypt, out of a land flowing with milk and honey? And why hast thou put out our eyes? And wilt thou rule over us?* And they gathered together against him a great congregation; and the followers of Corah said, *Hath* {Num. 12: 2.} *God spoken alone to Moses?* Why is it that he hath given the high priesthood to Aaron alone? *Is not all the congrega-* {Num. 16: 3.} *tion of the Lord holy?* And why is Aaron alone possessed of the priesthood? And, before this, one said, *Who made thee a* {Exod. 2: 14.} *ruler and a judge over us?*

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* *Sheba*, in the original Hebrew, and in the English version of 2 Sam. 20: 1, &c. But copies of the Greek version (which, it will be recollected, was used by the writer) exhibit some variety in the expression of this name. How it came to be as in the text, we can only conjecture. — C.

III.

Concerning the virtue of Moses, and the incredulity of the Jewish nation, and what wonderful works God did among them.

And they raised a sedition against Moses, the servant of God, Num. 12: 3. } *the meekest of all men*, and faithful, and affronted so great a man with the highest ingratitude; him who was their lawgiver, and guardian, and high priest, and king, the administrator of divine things; one that showed, as a creator, the mighty works of the Creator; the meekest man, freest from arrogance, and full of fortitude, and most benign in his temper; one who had delivered them from many dangers, and freed them from several deaths by his holiness; who had done so many signs and wonders from God before the people, and had performed glorious and wonderful works for their benefit; who had brought the ten plagues upon the Egyp- Exod. 7— } tians; who had divided the Red Sea, and had separated the waters as a wall on this side and on that side, and had led the people through them, as through a dry wilderness, and had drowned Exod. 15: 25. } Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and all that were in company with them, and had made the fountain sweet for them with wood, Exod. 17: 6. } and had brought water out of the abrupt rock for them 16. } when they were thirsty, and had given them manna out of heaven, and had distributed flesh to them out of the air, and had Exod. 13: 24. } afforded them a pillar of fire in the night to enlighten and conduct them, and a pillar of a cloud to shadow them in the day, on Exod. 31— } account of the violent heat of the sun, and had exhibited to them the *Law of God*, engraven from the mouth, and hand, and writing of God, *in tables of stone*, the perfect number of ten com- Exod. 33: 11. } mandments; to whom God spake face to face, as if a man Deut. 34: 10. } spake to his friend; of whom he said, *And there arose not a Prophet like unto Moses.* Against him arose the followers of Num. 14: 10. } Corah, and the Reubenites, and threw stones at Moses, 16: 15. } who prayed and said, *Accept not thou their offering.* And the glory of God appeared, and sent some down into the earth, and burnt up others with fire; and so as to those ringleaders of this Num. 14: 4. } schismatical error, who said, *Let us make ourselves a leader*, the earth opened its mouth, and swallowed them up, and their tents,

and what appertained to them; and they went down alive into hell. Moreover, he destroyed the followers of Corah with fire.

IV.

That he maketh schism, not who separateth himself from the wicked, but who departeth from the godly.

If, therefore, God inflicted punishment immediately on those that made a schism on account of their ambition, how much rather will he do it upon those who are the leaders of impious heresies! Will he not inflict severer punishment on those that blaspheme his providence or his creation? But do ye, brethren, who are instructed out of the Scripture, take care not to make divisions in opinion, nor divisions in your unity. For those who set up unlawful opinions are harbingers of perdition to the people. In like manner, ye of the laity, come not near such as advance doctrines contrary to the mind of God, nor be ye partakers of their impiety. For, saith God, *Separate yourselves from the midst of these men, lest ye perish together with them.* {Num. 16: 21.} And again, *Depart from the midst of them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you.* {2 Cor. 6: 17.}

V.

On what account Israel, falsely so named, is rejected, — a demonstration from the prophetic predictions.

For those most certainly are to be avoided who blaspheme God. The greatest part of the ungodly, indeed, are ignorant of God; but these men, as fighters against God, are possessed with a wilful, evil disposition, as with a disease. For from the wickedness of the heretics, *Pollution is gone out upon all the land*, as saith the prophet Jeremiah. {Jer. 23: 15.} Accordingly, the wicked synagogue is now cast off by the Lord God, and his house is rejected by him, as he somewhere saith, *I have forsaken my house; I have left mine inheritance.* {Jer. 12: 7.} And again, saith Isaiah, *I will neglect my* {Isaiah, 5: 6.}

vineyard, and it shall not be pruned nor digged, and thorns shall spring up upon it, as upon a desert; and I will command the clouds Isaiah, 1: 8. *that they rain no rain upon it.* He hath therefore left his people, *as a tent in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, and as a besieged city.* He hath taken away from them the Holy Spirit, and the prophetic rain, and hath replenished his church with spiritual grace, as the river of Egypt in the time of first-fruits; and hath exceedingly exalted it, as *a house upon a hill,* Psalm 67: 16. or as a high mountain; as *a mountain swelling into eminences, and fertile; in which it hath pleased God to dwell; yea, the Lord will establish his habitation there for ever.* And he saith in Jer. 17: 12. Jeremiah, *Our sanctuary is an exalted throne of glory;* Isaiah, 2: 2. and he saith in Isaiah, *And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord shall be glorious; and the house of the Lord shall be upon the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills.*

Since, therefore, he hath forsaken his people, he hath also left his temple desolate, and rent the veil of the temple, and took from Matt. 23: 38. them the Holy Spirit. For saith he, *Behold, your house is left unto you desolate;* and he hath bestowed upon you, the con- Joel, 2: 28. verted of the Gentiles, spiritual grace; as he saith by Joel, *And it shall come to pass, after these things, saith God, that I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons shall prophesy, and your daughters shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams.* For God hath taken away all the power and efficacy of his word, and such like visitations, from that people, and hath transferred them to you, the converted of the Gentiles. On this account, the devil, being very angry at the holy church of God, hath betaken himself to you, and hath raised against you afflictions, persecutions, seditions, reproaches, schisms, heresies. For he had before subdued that people to himself, by their slaying of Christ. But you, who have left his vanities, he tempteth in different ways, as he did the Zech. 3: 1. blessed Job. And, indeed, he opposed that great high Luke, 22: 31. priest, Joshua, the son of Josedek; and he sometimes sought to sift us, that our faith might fail. But our Lord and Zech. 3: 2. Master, having brought him to trial, said to him, *The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan, even the Lord who hath chosen Jerusalem, rebuke thee. Is not this plucked out of the fire, as a brand?* And he who then said to those that stood by the high priest, *Take away*

his ragged garments from him, and added, *Behold, I have taken thine iniquities away from thee*, — he will now say, as he formerly said of us, when we were assembled together, *I have prayed that your faith may not fail.* { Luke 22, 32.

VI.

That even among the Jews there arose the doctrine of several heresies, hateful to God.

Verily, even the Jewish nation had wicked heresies; for of them were the Sadducees, who do not confess the resurrection of the dead; and the Pharisees, who ascribe the practice of sinners to fortune and fate; and the Basmotheans, who deny Providence, and say, that the world is made by spontaneous motion, and take away the immortality of the soul; and the Hemerobaptists, who, every day, unless they bathe, do not eat; nay, unless they cleanse their couches, and tables, or platters, and cups, and seats, do not make use of any of them; and those who have recently appeared in our time, the Ebionites, who will have the Son of God to be a mere man, begotten by human pleasure and the conjunction of Joseph and Mary. There are also the Essenes, who separate themselves from all these, and observe the laws of their fathers.

The sects, then, which have been mentioned, arose among the former people. And now, the evil one, who is wise to do mischief, and never knoweth to do any good whatever, hath overcome some from among us, and by them hath wrought heresies and schisms.

VII.

Whence the heresies sprang, and who was the ringleader of their impiety.

Now, the origin of the new heresies was thus: The devil entered into one Simon, of the village called Gitthæ, a Samaritan, by profession a magician, and made him the minister of his wicked design. For when Philip, our fellow-apostle, by the gift of the Lord, { Acts 8: 5–

and the energy of his Spirit, performed the miracles of healing in Samaria, so that the Samaritans were astonished, and embraced the faith of the God of the universe, and of the Lord Jesus, and were baptized into his name ; and when already Simon, also himself, seeing the signs and wonders which were done without any magic ceremonies, fell into admiration, and *believed, and was baptized*, and continued in fasting and prayer, we heard of the grace of God, which was among the Samaritans, by Philip, and came down to them ; and, enlarging much upon the word of doctrine, we laid our hands upon all that were baptized, and we conferred upon them the participation of the Spirit.

But when Simon saw that the Spirit was given to believers by the imposition of our hands, he took money, and offered it to us, saying, *Give me also the power, that on whomsoever I also shall lay my hand, he may receive the Holy Ghost;* being desirous that, as the devil deprived Adam, by the tasting of the tree, of that immortality which was promised, so also he might entice us by the receiving of money, and thereby cut us off from the gift of God, that so by exchange we might give away to him, for money, the inestimable gift of the Spirit. But, as we were all troubled at this offer, I, Peter, with a fixed attention on that malicious serpent which was in him, said to Simon, *Let thy money go with thee to perdition, because thou hast thought to purchase the gift of God with money. Thou hast no part in this matter, nor lot in this faith ; for thy heart is not right in the sight of God. Repent, therefore, of this thy wickedness, and pray to the Lord, if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee. For I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity.* But then Simon was terrified, and said, *I entreat you, pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of those things which ye have spoken come upon me.*

VIII.

Who were the successors of Simon's impiety, and what heresies they set up.

But when we went forth among the Gentiles, to preach the word of life, then the devil wrought in the people to send after us false

apostles, to the corrupting of the word; and they sent forth one Cleobius, and joined him with Simon; and these became disciples to one Dositheus, whom they, having surpassed, thrust away from being the leader. Afterwards, also, others were the authors of absurd doctrines: Cerinthus, and Marcus, and Menander, and Basilides, and Saturnilus.* Of these, some own the doctrine of many gods; some, only of three, but contrary to each other, without beginning, and ever with one another; and some, of gods infinite in number, and unknown. And some reject marriage, thinking that it is not the appointment of God; others abhor some kinds of food; and some are impudent in uncleanness, such as those who are falsely called Nicolaitans.

But Simon, indeed, meeting me, Peter, first at Cæsarea of Strato (where the faithful Cornelius, a Gentile, believed on the Lord Jesus by me), endeavored to pervert the word of God; there being with me the holy children, Zaccheus, who was once a publican; and Barnabas, and Nicetas, and Aquila, who were brethren, and Clement, the Bishop and citizen of Rome, who was the disciple of Paul, our fellow-apostle and fellow-helper in the Gospel. I thrice discoursed before them, with him, concerning the true prophet, and concerning the monarchy of God; and when I had overcome him by the power of the Lord, and had put him to silence, I drove him away into Italy.

IX.

How Simon, desiring to fly by some magical arts, fell down headlong from on high, at the prayers of Peter, and broke his feet, and hands, and ankle-bones.

Now, when he was in Rome, he mightily disturbed the church, and subverted many, and brought them over to himself, and astonished the Gentiles with his skill in magic; insomuch that once, in the middle of the day, he went into their theatre, and commanded the people that I also be brought into the theatre, and promised

* It is probable that the person intended to be mentioned here was Saturninus, of Antioch. He was contemporary with Basilides, of Alexandria. Both flourished about the year of our Lord 125. — C.

that he would fly in the air. And when all the people were in suspense at this, I prayed by myself. And indeed he was carried up into the air by demons, and flew on high in the air, saying that he was returning into heaven, and that he would supply them with good things from thence. And the people making acclamations to him, as to a god, I stretched out my hands to heaven, with my mind, and besought God, through the Lord Jesus, to throw down this pestilent fellow, and to destroy the power of those demons who made use of it for the seduction and perdition of men; to dash him against the ground, and bruise him, but not to kill him. And then, fixing my eyes on Simon, I said to him, *If I be a man of God, and a real apostle of Jesus Christ, and a teacher of piety, and not of deceit, as thou art, O Simon, I command those wicked powers of the apostate from piety, by which Simon the magician is carried, to let go their hold, that he may fall down headlong from his height, and be exposed to the laughter of those who have been seduced by him.*

When I had said these words, Simon was deprived of his powers, and fell down headlong with a great noise, and was violently dashed against the ground, and had his hip and ankle-bones broken. And the people cried out, saying, *There is one God only, whom Peter rightfully preacheth in truth.* And many left him; but some, who were worthy of perdition, continued in his wicked doctrine. And thus this most atheistical heresy was fixed in Rome. The devil wrought also by the rest of the false apostles.

X.

How the Heresies differ from each other, and from the truth.

But all these had one and the same design of atheism, to blaspheme Almighty God, to spread their doctrine, that he is an unknown Being, and not the Father of Christ, nor the Creator of the world; but one who cannot be spoken of, ineffable, not to be named, and begotten by himself; that we are not to make use of the Law and the Prophets; that there is no Providence; that we are not to believe in a resurrection; that there is no judgment nor retribution; that the soul is not immortal; that we must indulge only our pleasures, and turn to any sort of worship without dis-

tinction. Some of them say that there are many gods; some, that there are three gods without beginning; some, that there are two unbegotten gods; some, that there are innumerable æons. And some of them teach that men are not to marry, and must abstain from flesh and wine, affirming that marriage, and the begetting of children, and the eating of certain foods, are abominable; that so, as sober persons, they may make their wicked opinions to be received as worthy of belief. But some of them prohibit the eating of flesh, as being the flesh, not of irrational animals, but of creatures that have a rational soul, and as if those that ventured to slay them would be charged with the crime of murder. Others of them, however, affirm that we must abstain only from swine's flesh, but may eat such kinds as are clean by the Law; and that we ought to be circumcised, according to the Law, and to believe in Jesus, as in a holy man and a prophet. But others teach men to be impudent in uncleanness, and to abuse the flesh, and to go through all unholy practices, as if this were the only way for the soul to avoid *the rulers of this world.* Now all these are the instruments of the devil, and the children of wrath.

XI.

An exposition of Apostolic preaching.

But we, who are the children of God and the sons of peace, preach the holy and right word of piety, and declare one God only, the Lord of the Law and of the Prophets, the Maker of the world, the Father of Christ; not a being that caused himself or begat himself, as they suppose, but eternal, and without origin, and dwelling in light inaccessible; not second, or third, or one of many, but the only one eternally; not unknown, or that must not be spoken of, but that was preached by the Law and the Prophets; the Almighty, the Supreme Governor of all things, having authority over all; the God and Father of the Only-begotten, and of the First-born of the whole creation; one God, the Father of one Son, not of many; the Source sending forth one Comforter by Christ; the Maker of the other orders, the one Creator of the several creatures by Christ, the same their preserver and legislator by him;

the author of the resurrection and of the judgment, and of the retribution which shall be made by him; and that this Son himself was pleased to become man, and lived among men without sin, and suffered, and rose from the dead, and returned to Him that sent him.

We also say that every creature of God is good, and nothing abominable; that every thing for the support of life, when partaken of righteously, is excellent. For, according to the Scrip- Gen. 1: 31. ture, *all things were very good.* We believe that lawful marriage, and the begetting of children, is honorable and undefiled; for difference of sexes in Adam and Eve was formed for the increase of mankind. We abhor all unlawful mixtures, and that which is practised by some against nature, as wicked and impious.

We acknowledge a soul within us, incorporeal and immortal; not corruptible, as bodies are, but immortal, as being rational and free.

We profess that there will be a resurrection, both of the just and of the unjust, and a retribution.

We profess that Christ is not a mere man, but God the Word and man, the Mediator between God and man, the High Priest of the Father. Nor are we circumcised with the Jews; since we Gen. 49: 10. know that he is come *to whom it was reserved*, and on whose account the families were kept distinct, — *the expectation of the Gentiles*, Jesus Christ, who sprang out of Judah, the Son from Isaiah 11: 1. the Branch, the Flower from Jesse, whose government is 9: 6. upon his shoulder.

XII.

To those that confess Christ, but are desirous to Judaize.

But because this heresy seemed then to be the more powerful to Acts 15. 1. seduce men, and the whole church was in danger, we, the 1. 13– Twelve, being assembled at Jerusalem (for Matthias was chosen to be an apostle, in the room of the betrayer, and took the lot of Judas, as it is said, *His bishopric let another take*), deliberated, together with James the Lord's brother, what was to be done; and it seemed good to him, and to the elders, to speak to

the people words of doctrine. For certain men went down from Judea to Antioch, and taught the brethren who were there, saying, *Unless ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, and walk according to the other customs which he ordained, ye cannot be saved.* { Acts 15: 1.

There having been, therefore, no small dissension and disputation, the brethren who were at Antioch, when they knew that we were all met together about this question, sent forth unto us men who were faithful and understanding in the Scriptures, to learn concerning this question. And these, when they were come to Jerusalem, declared to us what questions had arisen in the church of Antioch; namely, that some said, Men ought to be circumcised, and to observe the other purifications.

And when some said one thing, and some another, I, Peter, stood up, and said to them, *Men and brethren, ye know how that from ancient days God made choice among you that the Gentiles should hear the Word of the Gospel by my mouth, and believe; and God, who knoweth the hearts, bare them witness.* { Acts 15: 7. For an angel of the Lord appeared on a certain time to Cornelius, who was a centurion of the Roman government, and spake to him concerning me, that he should send for me, and hear the word of life from my mouth. He therefore sent for me from Joppa to Cæsarea of Strato; and when I was ready to go to him, I would have eaten; and while they made ready, I was in the upper room praying, and I saw heaven opened, and a vessel, knit at the four corners like a splendid sheet, let down to the earth, wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts, and creeping things of the earth, and fowls of the heaven. And there came a voice out of heaven to me, saying, *Arise, Peter, kill and eat. And I said, By no means, Lord; for I have never eaten any thing common or unclean. And there came a voice a second time, saying, What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common. And this was done thrice; and the vessel was received up again into heaven. But as I doubted what this vision should mean, the Spirit said to me, Behold, men seek thee. But rise up, and go with them, nothing doubting; for I have sent them.* { Acts 10: 13–

These men were those who came from the centurion, and so by reasoning I understood the word of the Lord, which is written, *Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be* { Joel, 2: 32.

Psalm 21: 28. *saved.* And again, *All the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord, and all the families of the Heathen shall worship before him; for the kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the Governor of the nations.* And observing that there were expressions everywhere concerning the calling of the Gentiles, I rose up, and went with them, and entered into the man's house. And while Acts, 11: 15. I was preaching the word, *the Holy Spirit fell on him, and on those that were with him, as it did on us at the beginning;* Acts, 15: 9. *and he put no difference between us and them, purifying* 10: 34. *their hearts by faith.* And *I perceived that God is no respecter of persons, but that in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, will be accepted with him.* But *even* Acts, 10: 45. *the believers, who were of the circumcision, were aston-* 15: 10. *ished at this. Now, therefore, why tempt ye God to lay a heavy yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither we nor our* Acts, 15: 11. *fathers were able to bear? But we believe that, through the grace of the Lord, we shall be saved even as they.* For the Lord hath loosed us from our bonds, and hath made our burden light, and hath loosed the heavy yoke from us by his clemency.

While I spake these things, the whole multitude kept silence. Acts, 15: 13– But James, the Lord's brother, answered and said, *Men and brethren, hearken unto me. Simeon hath declared how God at first visited to take out a people from the Gentiles to his name. And to this agree the words of the prophets, as it is written, After-* Amos, 10: 11. *wards I will return, and will raise again and rebuild the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will rebuild its ruins, and will again set it up, that the residue of men may seek after the Lord, and all the nations upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth these things. Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world. Wherefore my sentence is, that we do not trouble those who from among the Gentiles turn unto God; but that we write to them that they abstain from the pollutions of the Gentiles, and from what is sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication.* Which laws were given to the ancients, who lived before the Law, under the law of nature, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Melchisedek, Job, and if there be any other of the same sort.

Then it seemed good to us, the apostles, and to James the Acts, 15: 22. bishop, and to the elders, with the whole church, to send men

chosen from among our own selves, with Barnabas and Paul of Tarsus, the apostle of the Gentiles, and Judas, who was called Barsabbas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren; and we wrote by their hand as followeth: *The Apostles and Elders to the brethren who are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia, send greeting. Since we have heard that some from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, to whom we gave no such commandment, it hath seemed good to us, when we were met together with one accord, to send chosen men to you, with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men who have hazarded their lives for our Lord Jesus Christ, and by whom ye sent unto us. We have sent also with them Judas and Silas, who shall themselves declare the same things by mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay no other burden upon you than these necessary things: that ye abstain from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication. From which things, if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well.*

We accordingly sent this epistle; but we ourselves remained in Jerusalem many days, consulting together for the public benefit, for the well ordering of all things.

XIII.

That we must separate from Heretics.

But after a long time we visited the brethren, and confirmed them with the word of piety, and charged them to avoid those who, under the name of Christ and Moses, war against Christ and Moses, and in the clothing of sheep hide the wolf. For these are false Christs, and false prophets, and false apostles; deceivers and corrupters, portions of foxes, the destroyers of the herbs of the vineyards; for whose sake *the love of many will wax cold.* {Matt. 24: 12. *But he that endureth steadfast to the end, the same shall be saved.* {24: 13. Concerning whom, that he might secure us, the Lord declared, saying, *There will come to you men in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.* {Matt. 7: 15. *Ye shall know them by their fruits. Beware of them. For false Christs and false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many.* {Matt. 24: 24. {24: 5.

XIV.

Who were the preachers of the Catholic Doctrine, and which are the commandments given by them.

On whose account, also, we who are now assembled in one place, — Peter and Andrew, James and John, sons of Zebedee, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, James the son of Alpheus, and Lebbeus who was surnamed Thaddeus, and Simon the Cananite, and Matthias, who, instead of Judas, was numbered with us; James the brother of the Lord, and Bishop of Jerusalem, and Paul the teacher of the Gentiles, the chosen vessel, — all being present, have written to you this Catholic Doctrine, for the confirmation of you to whom the oversight of the church universal is committed; wherein we declare to you that there is only one God Almighty, besides whom there is no other; and that ye must worship and adore him only, through Jesus Christ our Lord, in the most Holy Spirit; that ye are to make use of the Sacred Scriptures, the Law and the Prophets; to honor your parents; to avoid all unlawful actions; to believe in the resurrection and the judgment, and to expect the retribution; and to use all his creatures with thankfulness, as the works of God, and having no evil in them; and to marry after a lawful manner, for such marriage is unblamable. Prov. 19: 14. *For the woman is suited to the man by the Lord.* And Matt. 19: 4. the Lord saith, *He that made them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh.* Nor let it be esteemed lawful after marriage to put her away who is without blame. For, saith he, Mal. 2: 15. *Thou shalt take heed to thy spirit, and shalt not forsake the wife of thy youth; for she is the partner of thy life, and the* Mal. 2: 14. *remains of thy spirit. I, and no other, have made her.* For Matt. 19: 6. the Lord saith, *What God hath joined together let not man put asunder.*

For the wife is the partner of life, united by God into one body from two. But he that divideth that again into two, which is become one, is the enemy of the creation of God, and the adversary of his providence. In like manner, he that retaineth her that is

corrupted, is a transgressor of the law of nature; since *he that retaineth an adulteress is foolish and wicked.* For the Scripture saith, *Cut her off from thy flesh;* for she is not a help, but a snare, bending her mind from thee to another. {Prov. 18: 22.} {Ecclus. 25: 26.}

Nor be ye circumcised in your flesh; but let the circumcision which is of the heart by the spirit suffice for the faithful. For the Scripture saith, *Be ye circumcised to your God; and circumcise the foreskin of your hearts.* {Jer. 4: 4.}

XV.

That we ought neither to rebaptize, nor to receive that baptism which is given by the wicked; which is not baptism, but pollution.

Be ye likewise contented with one baptism alone, that which is into the death of the Lord; not that which is conferred by wicked heretics, but that which is conferred by unblamable priests *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;* and let not that which cometh from the ungodly be received by you, nor let that which is done by the godly be annulled by a second. For as there is one God, one Christ, and one Comforter, and one death of the Lord in the body, so let the baptism which is given into that death be one. But those that receive polluted baptism from the ungodly, will become partners in their opinions. For they are not priests; for God saith to them, *Because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee from the office of a priest to me.* Nor indeed are those that are baptized by them initiated, but polluted; not receiving the remission of sins, but the bond of impiety. And besides, they that attempt to rebaptize those who are already initiated, crucify the Lord afresh; slay him a second time; laugh at divine and ridicule holy things; affront the Spirit; dishonor the sacred blood of Christ, as common blood; are impious against Him that sent, Him that suffered, and Him that witnessed. {Matt. 28: 19.} {Hos. 4: 6.}

But also he that, out of contempt, will not be baptized, shall be condemned as an unbeliever, and shall be reproached as ungrateful and foolish. For the Lord saith, *Except a man be baptized of water and of the Spirit, he shall by no means enter into the kingdom of heaven.* And again, *He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.* {John, 3: 5.} {Mark, 16: 16.}

But he that saith, When I am dying, I will be baptized, lest I should sin, and defile my baptism, is ignorant of God, and forgetful of his own nature. For, *Delay not to turn unto the Lord; for thou knowest not what the next day will bring forth.*

Ecclus. 5: 7. Prov. 27: 1. 3: 28.

Moreover, baptize your children, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of God. For the Saviour saith, *Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not.*

Matt. 19: 14.

XVI.

Concerning books with false inscriptions.

We have written all these things to you, that ye may know our decree, what it is; and that ye may not receive those books which have been fabricated in our name by the ungodly. For ye are not to attend to the names of the apostles, but to the nature of the things, and the correct decision. For we know that Simon and Cleobius, and their followers, have compiled poisonous books under the name of Christ and of his disciples, and carry them about in order to deceive you who love Christ and us his servants. And among the ancients, also, some have written apocryphal books of Moses, and Enoch, and Adam, and Isaiah, and David, and Elias, and of the three patriarchs; pernicious, and repugnant to the truth. And such things now have the wicked heretics done; reproaching the creation, marriage, providence, the begetting of children, the law, and the prophets; inscribing certain barbarous names, and, as they think, of angels, but, to speak the truth, of demons, who suggest things to them: whose doctrine eschew, that ye may not be partakers of the punishment due to those who write such things for the seduction and perdition of the faithful and unblamable disciples of the Lord Jesus.

XVII.

Matrimonial precepts concerning Clergymen.

We have said that a Bishop, and a Presbyter, and a Deacon, when they are constituted, must be but once married.

1 Tim. 3: 2, 12. Titus, 1: 6.

whether their wives be alive, or whether they be dead; and that it is not lawful for them, if they be unmarried when they are ordained, to be married afterwards; or if they be then already married, to be married a second time; but that they should be content with the wife whom they had when they came to ordination.

We also command that the Attendants, and the Singers, and the Readers, and the Porters, be only once married. But if they entered into the clergy before they were married, we permit them to marry, if they have an inclination thereto, lest they sin, and incur punishment.

But we do not permit any one of the clergy to marry a prostitute, or a slave, or a widow, or one that is divorced; as also saith the Law. {Lev. 21: 7, 14.}

Let the Deaconess be a pure virgin, or, at the least, a widow who hath been but once married, faithful, and well-esteemed.

XVIII.

An exhortation commanding to avoid the communion of the impious Heretics.

Receive ye the penitent; for this is the will of God in Christ. Instruct the catechumens in the elements of religion, and then baptize them. Eschew the atheistical Heretics, who are past repentance, and separate them from the faithful, and excommunicate them from the church of God; and charge the faithful to abstain entirely from them, and not to partake with them either in sermons or in prayers. For these men are enemies to the church, and lay snares for it; men who corrupt the flock, and defile the heritage of Christ; pretenders only to wisdom, and wholly depraved: concerning whom Solomon the Wise said, *The wicked doers pretend to act piously.* For, saith he, *There is a way which seemeth right to some, but the ends thereof look to the bottom of hell.* {Prov. 14: 12.} These are they concerning whom the Lord declared his mind with bitterness and severity, saying that *they are false Christs and false prophets*, who have blasphemed the Spirit of grace, and done despite to the gift from him, after the grace [of baptism]; *to whom forgiveness shall not be granted, neither in this world, nor in that* {Matt. 24: 24.} {Matt. 12: 32.}

which is to come; who are both more wicked than the Jews, and more atheistical than the Gentiles; who blaspheme the God over all, and tread under foot his Son, and do despite to the doctrine of the Spirit; who deny the words of God, or pretend hypocritically to receive them, to the affronting of God, and the deceiving of those that come among them; who abuse the Holy Scriptures, and, as for righteousness, know not what it is; who spoil the church of God, as Cant. 2: 15. *the little foxes do the vineyards;* whom we exhort you to avoid, lest ye lay traps for your own souls.

Prov. 13: 20. Indeed, *He that walketh with wise men shall be wise; but he that walketh with the foolish shall be known.* For we ought neither to run along with a thief, nor put in our lot with an adul-
Psalm 138: 21. terer; since holy David saith, *O Lord, I have hated them that hate thee; and I am withered away on account of thine enemies.*
Psalm 138: 22. *I hated them with a perfect hatred: they were to me as ene-*
2 Chron. 19: 2. *mies.* And God reproacheth Jehosaphat with his friendship towards Ahab, and his league with him, and with Ahaziah, by the prophet Jehu, the son of Hanani, saying, *Art thou in friendship with a sinner? or dost thou aid him that is hated by the Lord? For this cause the wrath of the Lord would be upon thee suddenly,*
2 Chron. 20: 37. *but that thy heart is found perfect with the Lord. For this cause the Lord hath spared thee. Yet are thy works shattered, and thy ships broken to pieces.*

Eschew, therefore, their fellowship, and be estranged from peace with them. For concerning them the prophet declared, saying,
Isaiah 57: 21. *It is not lawful to rejoice with the ungodly,* saith the Lord.
56: 10. For these are hidden wolves, dumb dogs that cannot bark; who at present are but few, but in process of time, when the end of the world draweth nigh, they will be more in number and more
Luke 18: 8. troublesome; concerning whom the Lord said, *Will the Son of man, when he cometh, find faith on the earth?* And,
Matt. 24: 12. *Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax*
24: 24. *cold.* And, *There shall come false Christs and false prophets, and shall show signs in heaven, so as, if it were possible, to deceive even the elect;* — but from their deceit God, through Jesus Christ, who is our hope, will deliver us.

And indeed, as we passed through the nations and confirmed the churches, curing some with much exhortation and with healing discourse, we brought them back when they were in the certain way to

death. But those that were incurable we cast out from the flock, that they might not infect with their scabby disease the lambs which were sound; but that these might continue before the Lord God pure and undefiled, sound and unspotted. And this we did in every city, everywhere through the whole world, and have left to you the Bishops, and to the rest of the Priests, *this catholic doctrine* worthily and righteously, as a memorial of confirmation to those who have believed in God; and we have sent it by our fellow-minister Clement, our most faithful and like-minded son in the Lord, together with Barnabas, and Timothy our most dearly beloved son, and the genuine Mark. Together with whom we recommend to you also Titus, and Luke, and Jason, and Lucius, and Sosipater; by whom also we exhort you in the Lord to abstain from your old manner of life, vain bonds, separations, observances, distinction of meats, and daily washings. For *old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.* {Rom. 16: 21.} {2 Cor. 5: 17.}

XIX.

To those who speak evil of the Law.

For since ye have known God, through Jesus Christ, and all his dispensation, as it hath been from the beginning; that he gave a plain Law to assist the law of nature, such a one as is pure, salutary, and holy, in which he inscribed his own name; perfect, unfailing, complete in ten commands, unspotted, converting souls; which when the Hebrews forgot, he put them in mind of it by the prophet Malachi, saying, *Remember ye the Law of Moses, the man of God, who gave you in charge commandments and ordinances.* Which Law is so very holy and righteous, that even our Saviour, when on a certain time he healed one leper, and afterwards nine, said to the first, *Go, show thyself to the high priest, and offer the gift which Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them;* and afterwards to the nine, *Go, show yourselves to the priests.* {Isaiah, 8: 20.} {Deut. 12: 5.} {Psalm 18: 7.} {Mal. 4: 4.} {Matt. 8: 4. Mark, 1: 44.} {Luke, 17: 14.}

For nowhere hath he abrogated the Law, as Simon pretendeth, but he hath fulfilled it; for he saith, *One jot or one tittle shall not pass from the law, until all be fulfilled.* For, saith he, {Matt. 5: 18.}

Matt. 5: 17. *I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it.* And indeed Moses himself, who was at once the lawgiver and the high priest, and the prophet and the king, and Elias, the zealous follower of the prophets, were present at our Lord's transfiguration on the mountain, and witnesses of his incarnation and of his sufferings, as the friends and familiars of Christ, but not as enemies and strangers. Whence it is manifest that the Law is good and holy, as also the prophets.

XX.

Which is the Law of Nature, and which is that afterwards introduced; and why it was introduced.

Now the Law is the Decalogue, which the Lord promulgated to Exod. 20. them with an audible voice, before the people made that calf which represented the Egyptian Apis. And the Law is righteous, and therefore is called the Law because its judgments are rightly made, according to nature; but the followers of Simon despise it, supposing that they shall not be judged thereby, and so shall escape punishment. This Law is good, holy, not forced; for it saith, *If* Exod. 20: 24. *thou wilt make me an altar, thou shalt make it of earth.* It doth not say, *Make one;* but, *If thou wilt make.* It doth not impose a necessity, but gave leave to their power as being free. For God needeth not sacrifices, since he is by nature above all want. But knowing that, as of old, Abel, beloved of God, and Noah, and Abraham, and those that succeeded, without being required, but only moved of themselves by the law of nature, offered sacrifice to God, out of a grateful mind; so he now permitted the Hebrews, not commanding, but if they chose, permitting them; and, if they offered from a right intention, showing himself pleased with their Psalm 49: 12. sacrifices. Therefore he saith, *If thou desirest to offer, do not offer to me as to one that needeth, for I stand in need of nothing; for the world is mine, and the fulness thereof.*

But when the people became forgetful of this, and called upon a calf as God, instead of the true God, and to him ascribed the cause Exod. 32: 4. of their coming out of Egypt, saying, *These are thy gods, O Israel, who have brought thee out of the land of Egypt;* and when these men had committed wickedness with the *similitude of a*

calf that eateth hay, and denied God, who had visited them by Moses, in their afflictions, and had done signs with his hand and rod, and had smitten the Egyptians with ten plagues; who had divided the waters of the Red Sea into two parts; who had led them in the midst of the water, as a horse upon the plain; who had drowned their enemies, and those that lay in wait for them; who, at Marah, had made sweet the bitter fountain; who had brought water out of the abrupt rock, till they were satisfied; who had overshadowed them with a pillar of a cloud, on account of the immoderate heat, and with a pillar of fire, which enlightened and guided them, when they knew not which way they were to go; who gave them manna from heaven, and gave them quails for flesh, from the sea; {Num. 11: 31.} who gave them the Law in the mountain; whose voice they were deemed worthy to hear; him they denied, saying to Aaron, *Make us gods who shall go before us.* And they made a molten calf, and sacrificed to an idol. Then God was angry, as being ungratefully treated by them; and he bound them with bonds which could not be loosed, with a mortifying burden and a hard collar, and no longer said, *If thou makest*, but *Make an altar*, and sacrifice per- {Exod. 22: 24.} petually; for thou art forgetful and ungrateful. Offer burnt-offerings, therefore, continually, that thou mayest be mindful of me. For since thou hast wickedly abused thy power, I lay a necessity upon thee for the time to come; and I command thee to abstain from certain meats; and I ordain thee the distinction of clean and unclean creatures, although every creature is good, as being made by me. And I appoint thee several separations, purgations, frequent washings and sprinklings, and several times of rest; and if thou neglect any of them, I determine that punishment which is proper to the disobedient; that, being pressed and galled by thy collar, thou mayest depart from the error of polytheism, and, laying aside the declaration, *These are thy gods, O Israel*, mayest be mindful of this, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord;* and mayest hasten back again to that law which is imparted by me to all men naturally, *That there is only one God in heaven and on earth; and* that it is thy duty *to love him with all thy heart, and all thy might, and all thy mind;* and to fear none but him, nor to admit the names of other gods into thy mind, nor to let thy tongue utter them out of thy mouth.

On account of the hardness of their hearts, he bound them, that by sacrificing, and by resting, and by purifications, and the like, they might come to the knowledge of God, who ordained these things for them.

XXI.

That we, who believe in Christ, are under grace, and not under the servitude of that additional Law.

Matt. 13: 16. *But blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear;* ye who have believed in the one God, not by necessity, but by a sound understanding, in obedience to Him that called you. For ye are released from the bonds, and freed from the ser-
John, 15: 15. vitude. For, saith he, *I call you no longer servants, but friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father, have I made known unto you.* For to them that would not see nor hear, not for the want of those senses, but for the excess of their wickedness, *I gave statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live;* "not good," however, in their view: as instruments for burning, and the knife, and medicines, are esteemed enemies by the sick; and "impossible to be observed," on account of their obstinacy. Whence also those statutes brought death upon them, being not obeyed.

XXII.

That the Law for sacrifices is additional, which Christ, when he came, took away.

Ye, therefore, are blessed, who are delivered from the curse; for Christ, the Son of God, by his coming, hath strengthened and completed the Law. He hath taken away the additional precepts, although not all of them, yet, at least, the more grievous ones; having confirmed the Law, and having caused these to cease; and he hath again set free the self-government of men, not subjecting it to the punishment of a temporal death, but requiring an account in
Matt. 16: 24. another state. Wherefore he saith, *If any man will come*
John, 6: 67. *after me, let him come.* And again, *Will ye also go away?*

And, besides, before his coming, he refused the sacrifices of the people, while they frequently offered them, when they sinned against him, and thought that he was to be appeased by sacrifices, { Jer. 6: 20. and not by repentance. For he saith thus, *Why dost thou bring to me frankincense from Saba, and cinnamon from a remote land? Your burnt-offerings are not acceptable, and your sacrifices are not sweet to me.* And afterwards, *Gather your burnt-offerings* { Jer. 7. 21. *together, with your sacrifices, and eat flesh; because I did not command you, when I brought you out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices.* And he saith by Isaiah, *To what purpose do ye bring me a multitude of sacrifices? I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and I will not accept the fat of lambs, and the blood of bulls and of goats. Nor come ye to appear before me; for who hath required these things at your hands? Tread my courts no more. If ye bring me fine flour, it is vain. Incense is an abomination unto me. Your new moons, and your Sabbaths, and your great day, I cannot endure. Your fasts, and your rests, and your feasts, my soul hateth. I am overfull of them.* And he { Amos, 5: 23. saith by another, *Depart from me. The sound of thy hymns, and the psalms of thy musical instruments, I will not hear.* And Samuel said to Saul, when he thought to sacrifice, *Obedience is* { 1 Kings, 15: 22. *better than sacrifice; and hearkening, than the fat of rams. For, behold, the Lord doth not so much delight in sacrifice, as in obeying him.* And he saith by David, *I will take no calves out of* { Psalm 49: 9, 12. *thy house, nor he-goats out of thy flock. If I should be hungry, I would not tell thee; for the whole world is mine, and the fulness thereof. Shall I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Sacrifice to God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows to the Most High.*

And in all the Scriptures, in like manner, he refuseth their sacrifices on account of their sinning against him. For *the sac-* { Prov. 21: 27– *rifices of the wicked are an abomination with the Lord, since they offer them in an unlawful manner.* And again, *Their sacri-* { Hosea, 9: 4. *fices are to them as bread of lamentation. All that eat of them shall be defiled.* If, therefore, before his coming, he sought for *a clean heart* and *a contrite spirit*, more than sacrifices, much rather did he abrogate those sacrifices, we mean those by blood, when he came. Yet he so abrogated them, as that he first fulfilled them. For he was both circumcised and sprinkled; and he offered sacrifices and

whole burnt-offerings, and made use of the rest of the customs. And he that was the lawgiver became himself the fulfilling of the Law, not taking away the natural law, but abrogating those additional precepts that were afterwards introduced, although not all of them.

XXIII.

How Christ became a Fulfiller of the Law; and what parts of it he caused to cease, or changed, or transferred.

For he did not take away the law of nature, but confirmed it. For Deut. 6: 4. he that said in the Law, *The Lord thy God is one Lord*, the John 17: 3. same saith in the Gospel, *That they might know thee the only* Lev. 19: 18. *true God.* And he that said, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor* 13: 34. *as thyself*, saith in the Gospel, renewing the same precept, *A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.* Matt. 5: 22. He who then forbade *murder*, now forbiddeth *causeless anger.* He that forbade *adultery*, now forbiddeth *all unlawful lust.* Acts 20: 35. He that forbade *stealing*, now pronounceth him most Matt. 5: 7. happy who, out of his own labors, supplieth the needy. He 43, 38. that forbade hatred, now requireth love, even towards enemies. He that limited retaliation, now requireth long-suffering, not as if just retaliation were an unjust thing, but because long-suffering is better. Nor did he make laws to destroy our natural Luke 2: 51. passions, but only to forbid the excess of them. He who had commanded to honor parents, was himself subject to them. He who commanded to keep the Sabbath, by resting thereon, for the sake of meditating on the laws, hath now commanded us to consider the law of creation and of providence every day, and give thanks to God. He abrogated circumcision, when he had himself Gen. 49: 10. fulfilled it. For he it was *to whom* the inheritance *was reserved*, who was *the expectation of the nations.*

Matt. 5: 33, 34. He who made a law for swearing rightly, and forbade perjury, hath now charged us *not to swear at all.* He hath in several ways changed baptism, sacrifice, the priesthood, and the divine service, which was confined to one place. For, instead of daily baptisms, he hath given only one, which is that into his death. Instead of one tribe, he hath appointed that, out of every nation,

the best be ordained for the priesthood; and that not their bodies be examined for blemishes, but their religion and their lives. Instead of a bloody sacrifice, he hath appointed that reasonable, and unbloody, and mystical one of his body and blood, which is performed to represent by symbols the death of the Lord. Instead of the divine service confined to one place, he hath commanded and deemed it fitting that he should be glorified *from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same*, in every place of his dominion. {Psalm 112: 3. Mal. 1: 11.}

He did not, therefore, take away the Law from us, but the bonds. For concerning the Law, Moses saith, *Thou shalt meditate on the word which I command thee, when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou risest up, and when thou walkest in the way.* And David saith, *His delight is in the law of the Lord, and in his law will he meditate day and night.* For everywhere would he have us subject to his laws, but not transgressors of them. For saith he, *Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord. Blessed are they that search out his testimonies; with their whole heart shall they seek him.* And again, *Blessed are we, O Israel, because those things that are pleasing to God are known to us.* And the Lord saith, *If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.* {Deut. 6: 6. Psalm 1: 2. Psalm 118: 1. Bar. 4: 4. John 13: 17.}

XXIV.

That it pleased the Lord that the law of righteousness should be manifested also by Romans.

Nor doth he desire that the law of righteousness should be exhibited through us only; but he is pleased that through Romans also it should appear and shine. For these also, when they have believed on the Lord, have withdrawn both from polytheism and from injustice; and they approve the good, and punish the bad. But they hold the Jews under tribute, and do not suffer them to make use of their own ordinances; —

XXV.

How God, on account of their impiety towards Christ, made the Jews captives, and placed them under tribute.

Because, indeed, they drew servitude upon themselves voluntarily, when they said, *We have no king but Cæsar.* And, *If we do not slay Christ, all men will believe on him; and the Romans will come, and will take away both our place and nation.* And so they prophesied unwittingly; for, indeed, the Gentiles have believed on him; and they themselves have been deprived by the Romans of their power and of their legal worship. They are also forbidden to slay whom they please, and to sacrifice when they will. Wherefore they are accursed, not being able to perform the things commanded. For saith the Scripture, *Cursed is he that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them.* Now, it is impossible for them, in their dispersion, while they are among the heathen, to perform all things in their law. For the divine Moses forbiddeth both to rear an altar out of Jerusalem, and to read the law out of the bounds of Judea.

John 19: 15. / 11: 48. / Deut. 27: 26. / Gal. 3: 10.

Let us therefore follow Christ, that we may inherit his blessings. Let us walk after the Law and the Prophets, by the Gospel. Let us eschew the worshippers of many gods, and the murderers of Christ, and the murderers of the prophets, and the wicked and atheistical heretics. Let us be obedient to Christ, as to our king, as having authority to change various constitutions, and having, as a legislator, wisdom to make new constitutions in different circumstances; yet so that everywhere the laws of nature be immutably preserved.

XXVI.

That we ought to avoid the heretics, as the corrupters of souls.

Therefore, O Bishops, and ye of the laity, avoid all heretics, who abuse the Law and the Prophets. For they are enemies to Almighty God, and disobey him, and do not confess Christ to be the Son of

God. For they also deny his generation according to the flesh; they are ashamed of his cross; they abuse his passion and death; they know not his resurrection; they take away his generation before all ages. Besides, some of them are impious after another manner, imagining the Lord to be a mere man; supposing him to consist of a soul and a body. But others of them suppose that Jesus himself is the God over all, and glorify him as being his own Father, and suppose him to be both the Son and the Comforter; than which doctrines what can be more impious? Others, again, of them refuse certain meats, and say that marriage, with the procreation of children, is evil, and the contrivance of the devil; and, being ungodly themselves, they are not willing to rise again, on account of their wickedness. Wherefore also they ridicule the resurrection, and say, "We are holy people," unwilling to eat and to drink; and they fancy that from the dead they shall arise, spirits without flesh, who shall be condemned for ever in eternal fire. Fly, therefore, from them, lest ye perish with them in their impieties.

XXVII.

Of some Jewish and Gentile observances.

Now if any persons keep to the Jewish observances concerning gonorrhœas and nocturnal pollutions, and the lawful conjugal acts; let them tell us whether, in those hours or days when they undergo any such thing, they observe not to pray, or to touch a sacred book, or to partake of the Eucharist? And if they own it to be so, it is plain that they are void of the Holy Spirit, which always continueth with the faithful. For concerning holy persons Solomon saith, *That every one may prepare himself, that so when he sleepeth, it may keep him; and when he ariseth, it may talk with him.* { Lev. 15. } { Prov. 6. 22. }

For if thou thinkest, O woman, when thou art seven days in thy separation, that thou art void of the Holy Spirit, then, if thou die suddenly, thou wilt depart void of the Spirit, and without assured hope in God. Or indeed thou hast the Spirit altogether inseparable, as not being in a place. And it is suitable for thee to offer prayer, and receive the Eucharist, and enjoy the coming of the

Holy Spirit, as having been guilty of no fault in this matter. For neither lawful mixture, nor child-bearing, nor the menstrual purgation, nor nocturnal pollution, can defile the nature of a man, or separate the Holy Spirit from him. Nothing but wickedness and unlawful practice can do that. For the Holy Spirit always abideth with those who are possessed of it, so long as they are worthy; and those from whom it is departed, it leaveth desolate, and exposed to the wicked spirit.

Now every man is filled either with the Holy or with the Unclean Spirit; and it is not possible to avoid both the one and the other, unless they can receive opposite spirits. For the Comforter hateth every lie, and the devil hateth all truth. But every one that is baptized agreeably to the truth is separated from the Diabolical Spirit, and is under the Holy Spirit; and the Holy Spirit remaineth with him, so long as he is doing good, and filleth him with wisdom and understanding, and suffereth not the wicked spirit to approach him, but watcheth over his goings.

If, therefore, O woman, as thou sayest, thou art, in the days of thy separation, void of the Holy Spirit, thou art filled with the unclean one; for, by neglecting to pray and to read, thou wilt invite him to thee, though he were unwilling. For this spirit, if any other, loveth the ungrateful, the slothful, the careless, and the drowsy, since he himself by ingratitude was distempered with an evil mind, and was deprived by God of his dignity; having chosen to be a devil, instead of an archangel. Wherefore, O woman, eschew such vain words, and be ever mindful of God that created thee, and pray to him. For he is thy Lord, and the Lord of the universe; and meditate on his laws, observing nothing superstitiously, — neither the natural purgation, nor lawful mixture, nor childbirth, nor a miscarriage, nor a blemish of the body; since such observances are the vain and unreasonable inventions of foolish men.

Neither the burial of a man, nor a dead man's bone, nor a sepulchre, nor any particular sort of food, nor nocturnal pollution, can defile the soul of man; but only impiety towards God, and transgression and injustice towards one's neighbor; I mean rapine, violence, or if there be any thing contrary to his righteousness, as adultery or fornication.

Wherefore, beloved, avoid and eschew such observances; for they are heathenish. For we do not abominate a dead man as the

heathen do, since we hope that he will live again. Nor do we hate lawful mixture; for it is their practice to be wicked in such things. For the conjunction of man and wife, if it be with righteousness, is agreeable to the mind of God. For *he that made them at the beginning made them male and female; and he blessed them, and said, Increase and multiply, and fill the earth.* If, therefore, the difference of sexes was made by the will of God for the generation of multitudes, then must the conjunction of male and female be also agreeable to his mind. { Matt. 19: 4. { Gen. 1: 28.

XXVIII.

Of the love of boys, adultery, and fornication.

But we do not say so of that mixture which is contrary to nature, or of any unlawful practice; for such are enmity to God. For the sin of Sodom is contrary to nature, as is also that with irrational animals; but adultery and fornication are against the Law. Of which vices the first-mentioned are impieties; one of the others is an injustice, and the last is a sin. But none of them is without its punishment according to its own nature.

For the practisers of the first sort of lewdness attempt the dissolution of the world, and endeavor to make the natural course of things change for one that is unnatural. But those of the second sort, the adulterers, are unjust, by corrupting others' marriages, and dividing into two what God hath made one, rendering the children suspected, and exposing the true husband to the snares of others. And fornication is the destruction of one's own flesh, as it is done not for the procreation of children, but entirely for the sake of pleasure; which is a mark of incontinency, and not a sign of virtue.

Moreover, all these things are forbidden by the Law; for thus say the oracles: *Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind; for such a one is accursed; and ye shall stone them with stones. They have wrought abomination. Every one that lieth with a beast, slay ye him. He hath wrought wickedness in his people. And if any one defile a married woman, slay ye them both. They have wrought wickedness; they* { Lev. 18: 22. { 20: 13. { Exod. 22: 19. { Lev. 20: 10. { Deut. 22: 22.

Deut. 23: 17. *are guilty; let them die.* And afterwards, *There shall not be a fornicator among the sons of Israel, and there shall not be a fornicatress among the daughters of Israel. Thou shalt not offer the hire of a harlot to the Lord thy God upon the altar, nor the* Prov. 19: 13. *price of a dog.* For *the vows* arising from the hire of a harlot are not clean.

These things the laws have forbidden; but they have honored marriage, and have called it blessed; since God hath blessed it, Gen. 1: 28. who joined male and female together. And wise Solo- Prov. 19: 14. mon somewhere saith, *A wife is suited to her husband by* Psalm 127: 3. *the Lord;* and David saith, *Thy wife is like a flourishing vine by the sides of thy house; thy children, like olive branches round about thy table. Behold, thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord.*

Heb. 13: 4. Wherefore *marriage is honorable*, and comely, and the begetting of children pure; for there is no evil in that which is good. Therefore neither is the natural purgation abominable before God, who hath ordered it to happen to women within the space of thirty days for their advantage and healthful state, who are more confined than men, as keeping usually at home in the house. Nay more, in the Gospel, where the woman with the perpetual purgation of blood touched the saving border of the Lord's garment, in hope of being healed, he was not angry at her, nor did he complain of her at all. But, on the contrary, he healed her, saying, *Thy faith hath saved thee.* When the natural purgations appear in the wives, let not their husbands approach them, out of regard to the children to be begotten; for the Law hath forbidden it. For it saith, *Thou* Lev. 18: 19. *shalt not come near thy wife when she is in her separation.* Ezek. 18: 6. Nor indeed let them frequent their wives' company when they are with child. For they do this, not for the begetting of children, but for the sake of pleasure. Now a lover of God ought not to be a lover of pleasure.

XXIX.

How Wives ought to be subject to their own Husbands, and Husbands to love their own Wives.

Ye wives, be subject to your own husbands, and have them in esteem, and serve them with fear and love, as holy Sarah honored Abraham. For she could not endure to call him by his name; but called him Lord, when she said *My Lord is old.* In like { 1 Pet. 3: 6. manner, ye husbands, love your own wives, as your own members, as partners in life, and fellow-helpers for the procreation of children. For the Scripture saith, *Rejoice with the wife of thy youth.* { Prov. 5: 18. *Let her conversation be to thee as a loving hind, and a pleasant foal; let her alone guide thee, and be with thee at all times. For if thou be every way encompassed with her friendship, thou wilt be happy in her society.* Love them, therefore, as your own members, as your very bodies; for so it is written, *The Lord hath testified* { Mal. 2: 14. *between thee and between the wife of thy youth. And she is thy partner; and another hath not made her; and she is the remains of thy spirit.* And, *Take ye heed to your spirit; and forsake not thou the wife of thy youth.*

A husband, therefore, and a wife, when they company together in lawful marriage, and rise from one another, may pray without any observances; and, without washing, are clean. But whoever corrupteth and defileth another man's wife, or is defiled with a harlot; when he ariseth up from her, though he wash himself in the entire ocean and all the rivers, cannot be clean.

XXX.

That it is the custom of Jews and Gentiles to observe natural purgations, and to abominate the remains of the dead; but that all this is contrary to Christianity.

Be not scrupulous, therefore, about things ceremonial and natural, as thinking that ye are defiled by them. Nor seek after Jewish separations, nor perpetual washings, nor purifications upon

the touch of a dead body. But, without such observances, assemble in the cemeteries, reading the holy books, and singing for the martyrs who are fallen asleep in the Lord, and for all the saints from the beginning of the world, and for your brethren that are asleep in the Lord; and offer the acceptable Eucharist, the representation of the royal body of Christ, both in your churches and in the cemeteries; and, at the funerals of the departed, accompany them forth with singing, if they were faithful in Christ. For, *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.* And again, *O my soul, return unto thy rest; for the Lord hath done thee good.* And elsewhere, *The memory of the just is with encomiums.* And, *The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God.* For those that have believed in God, although they are asleep, are not dead. For our Saviour saith to the Sadducees, *But concerning the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which is written, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God, therefore, is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live to him.*

Psalm 115: 15. Psalm 114: 7. Prov. 10: 7. Wisd. 3: 1. Matt. 22: 31. Luke, 20: 38. Exod. 3: 6.

Wherefore of those that live with God, even the very relics are not without honor. For even Elisha the prophet, after he was fallen asleep, raised up a dead man who had been slain by the pirates of Syria. For his body touched the bones of Elisha, and he arose and lived. Now this would not have happened, unless the body of Elisha were holy. And chaste Joseph embraced Jacob after he was deceased, upon his bed. And Moses and Joshua the son of Nun, carried away the relics of Joseph, and did not esteem this a defilement. Whence ye also, O Bishops, and the rest, who, without such observances, touch the departed, ought not to think yourselves defiled. Nor abhor the relics of these persons; but avoid such observances, for they are foolish. And adorn yourselves with holiness and chastity, that ye may become partakers of immortality, and partners of the kingdom of God, and may receive the promise of God, and may rest for ever, through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

4 Kings 13: 21. Gen. 50: 1. Exod. 13: 19. Josh. 24: 32.

To him, therefore, who is able to open the ears of your hearts to the receiving of the oracles of God administered to you, both by the Gospel, and by the doctrine of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate and Herod, and died, and rose again from the dead; and will come again at the end of the

world with power and great glory, and will raise the dead, and put an end to this world, and distribute to every one according to his deserts; to him who hath given us himself for an earnest of the resurrection; who was taken up into the heavens by the power of his God and Father, in our sight, we having eaten and drunk with him for forty days after he arose from the dead; who is sat down on the right hand of the throne of the majesty of Almighty God upon the cherubim; to whom it was said, *Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool;* whom the most blessed Stephen saw standing at the right hand of power, and cried out and said, *Behold I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God,* as the High Priest of all the rational orders; — through him, worship, and majesty, and glory, be given to Almighty God, both now and for ever. Amen.

{Psalm 109: 1.}

{Acts 7: 59.}

BOOK VII.

CONCERNING DEPORTMENT, AND THE EUCHARIST, AND INITIATION INTO CHRIST.

CHAPTER I.

That there are two ways; the one natural, of life, and the other introduced afterwards, of death; and that the former is from God, and the latter of error, from the snares of the adversary.

THE lawgiver Moses said to the Israelites, *Behold, I have set before your face the way of life and the way of death;* and added, *Choose life, that thou mayest live.* Elijah the prophet also said to the people, *How long will ye halt with both your legs? If the Lord be God, follow him.* The Lord Jesus also said justly, *No one can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.* We also, following our Master

{Deut. 30: 15.}

{Deut. 30: 19.}

{3 Kings, 18: 21.}

{Matt. 6: 24.}

Christ, *who is the Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe*, are obliged to say that there are two ways, the one of life, the other of death; which have no comparison one with another; for they are very different, or rather entirely separate. And the way of life is natural, but that of death was afterwards introduced; it not being according to the mind of God, but from the snares of the adversary.

II.

Moral exhortations of the Lord's constitutions agreeing with the ancient prohibitions of the divine Laws. The prohibition of anger, corruption, adultery, and every forbidden action.

The first way, therefore, is that of life, and is this, which the Deut. 6: 5. / Mark, 12: 32. / Lev. 19: 18. / Tob. 4: 15. / Matt. 5: 44. / Luke 6: 32. / Matt. 5: 47. Law also appointeth, *To love the Lord God with all thy mind, and with all thy soul, who is the one and only God, besides whom there is no other; and thy neighbor as thyself. And whatsoever thou art unwilling to have done to thee, that do not thou to another. Bless them that curse you; pray for them that despitefully use you. Love your enemies; for what thanks is it if ye love those that love you? For even the Gentiles do the same. But love ye those that hate you,* Deut. 23: 7. *and ye shall have no enemy.* For it saith, *Thou shalt not hate any man, no, not an Egyptian, nor an Edomite.* For they are all the workmanship of God. Avoid not the persons, but the sentiments, of the wicked. 1 Pet. 2: 11. *Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts.*

Matt. 5: 39. *If any one smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.* Not that retaliation is evil, but that patience is more honorable. Psalm 7: 5. For David saith, *If I have made returns to them that repaid me evil.* Matt. 5: 41. *If any one compel thee to go a mile,* 5: 40. *go with him twain.* And *he that will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And from him that taketh thy goods require them not again.* Luke, 6: 30. / Matt. 5: 42. *Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away and shut thy hand.* For Psalm 111: 5. *the righteous man is compassionate, and lendeth.* For

your Father would have you give to all, *who himself maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth his rain on the just and on the unjust.* {Matt. 5: 45.} It is therefore reasonable to give to all out of thine own labors. For the Scripture saith, *Honor the Lord out of thy righteous labors;* {Prov. 3: 9.} but so that the saints be preferred. {Gal. 6: 10.}

Thou shalt not kill; that is, thou shalt not destroy a man like thyself; for thou dissolvest what was well made. Not as if all killing were wicked, but only that of the innocent; but the killing which is just, is reserved to the magistrates alone.

Thou shalt not commit adultery; for thou dividest one flesh into two. *They two shall be one flesh.* {Gen. 2: 24.} For the husband and wife are one in nature, in consent, in union, in disposition, and the conduct of life. But they are separated in sex and in number.

Thou shalt not corrupt boys; for this wickedness is contrary to nature, and arose from Sodom, which was consumed with fire sent from God. {Lev. 18: 22.} {Gen. 19.} *Let* such a one *be accursed; and all the people shall say, So be it.* {Deut. 27.}

Thou shalt not commit fornication. For the Scripture saith, *There shall not be a fornicator among the sons of Israel.* {Deut. 23: 17.}

Thou shalt not steal. For Achan, when he had stolen in Israel at Jericho, was stoned to death; and Gehazi, who stole, and told a lie, inherited the leprosy of Naaman; and Judas, who stole the money of the poor, betrayed the Lord of glory to the Jews, and repented, and hanged himself, and burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out; and Ananias and Sapphira his wife, who stole their own goods, and tempted the Spirit of the Lord, were immediately, at the sentence of Peter our fellow-apostle, struck dead.

III.

Prohibition of conjuring, murder of infants, perjury, and false witness.

Thou shalt not use magic. Thou shalt not use witchcraft. For the Scripture saith, *Ye shall not suffer those to live who practise sorcery.* {Exod. 22: 18.}

Thou shalt not slay thy child by causing abortion, nor kill that
Exod. 21: 55. which is begotten. For every thing that is shaped, and hath received a soul from God, if it be slain, shall be avenged, as being unjustly destroyed.

Thou shalt not covet the things that belong to thy neighbor, as his wife, or his servant, or his ox, or his field.

Matt. 5: 34. Thou shalt not forswear thyself; for it is said, *Swear not at all.* But if that cannot be, thou shalt swear piously and truly.

Psalm 62: 12. For *every one that sweareth by him shall be commended.*

Prov. 14: 31. Thou shalt not bear false witness. For *he that falsely accuseth the needy provoketh to anger him that made him.*

IV.

Prohibition of evil speaking, and wrath, of deceitful conduct, idle words, falsehood, covetousness, and hypocrisy.

Thou shalt not speak evil. For the Scripture saith, *Love not to speak evil, lest thou be taken away.* Nor shalt thou be mindful of
Prov. 12: 28. injuries; for *the ways of those that remember injuries are unto death.*

Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued. For
Prov. 6: 2. *a man's own lips are a strong snare to him;* and
Psalm 139: 11. *a talkative person shall not be prospered upon the earth.*

Matt. 12: 36. Thy words shall not be vain. For *ye shall give account of every idle word.*

Psalm 5: 7. Thou shalt not lie. For the Scripture saith, *Thou wilt destroy all those that speak lies.*

Thou shalt not be covetous nor rapacious. For it saith, *Woe*
Hab. 2: 9. *to him that is covetous towards his neighbor, with an evil covetousness.*

Matt. 24: 51. Thou shalt not be a hypocrite, lest thy *portion be with them.*

V.

Prohibition of malignity, acceptation of persons, prolonged anger, and detraction.

Thou shalt not be ill-natured nor proud. For *God resisteth the proud.* {1 Pet. 5: 5.

Thou shalt not accept persons in judgment; for the judgment is the Lord's. {Deut. 1: 17.

Thou shalt not hate any man; thou shalt surely reprove thy brother, and not become guilty on his account. {Lev. 19: 17. And, *Reprove a wise man, and he will love thee.* {Prov. 9: 8. Eschew all evil, and all that is like it. For, saith the Scripture, *Abstain from injustice, and trembling shall not come nigh thee.* {Isa. 54: 14.

Be not soon angry, nor spiteful, nor passionate, nor furious, nor daring, lest thou undergo the fate of Cain, and of Saul, and {Gen. 4. of Joab; for the first of these slew his brother Abel, because Abel was found to be preferred before him with God, and because Abel's sacrifice was preferred; the second persecuted holy {1 Kings, 17 and 18. David, who had slain Goliath the Philistine, being envious upon the praises of the women who danced; the third slew two generals of armies, Abner of Israel, and Amasa of Judah. {1 Kings, 2: 32.

VI.

Concerning augury and enchantments.

Be not a diviner; for that leadeth to idolatry. Besides, *Divination*, saith Samuel, *is a sin.* {1 Kings, 15: 23. And, *There shall be no divination in Jacob, nor soothsaying in Israel.* {Num. 23: 23. Thou shalt not use enchantments or purifications for thy child. Thou shalt not be a soothsayer, nor a diviner by great or little birds. Nor shalt thou learn wicked arts. For all these things the law {Deut. 18: 10, 11. Lev. 19: 26, 31. hath forbidden.

Long not for what is evil; for thou wilt be led into much sin. Speak not obscenely, nor use wanton glances, nor be a drunkard. For from such causes arise whoredoms and adulteries.

Matt. 6: 24. Be not a lover of money, lest thou *serve mammon, instead of God.*

Be not vain-glorious, nor elated, nor haughty; for hence spring manifestations of arrogance. Remember him who said, *Lord, my* Psalm 130: 1. *heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty; I have not exercised myself in great matters, nor in things too high for me. Surely I was humble.*

VII.

Prohibition of murmuring, arrogance, pride, and audacity.

Be not a murmurer, remembering the punishment which they Num. 12. underwent who murmured against Moses. Be not self-willed; be not malicious; be not hard-hearted; be not passionate; be not pusillanimous. For all these things lead to blasphemy. Matt. 5: 4. But be meek, as were Moses and David; since *the meek shall inherit the earth.*

VIII.

Of long-suffering, simplicity, meekness, and patience.

Be slow to wrath; for such a one *is very prudent;* since *he* Prov. 14: 29. *that is hasty of spirit is a very fool.*

Matt. 5: 7. Be merciful; for *blessed are the merciful,* for *they shall obtain mercy.*

Isa. 66: 2. Be sincere, quiet, good, *trembling at the word of God.*

Thou shalt not exalt thyself, as did the Pharisee; for *every one* Luke, 18: 14. *that exalteth himself shall be abased.* And *that which is* 16: 15. *highly esteemed among men is abomination with God.* Prov. 13: 17. Thou shalt not entertain temerity in thy soul; for *a rash man shall fall into mischief.*

Thou shalt not go along with the foolish; but with the wise and Prov. 13: 20. righteous. For *he that walketh with wise men shall be wise; but he that walketh with the foolish shall be known.*

Receive the afflictions that befall thee, with an even mind; and reverses, without overmuch sorrow; knowing that a reward shall Job, 42. be given to thee from God, as was given to Job and to Luke, 16. Lazarus.

IX.

That it is our duty to esteem our Christian teachers above our parents; the former being the means of our well-being, the other only of our being.

Thou shalt honor him that speaketh to thee the Word of God, and be mindful of him, day and night; and thou shalt reverence him, not as the cause of thy being, but as the cause of thy well-being. For where the doctrine concerning God is, there God is present. Thou shalt every day seek the face of the saints, that thou mayest acquiesce in their words.

X.

That we ought not to separate ourselves from the saints, but to make peace between those that quarrel, to judge righteously, and not to accept persons.

Thou shalt not make schisms among the saints, but be mindful of the followers of Corah. {Num. 16.}

Thou shalt make peace between those that are at variance, as Moses did, when he persuaded them to be friends.

Thou shalt judge righteously; for *the judgment is the Lord's*. {Deut. 1: 17.} Thou shalt not accept persons when thou reprovest for sins; but do as Elijah and Micaiah did to Ahab; and {3 Kings, 18: 21: 22.} Ebedmelech the Ethiopian to Zedekiah, and Nathan to {Jer. 38: 7—2 Kings, 12.} David, and John to Herod. {Matt. 14.}

XI.

Concerning him that is double-minded, or of little faith.

Be not of a doubtful mind in thy prayer, whether it shall be granted or not. For the Lord said to me, Peter, upon the {Matt. 14: 31.} sea, *O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt? Be* {Ecclus. 4: 31.} *not thou ready to stretch out thy hand to receive, and to shut it when thou shouldst give.*

XII.

Of doing good.

If thou hast by the work of thy hands, give, that thou mayest
Prov. 15: 27. labor for the redemption of thy sins. For *by alms and acts*
16: 6. *of faith, sins are purged away.* Thou shalt not grudge to give to the poor; nor, when thou hast given, shalt thou murmur. For thou shalt know who will repay thee thy reward; for the Scrip-
Prov. 19: 17. ture saith, *He that hath pity on the poor, lendeth to the Lord; and according to his gift so it shall be repaid him again.* Thou
Prov. 21: 13. shalt not turn away from him that is needy. For it saith, *He that stoppeth his ears, that he may not hear the cry of the needy, himself also shall call, and there shall be none to hear him.* Thou shalt communicate in all things to thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own. For the common participation of the necessaries of life is prepared by God for all men.

Thou shalt not take off thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but shalt teach them the fear of God from their youth.
Prov. 19: 18. For it saith, *Correct thy son; so shall he afford thee good hope.*

XIII.

How masters ought to behave themselves to their servants; and how servants ought to be subject.

Thy man-servant or thy maid-servant, who trust in the same God, thou shalt not command with bitterness of spirit; lest they groan
Eph. 6: 5. against thee, and wrath be upon thee from God. And ye *servants, be subject to your masters*, as to the representatives of
Eph. 6: 7. God, with attention and fear, *as to the Lord, and not to men.*

XIV.

Concerning hypocrisy, and obedience to the laws, and confession of sins.

Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy; and thou shalt do whatsoever is pleasing to the Lord. By no means forsake the commands of the Lord; but observe the things which thou hast received from him, neither adding to them, nor taking away from them. *For thou shalt not add unto his words, lest he convict thee, and thou become a liar.* {Prov. 30: 6.

Thou shalt confess thy sins to the Lord thy God; and thou shalt not add to them any more, that it may be well with thee from the Lord thy God, who willeth not the death of a sinner, but his repentance. {2 Pet. 3: 9.

XV.

Concerning the regard due to parents.

Thou shalt be observant to thy father and mother, as the causes of thy being born; that thou mayest live long on the earth, which the Lord thy God giveth thee. Overlook not thy brethren and thy kindred. For *thou shalt not overlook those who are nearly related to thee.* {Isaiah, 58: 7.

XVI.

Concerning the subjection due to the king and to rulers.

Thou shalt fear the king, knowing that his appointment is of the Lord. His rulers thou shalt honor, as the ministers of God; for they are the avengers of all unrighteousness; to whom pay taxes, tribute, and every oblation, with a willing mind. {Rom. 13: 4.

XVII.

Concerning the pure conscience of those that pray.

Thou shalt not proceed to thy prayer in the day of thy wickedness, before thou hast laid aside thy bitterness. This is the way of life; in which may ye be found, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

XVIII.

That the way which was afterwards introduced by the snares of the adversary, is full of impiety and wickedness.

But the way of death is known by its wicked practices; for in it are ignorance of God, and the introduction of many evils, and disorders, and disturbances; through which come murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, unlawful lusts, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, witchcrafts, rapines, false testimonies, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, pride, malice, insolence, covetousness, obscene talk, jealousy, rashness, haughtiness, arrogance, impudence, persecution of the good, enmity to truth, love of lies, ignorance of righteousness. For they who do such things adhere not to goodness, nor to righteous judgment. They watch not for good, but for evil; from whom meekness and patience are far off; who love vain things, pursuing after reward, having no pity on the poor, not laboring for him that is in misery, nor knowing Him that made them; — murderers of infants, destroyers of the workmanship of God; who turn away from the needy, adding affliction to the afflicted; the flatterers of the rich; the despisers of the poor; full of sin.

May you, children, be delivered from all these.

XIX.

That we must not turn from the way of piety, either to the right hand or to the left, is the exhortation of the Lawgiver.

See that no one seduce thee from piety. For, saith God, *Thou mayest not turn aside from it, to the right hand nor to the left;* that thou mayest have understanding in all that thou doest. For if thou turn not out of the right way, thou wilt not be wicked. {Deut. 5: 32.

XX.

That we ought not to despise any of the sorts of food that are set before us, but gratefully and orderly to partake of them.

Now, concerning the several sorts of food, the Lord saith to thee, *Ye shall eat the good things of the earth.* And *all sorts of flesh shall ye eat, as the green herb;* but *thou shalt pour out the blood.* For *not those things that go into the mouth, but those that come out of it, defile a man:* I mean blasphemies, evil-speaking, and if there be any other thing of the like nature. But do thou eat the fat of the land, with righteousness. For *if there be any thing pleasant, it is His; and if there be any thing good, it is His: wheat for the young men, and wine to cheer the maids.* For *who shall eat, or who shall drink, without him?* And wise Ezra admonisheth thee, saying, *Go your way, and eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and be not sorrowful.* {Isaiah, 1: 19. {Gen. 9: 3. {Deut. 15: 23. {Matt. 15: 11. {Zech. 9: 17. {Eccl. 2: 25. {2 Esdr. (Neh.) 8: 10.

XXI.

That we ought to avoid the eating of things offered to idols.

But abstain from things offered to idols, that ye may not become partners with demons; for the Gentiles offer those things in honor of demons, that is, to the dishonor of the one God. {1 Cor. 10: 20.

XXII.

A constitution of our Lord, how we ought to baptize, and into whose death.

Now, concerning baptism, O bishop or presbyter, we have already given direction; and we now say that thou shalt so baptize as Matt. 28: 19. the Lord commanded us, saying, *Go ye, and teach all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you:* — of the Father who sent; of Christ who came; of the Comforter who testified.

But thou shalt first anoint the person with the holy oil, and afterwards thou shalt baptize him with water, and in the conclusion thou shalt seal him with ointment; that the anointing with oil may be the participation of the Holy Spirit, and the water the symbol of the death of Christ, and the ointment the seal of the covenants. But if there be neither oil nor ointment, water is sufficient, both for the anointing and for the seal, and for the confession of him that is dying, namely, dying together with [Christ].

Moreover, before baptism, let him that is to be baptized, fast. Matt. 3 and 4. For even the Lord, when he was first baptized by John, and abode in the wilderness, afterwards fasted forty days and forty nights. But he was baptized, and then fasted, not having himself any need of cleansing, or of fasting, or of purification, who was, by nature, pure and holy; but that he might both testify the truth to John, and afford to us an example. Wherefore our Lord was not baptized into his own passion, or death, or resurrection; for none of those things had then happened; but for another purpose. On which account he, by his own authority, fasted after his baptism, as being the Lord of John. But he who is to be initiated into his death, ought first to fast, and then to be baptized. For it is not reasonable that he who has been buried with Christ, and is risen again with him, should appear dejected at his very resurrection. For man is not Lord of our Saviour's constitution, since one is the Master, and the other the servant.

XXIII.

Which days of the week we ought to fast, and which not, and for what reasons.

But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second and fifth days of the week. But do ye fast either the five days, or the fourth day and the day of the Preparation, because on the fourth day the condemnation went out against the Lord, Judas then promising to betray him for money; and ye must fast the day of the Preparation, because on that day the Lord suffered the death of the cross, under Pontius Pilate. Yet the Sabbath and the Lord's day keep as festivals, because the former is the memorial of the creation, and the latter of the resurrection. And in the whole year there is only one Sabbath to be otherwise observed by you, that of our Lord's burial, on which men ought to keep a fast, but not a festival. For inasmuch as the Creator was then under the earth, the sorrow for him is more forcible than the joy for the creation; because the Creator is more honorable by nature and dignity than his own creatures.

XXIV.

What sort of people they ought to be who offer the prayer that was given by the Lord.

Now when ye pray, be not as the hypocrites; but as the {Matt. 6: 5.} Lord hath appointed us in the Gospel, so pray ye: *Our Father who art in heaven; hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom* {Matt. 6: 9.} *come; thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom for ever. Amen.*

Pray thus thrice in a day, preparing yourselves beforehand, that ye may be worthy of the adoption of the Father, lest, when ye call him Father unworthily, ye be reproached by him, as Israel once his first-born son was told, *If I be a Father, where is my glory?* {Mal. 1: 6.}

And if I be a Lord, where is my fear? For the glory of fathers is the holiness of their children, and the honor of masters is the fear of their servants; as the contrary is dishonor and confusion. For Isa. 52: 5. saith he, *Through you my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles.*

XXV.

A Mystical Thanksgiving.

But be ye always thankful, as faithful and honest servants; and, in respect to the Eucharist, say thus:

We thank thee, our Father, for that life which thou hast made known to us by Jesus thy Son, by whom thou madest all things, and takest care of the whole world; whom thou hast sent to become man for our salvation; whom thou hast permitted to suffer and to die; whom thou hast raised up, and been pleased to glorify, and hast seated at thy right hand; by whom also thou hast promised us the resurrection of the dead. Do thou, O Lord Almighty, everlasting God, so gather together thy church from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom, as THIS was once scattered, and is now become one loaf. We also, our Father, thank thee for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, and for his precious body, of which we celebrate these representations, as he himself 1 Cor. 11: 26. appointed us, to *show forth his death.* For through him glory shall be given to thee for ever. Amen.

Let no one eat of them that is not initiated; but those only who have been baptized into the death of the Lord.

But if any one that is not initiated conceal himself, and partake, 1 Cor. 11: 29. *he eateth eternal condemnation;* because, being not of the faith of Christ, he hath partaken of such things as it is not lawful for him to partake of, to his own punishment. But if any one be a partaker through ignorance, instruct him quickly, and initiate him, that he may not go out a despiser.

XXVI.

A Thanksgiving at the divine participation.

After the participation, give thanks in this manner:

We thank thee, O God and Father of Jesus our Saviour, for thy holy name which thou hast caused to dwell among us, and for the knowledge, faith, love, and immortality, which thou hast given us through thy Son Jesus. Thou, O Almighty Lord, the God of the universe, hast by him created the world, and the things that are therein; and hast planted a law in our souls, and beforehand hast prepared things for the convenience of men. O God of our holy and blameless fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, thy faithful servants; thou, O God, who art powerful, faithful, and true, and without deceit in thy promises; who didst send upon earth Jesus thy Christ to converse with men, as a man, when he was God the Word, and Man, to take away error by the roots; do thou thyself even now through him be mindful of this thy holy church, which thou hast purchased with the precious blood of thy Christ, and deliver it from all evil, and perfect it in thy love and thy truth, and gather us all together into thy kingdom which thou hast prepared. Maranatha: Our Lord is come. *Hosanna to the Son of David.* {1 Cor. 16: 22. *Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.* {Matt. 21: 9. {Mark, 11: 10.

— (God the Lord, who was manifested to us in the flesh.) If any one be holy, let him draw near; but if any one be not such, let him become such by repentance. Permit also your Presbyters to give thanks.

XXVII.

A Thanksgiving in respect to the mystical ointment.

Concerning the ointment, give thanks in this manner:

We give thee thanks, O God, the Creator of the whole world, both for the fragrancy of the ointment, and for the immortality which thou hast made known to us by thy Son Jesus; since thine are the glory and the power, for ever. Amen.

Whosoever cometh to you, and giveth thanks in this manner,

receive him as a disciple of Christ. But if he preach another doctrine, different from that which Christ by us hath delivered to you, ye must not permit him to give thanks; for such a one insulteth God rather than glorifieth him.

XXVIII.

That we ought not to be indifferent about fellowship.

But whosoever cometh to you, let him be first examined, and then received; for ye have understanding, and are able to know the right hand from the left, and to distinguish false teachers from the true. But when a teacher cometh to you, supply him cordially with what he needeth. And even when a false teacher cometh, ye shall give him for his necessity, but shall not receive his error. Nor indeed may ye pray together with him, lest ye be polluted with him.

Every true prophet or teacher that cometh to you is worthy of his maintenance, as being a *laborer* in the word of righteousness.

XXIX.

A constitution concerning oblations.

Num. 18. } All the first-fruits of the wine-press, the threshing-floor, the oxen, and the sheep, thou shalt give to the Priests, that thy storehouses and garners, and the products of thy land, may be blessed; and that thou mayest be strengthened with corn, and wine, and oil; and that the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep, may be increased. Thou shalt give the tenth of thine increase to the orphan, and to the widow, and to the poor, and to the stranger. All the first-fruits of thy hot bread, of thy barrels of wine or oil, or honey, or nuts, or grapes, or the first-fruits of other things, thou shalt give to the Priests; but those of silver, and of garments, and of every kind of possessions, to the orphan and to the widow.

XXX.

How we ought to assemble together, and celebrate the festival day of our Saviour's resurrection.

On the day of the resurrection of the Lord, that is, the Lord's day, assemble yourselves together, without fail; giving thanks to God, and praising him for those mercies which God hath bestowed upon you, through Christ, in delivering you from ignorance, error, and bondage; that your sacrifice may be unspotted, and acceptable to God, who hath said concerning his church universal, *In every place shall incense and a pure sacrifice be offered unto me;* {Mal. 1: 11.} *for I am a great king, saith the Lord Almighty, and my* {14.} *name is wonderful among the heathen.*

XXXI.

What qualifications they ought to have, who are to be ordained.

Moreover, elect Bishops worthy of the Lord, and Presbyters, and Deacons, pious men, righteous, meek, free from the love of money, lovers of truth, approved, holy, impartial, able to teach the word of piety, and *rightly dividing* the doctrines of the Lord. And honor ye them as your fathers, as your lords, as your benefactors, as the causes of your well-being.

Reprove ye one another, not in anger, but in mildness, with kindness and peace.

Observe all things that are commanded you by the Lord. Be watchful for your life. *Let your loins be girded about, and* {Luke 12: 35.} *your lights burning; and ye yourselves like unto men who* {36.} *wait for their Lord, when he will come; at even, or in the* {Mark 13: 35.} *morning, or at cock-crowing, or at midnight. For at what* {Matt. 24: 44.} *hour they think not the Lord will come. And if they open* {Luke 12: 36.} *to him, blessed are those servants, because they were found* {37.} *watching. For he will gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth, and serve them.*

Watch, therefore, and pray, that ye do not sleep unto death. For your former good deeds will not profit you, if at the last part of your life ye go astray from the true faith.

XXXII.

A Prediction concerning events which are to occur.

For in the last days false prophets shall be multiplied, and such
Matt. 24. } as corrupt the word; and the sheep shall be changed into wolves, and love into hatred; for, through the abounding of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold. For men shall hate, and perse-
2 Thess. 2. } cute, and betray one another. And then shall appear the deceiver of the world, the enemy of the truth, the prince of lies,
Isa. 11: 4. } whom the Lord Jesus *shall destroy with the Spirit of his mouth;* who taketh away the wicked with his lips. And *many*
Matt. 24: 10. } *shall be offended* at him. *But they that endure to the end,*
13. 30. } *the same shall be saved. And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven.* Thereupon shall be the voice of a trumpet by the archangel, and immediately the revival of those that were asleep. And then shall the Lord come, and all his saints
Matt. 16: 27. } with him, with a great concussion above the clouds, with the angels of his power, on the throne of his kingdom, to condemn the deceiver of the world, and to render to every one according to his
Matt. 25: 46. } deeds. *Then shall the wicked go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous shall go into life eternal,* to inherit
1 Cor. 2: 9. } those things which *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man such things as God hath prepared for them that love him;* and they shall rejoice in the kingdom of God, which is in Christ Jesus.

Since now we have been honored with so great blessings from him, let us become his supplicants, and call upon him by continual prayer, saying: —

XXXIII.

A Prayer declarative of God's various providence.

O eternal Saviour, the king of gods, who alone art almighty, and the Lord, the God of all beings, and the God of our holy and blameless fathers, and of those before us; the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob; who art merciful and compassionate, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; to whom every heart is naked, and by whom every heart is seen, and to whom every secret thought is revealed: to thee do the souls of the righteous cry aloud; upon thee do the hopes of the godly trust, thou Father of the blameless, thou hearer of the supplications of those that call upon thee with uprightness, and who knowest the supplications that are not uttered. For thy providence reacheth to the inmost parts of men, and by thy knowledge thou searchest the thoughts of every one; and in every region of the whole earth the incense of prayer and supplication is sent up to thee.

O thou who hast appointed this present world as a place of combat to righteousness, and hast opened to all the gate of mercy, and hast shown to every man, by implanted knowledge, and natural judgment, and the admonitions of the Law, that the possession of riches is not everlasting, the ornament of beauty is not perpetual, our strength and force are easily dissolved; all indeed is vapor and vanity; and nothing but consciousness of faith unfeigned passeth through the midst of the heavens, and, returning with truth, taketh hold of the right hand of the joy which is to come. And, withal, before the promise of the restoration of all things is accomplished, the soul itself exulteth in hope, and is joyful. For from the beginning, when our forefather Abraham was laboring after the way of truth, thou, by a vision, didst guide him, teaching him what kind of a state this world is; and knowledge went before his faith, and faith ensued upon his knowledge, and the covenant was a consequence of his faith. For thou saidst, *I will make thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is by the sea-shore.* {Gen. 13: 16. 22: 17.} Still further, when thou hadst given him Isaac, and knewest him to be similar in his character, thou wast called also his God, saying, *I will be a God to thee, and to thy seed after thee.* {Gen. 26: 3.}

Gen. 17: 7. 28: 13–15. 48: 4. } And when our father Jacob was sent into Mesopotamia, thou showedst him Christ, and by him spakest, saying, *Behold, I am with thee, and I will increase thee, and multiply thee exceedingly.* And thus spakest thou to Moses, thy faithful and holy servant, at the vision of the bush, *I am he that is. This is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations.* O thou Protector of the posterity of Abraham, blessed art thou for ever.

XXXIV.

A Prayer declarative of God's various creation.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, the King of ages, who, through Christ, hast made the whole world, and through him, in the beginning, didst reduce into order the disordered parts; who didst divide the waters from the waters by a firmament, and didst put into them a spirit of life; who didst fix the earth, and stretch out the heaven, and didst dispose every creature by an accurate constitution. For by thy power, O Lord, the world is beautified; the heaven is fixed as an arch over us, and is rendered illustrious with stars, for our comfort in the darkness. The light, also, and the sun, were produced for days, and for the production of fruits; and the moon for the change of seasons, by its increase and diminutions; and night and day received their respective names. The firmament, moreover, was exhibited in the midst of the abyss; and thou didst command the waters to be gathered together, and the dry land to appear. But, as for the sea itself, who can possibly describe it? which cometh with fury from the ocean, yet runneth back again from the sand of the shore, Job 38: 11. } being stopped at thy command; for thou hast said, *Thereby shall her waves be broken.* Thou hast also made it capable of supporting little and great creatures, and made it navigable for ships.

Then did the earth become green, and was planted with all sorts of flowers, and the variety of different trees; and the shining luminaries, the nourishers of those plants, preserve their unchangeable course, and in nothing depart from thy command. But where thou biddest them, there they rise and set, for signs of the seasons, and of the years, making a constant return of the work of men.

Afterwards the kinds of the several animals were created: those

belonging to the land, to the water, to the air, and both to air and water; and the skilful wisdom of thy providence bestoweth upon each a suitable provident care. For as it was not unable to produce various kinds, so neither hath it disdained to provide variously for each.

And at the conclusion of the creation, thou gavest direction to thy Wisdom, and formedst a rational living creature, as the citizen of the world, saying, *Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness;* and hast exhibited him as the ornament of the world, and formed him a body out of the four elements, those primary bodies, but hast prepared a soul out of nothing, and hast bestowed upon him his five senses, and set over his sensations a mind, as the conductor of the soul. {Gen. 1: 26.

And besides all these things, O Lord God, who can worthily declare the motion of the rainy clouds, the shining of the lightning, the noise of the thunder, in order to the supply of proper food, and the most agreeable temperature of the air?

But, when man was disobedient, thou didst deprive him of the life proposed for his reward; yet thou didst not utterly destroy him, but laidest him to sleep for a time; and thou hast by oath called him to a resurrection, and hast loosed the bond of death, O thou Reviver of the dead, through Jesus Christ, who is our hope.

XXXV.

A Prayer with thanksgiving, declarative of God's care over the beings he hath made.

Great art thou, O Lord Almighty, and great is thy power; and to thine understanding there is no limit;—our Creator and Saviour, rich in benefits, long-suffering, and the Bestower of mercy, who dost not take away thy salvation from thy creatures; for thou art good by nature, and sparest sinners, and invitest them to repentance; for admonition is the effect of thy bowels of compassion. For how should we abide if we were required to come to judgment immediately, when, after so much long-suffering, we hardly emerge from our miserable condition!

The heavens declare thy dominion, and the earth shaketh with

earthquakes, and, hanging upon nothing, declareth thine unshaken steadfastness. The sea, raging with waves, and feeding a flock of ten thousand creatures, is bounded with sand, as standing in awe at Psalm 103: 24. thy will; and it compelleth all men to cry out, *How great are thy works, O Lord! In wisdom hast thou made them all. The earth is full of what thou hast created.*

And the bright host of angels, and the intellectual spirits, say to Palmoni, *One is holy!* And the holy seraphim, together with the six-winged cherubim, who sing to thee their triumphal song, cry Isaiah, 6: 3. out, with never-ceasing voices, *Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts. Heaven and earth are full of thy glory.* And the other multitudes of the orders, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, Ezek. 3: 12. principalities, authorities, and powers, cry aloud, and say, *Blessed be the glory of the Lord out of his place.* But Israel, thy church on earth, taken out of the Gentiles, emulating the heavenly Powers, night and day, with a full heart and a willing soul, singeth, Psalm 67: 18. *The chariot of God is ten thousand fold, thousands of them that rejoice. The Lord is among them in Sinai, in the holy place.*

The heaven knoweth Him who fixed it as a cube of stone, in the form of an arch, upon nothing; who united the land and the water to one another, and scattered the vital air all abroad, and conjoined fire therewith for warmth, and for the mitigation of darkness. The choir of stars striketh us with admiration, declaring Him that numbereth them, and showing Him that nameth them; the animals declare Him that putteth life into them; the trees, Him that maketh them grow; all which creatures, being made by thy word, show forth the greatness of thy power. Wherefore, every man, since by thine appointment he hath power over them all, ought, from his very soul, to send up a hymn to thee, through Christ, in the name of them all.

For thou art kind in thy benefits, and beneficent in thy bowels of compassion; who alone art almighty; for when thou willest, to be able is present with thee. For thine eternal power quencheth flame, and stoppeth the mouths of lions, and tameth whales, and raiseth up the sick, and over-ruleth the power of all things, and overturneth the host of enemies, and casteth down a people numbered in their arrogance. Thou art He who art in heaven, He who art on earth, He who art in the sea, He who art in finite things, thyself unconfined by any thing. For of thy majesty there is no

boundary; for it is not ours, O Lord, but the oracle of thy servant, who said, *And thou shalt know in thy heart that the Lord thy God is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath; and there is none other besides him.* {Deut. 4: 39.} For there is no God besides thee alone; there is none holy besides thee, the Lord, the God of knowledge, the God of the saints, holy above all holy beings; for they are sanctified by thy hands.

Thou art glorious, and highly exalted, invisible by nature, and unsearchable in thy judgments; whose life is without want; whose duration can never fail; whose operation is without toil; whose greatness is unlimited; whose excellency is perpetual; whose habitation is inaccessible; whose dwelling is unchangeable; whose knowledge is without beginning; whose truth is immutable; whose work is without assistant; whose dominion cannot be taken away; whose monarchy is without succession; whose kingdom is without end; whose strength is irresistible; whose army is most numerous. For thou art the Father of wisdom, the Creator, as the primary Author, of the creation, by a Mediator; the Bestower of providence; the Giver of laws; the Supplier of want; the Punisher of the wicked, and the Rewarder of the righteous; the God and Father of Christ, and the Lord of those that are pious towards him, [thine anointed One;] whose promise is infallible; whose judgment is without bribes; whose sentiments are immutable; whose piety is incessant; whose thanksgiving is perpetual; and through whom worthy adoration is due to thee from every rational and holy nature.

XXXVI.

A Prayer commemorative of the Incarnation of Christ; and his various providence to the saints.

O Lord Almighty, thou hast created the world by Christ, and hast appointed the Sabbath in memory thereof; since thou hast made us rest on that day from our works, for meditation upon thy laws. Thou hast also appointed festivals for the rejoicing of our souls, that we might come into the remembrance of the {Prov. 8: 22.} Wisdom that was created by thee; how he, for our sake, submitted to be born of a woman. He appeared in life, manifesting

himself in his baptism, that he who thus came forth is God and man. He suffered and died for us by thy permission, and rose again by thy power; on which account, we, solemnly assembling to celebrate the festival of the Resurrection on the Lord's day, rejoice concerning Him who hath conquered death, and hath brought life and immortality to light. For by him thou hast brought home the Gentiles to thyself, for a peculiar people, the true Israel, beloved of God, and seeing God. For thou, O Lord, broughtest our fathers out of the land of Egypt, and didst deliver them out of the iron furnace, from clay and brick-making, and didst redeem them out of the hands of Pharaoh, and of those under him; and didst lead them through the sea, as through dry land; and didst bear their manners in the wilderness, and bestow on them all sorts of good things. Thou didst give them the Law, or Decalogue, which was pronounced by thy voice, and written with thy hand. Thou didst enjoin the observance of the Sabbath, not affording them an occasion of idleness, but an opportunity of piety, for their knowledge of thy power, and the restraint of evils; having enclosed the people, as within a Lev. 23. 25. holy circuit, for the sake of instruction, so that they might rejoice on the seventh day. On this account were appointed one week, and seven weeks, and the seventh month, and the seventh year; and the sevenfold revolution of this, the jubilee, which is the fiftieth year, for remission; that men might have no occasion to pretend ignorance.

— (For this purpose he permitted men, every Sabbath, to rest, that no one might be disposed to utter a word out of his mouth in anger on the day of the Sabbath. For the Sabbath is the ceasing of the creation, the completion of the world, the inquiry after laws, and the grateful praise to God for the blessings he hath bestowed upon men.) —

All which appointed times the Lord's day excelleth, and showeth the Mediator himself, the Provider, the Lawgiver, the Author of the Resurrection, the First-born of the whole creation, God the Word, and Man; who was born of Mary alone, without a man; who lived a holy life; who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died, and rose again from the dead; so that the Lord's day commandeth us to offer unto thee, O Lord, thanksgiving for all. For thus is the grace afforded by thee, which, on account of its greatness, hath obscured all other blessings.

XXXVII.

A Prayer containing a memorial of providence, and an enumeration of the various benefits afforded to the saints by the providence of God through Christ.

Thou who hast fulfilled thy promises made by the prophets, and hast had mercy on Zion, and compassion on Jerusalem, by exalting the throne of David, thy servant, in the midst of her, by the birth of Christ, who was born of his seed, according to the flesh, of a virgin alone; do thou now, O Lord God, accept the prayers which proceed from the lips of thy people, who are of the Gentiles, who call upon thee in truth, as thou didst accept of the gifts of the righteous in their generations. In the first place, thou didst respect the sacrifice of Abel, and accept it, as thou didst accept the sacrifice of Noah, when he went out of the ark; of Abraham, when he went out of the land of the Chaldeans; of Isaac, at the well of the oath; of Jacob, in Bethel; of Moses, in the desert; of Aaron, between the dead and the living; of Joshua, the son of Nun in Gilgal; of Gideon, at the rock, and the fleeces, before his sin; of Manoah and his wife, in the field; of Samson, in his thirst, before his transgression; of Jephthah, in the war, before his rash vow; of Barak and Deborah, in the days of Sisera; of Samuel, in Mizpeh; of David, in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite; of Solomon, in Gibeon, and in Jerusalem; of Elijah, in Mount Carmel; of Elisha, at the barren fountain; of Jehosaphat, in war; of Hezekiah, in his sickness, and concerning Sennacherib; of Manasseh, in the land of the Chaldeans, after his transgression; of Josiah, in his Passover; of Ezra, at the return; of Daniel, in the den of lions; of Jonah, in the whale's belly; of the three children in the fiery furnace; of Hannah, in the tabernacle before the ark; of Nehemiah, at the rebuilding of the walls; of Zerubbabel; of Mattathias and his sons, in their zeal; of Jael, in blessings. And now, therefore, accept the prayers of thy people, which are offered to thee with knowledge, through Christ, in the Spirit.

{Luke, 1: 32. / Acts, 2: 30.}
{Gen. 4. / 8. / 12. / 22. / 35.}
{Exod. 12. / Num. 16.}
{Josh. 5:}
{Judges, 6. / 8. / 13. / 15: 16. / 11. / 4.}
{1 Kings, 7. / 1 Chr. 21.}
{3 Kings, 3: 8. / 18.}
{4 Kings, 2. / 2 Chr. 18.}
{4 Kings, 20: 19. / 2 Chr. 33. / 35. / 1 Esdr. 8.}
{Dan. 6: 14. / Jonah, 2. / Dan. 3.}
{1 Kings, 1. / 1 Esdr. 3.}
{1 Mac. 2 — / Judges, 5: 24.}

XXXVIII.

A Prayer for the assistance of the righteous.

We give thee thanks for all things, O Lord Almighty, that thou hast not taken away from us thy mercies and thy compassions; but in every succeeding generation thou dost save, and deliver, and assist, and protect. For thou didst assist in the days of Enos and Enoch; in the days of Moses and Joshua; in the days of the judges; in the days of Samuel, and of Elijah, and of the prophets; in the days of David, and of the kings; in the days of Esther and Mordecai; in the days of Judith; in the days of Judas Maccabeus and his brethren. And in our days thou hast assisted us by thy great High Priest, Jesus Christ, thy Son. For he hath delivered us from the sword, and hath freed us from famine, and sustained us; hath delivered us from sickness, and hath preserved us from an evil tongue. For all which things we give thee thanks, through Christ, who hath given us an articulate voice for confession, and added to it a suitable tongue, as an instrument to modulate withal, and a proper taste, and a well-adapted feeling, and sight for seeing, and the hearing of sounds, and the smelling of exhalations, and hands for work, and feet for walking. And all these members thou formest from a little drop in the womb; and, after the formation, thou bestowest on it an immortal soul, and bringest it forth into the light. The rational creature, man, thou hast instructed by thy laws, thou hast purified by thy statutes; and though thou bringest on a dissolution for a little while, thou hast promised a resurrection.

Wherefore, what life is sufficient, what length of ages will be long enough, for men to render thanks? To do it worthily is impossible; but to do it according to our ability, is just and right. For thou hast delivered us from the impiety of polytheism, and from the heresy of the murderers of Christ. Thou hast delivered us from error and ignorance. Thou hast sent Christ among men, as a man, being the only-begotten God. Thou hast sent the Comforter to dwell in us. Thou hast set angels over us. Thou hast put the devil to shame. Thou hast brought us into being when we were not; thou takest care of us when made; thou measurest out life to us; thou suppliest us with food; thou hast promised repentance.

Glory and worship be to thee, for all these things, through Jesus Christ, now and ever, and throughout all ages. Amen.

Meditate on these things, brethren; and the Lord be with you upon earth, and in the kingdom of his Father, who both sent him, and hath delivered us, by him, *from the bondage of corruption into* his *glorious liberty;* and hath promised life to those who, through him, have believed in the God of the universe. {Rom. 8: 21.

Now, after what manner those ought to live that are initiated into Christ, and what thanksgivings they ought to send up to God through Christ, have been mentioned in the foregoing directions. But it is reasonable not to leave, without assistance, even those who are not yet initiated.

XXXIX.

How the Catechumens are to be instructed in the elements.

He, therefore, who is to be catechized in the word of piety, let him be instructed before his baptism in the knowledge of the unbegotten God, in the understanding of his only-begotten Son, in the assured acknowledgment of the Holy Spirit. Let him learn the order of the several parts of the creation, the series of providence, the different dispensations of the laws. Let him be instructed why the world was made, and why man was appointed to be a citizen therein. Let him also know his own nature; of what sort it is. Let him be taught how God punished the wicked with water; and how he glorified the saints in each generation; I mean Seth, and Enos, and Enoch, and Noah, and Abraham and his posterity, and Melchisedek, and Job, and Moses, and Joshua, and Caleb, and Phineas the priest, and those that were holy in each generation; and how God still took care of and did not reject mankind, but, at various times, called them from their error and vanity to the acknowledgment of the truth; bringing them back from bondage and impiety to liberty and piety, from injustice to righteousness, from death eternal to everlasting life.

Let him who is coming to baptism learn these and the like things, in his catechetical instruction; and let him who layeth his hands upon him, adore God, the Lord of the universe, and thank him in behalf of his creature, for sending Christ, his only-begotten Son,

that he might save man, blotting out his transgressions; and that
2 Cor. 7: 1. he might remit ungodliness and sins, and might purify him from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and sanctify man according to the good pleasure of his kindness, that he might inspire him with the knowledge of his will, and enlighten the eyes of his heart to consider of his wonderful works, and make known to him the judgments of righteousness; that so he might hate every way of iniquity, and walk in the way of truth; that he might be thought worthy of the laver of regeneration, to the adoption of sons, which is in Christ;
Rom. 6: 5. that, being planted together in the likeness of the death of Christ, in hope of a glorious participation, he may be dead to sin, and may live to God, as to his mind, and word, and deed, and may be numbered together in the book of the living.

And, after this thanksgiving, let him instruct him in the doctrines concerning our Lord's incarnation, and in those concerning his passion, and his resurrection from the dead, and his assumption.

XL.

A constitution how the Catechumens are to be blessed by the Priests, in their initiation; and what things are to be taught them.

And when the catechumen is just at the point of being baptized, let him learn what concerneth the renunciation of the devil, and the joining himself with Christ. For it is fit that he should first abstain from things contrary, and then be admitted to the mysteries. He must, beforehand, purify his heart from all wickedness of disposition, from all spot and wrinkle, and then partake of the holy things. For as the most skilful husbandman first cleareth his ground of the thorns which are grown up therein, and then soweth his wheat, so ought ye also to take away all impiety from them [the catechumens]; and then to sow the seeds of piety in them, and bestow baptism. For thus our Lord exhorted us, saying, first, *Make disci-*
Matt. 28: 19. *ples of all nations;* and then he added this, *and baptize them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

Let, therefore, the candidate for baptism declare, in his renunciation, —

XLI.

The renunciation of the adversary, and the dedication to the Christ of God.

I renounce Satan, and his works, and his pomps, and his worship, and his angels, and his inventions, and all things that are under him.

And, after this renunciation, let him, in his dedication, say, And I associate myself with Christ, and believe in and am baptized into one unbegotten Being, the only true God Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom are all things; — and into the Lord Jesus Christ, his only-begotten Son, the First-born of the whole creation, who, before the ages, was, by the good pleasure of the Father, begotten, not created; through whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth, visible and invisible; who, in the last days, descended from heaven, and took flesh, and was born of the holy virgin Mary, and lived a holy life, according to the laws of his God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us; and rose again from the dead, after his Passion, the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and again is to come at the end of the world, with glory, to judge the living and the dead; of whose kingdom there shall be no end. I am baptized also into the Holy Ghost, that is, the Comforter, who wrought in all the saints from the beginning of the world, but was afterwards sent to the apostles by the Father, according to the promise of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, and, after the apostles, to all who believe, in the holy Catholic church; — into the resurrection of the flesh, and into the remission of sins, and into the kingdom of heaven, and into the life of the world to come.

And, after this declaration, he cometh in order to the anointing with oil.

XLII.

A Thanksgiving in respect to the anointing with the mystical oil.

Now this is blessed by the high priest for the remission of sins and the preparative for baptism. For he invoketh the unbegotten God, the Father of Christ, the King of all sensible and intelligent natures, that he would sanctify the oil in the name of the Lord Jesus, and bestow spiritual grace, and efficacious strength, the remission of sins, and the preparation for the confession of baptism; that so the candidate for baptism, when he is anointed, may be freed from all ungodliness, and may become worthy of initiation, according to the command of the Only-begotten.

XLIII.

A Thanksgiving concerning the mystical water.

After this, he cometh to the water. The priest blesseth and glorifieth the Lord God Almighty, the Father of the only-begotten God; returning thanks, that he sent his Son to become man on our account, that he might save us; that he permitted him to become obedient, in all things, to the laws of that incarnation, to preach the kingdom of heaven, the remission of sins, and the resurrection of the dead.

Moreover, he adoreth the only-begotten God himself (after the Father, and for him), giving him thanks that he undertook to suffer death by the cross for all men; an emblem of which death he hath appointed to be the baptism of regeneration.

He giveth glory also, that, in the name of Christ, God, the Lord of the universe, in the Holy Spirit, hath not cast off mankind, but hath suited his providence to the difference of times; first giving to Adam himself, with a regard to his enjoyment, Paradise, as a habitation; then, with a regard to provident care, delivering to him a command, but justly expelling him when he had transgressed; yet not utterly casting him off, but instructing his posterity, in succeeding ages, in various ways; and, on his account, towards the conclu-

sion of the world, he hath sent his Son to become man for man's sake, and to be subject to all human affections without sin. Him, therefore, let the priest even now implore at the baptism, and let him say, Look down from heaven, and sanctify this water; and bestow grace and power, so that he who is to be baptized, according to the command of thy Christ, may be crucified with him, and may die with him, and may be buried with him, and may rise with him to the adoption which is in him, by being made dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto righteousness.

And after this, when he hath baptized him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, he shall anoint him with ointment, and shall add as followeth: —

XLIV.

A Thanksgiving concerning the mystical ointment.

O Lord God, who art without generation, and without a superior, the Lord of the universe, who hast scattered the fragrance of the knowledge of the Gospel among all nations, do thou grant, at this time, that this ointment may be efficacious upon him that is baptized, so that the sweet odor of thy Christ may continue upon him firm and fixed, and that, having died with him, he may rise with him, and live with him.

Let him say these and the like things; for this is the efficacy of the laying of hands on each. For, unless there be such an invocation made by a pious priest over every one of these, the candidate for baptism only descendeth into the water, as do the Jews; and he putteth off only the filth of the body, not the filth of the soul.

After this, let him stand up, and pray that prayer which {Matt. 6: 9.} the Lord taught us; for, of necessity, he who is risen again ought to stand up and pray; because he that is raised up standeth upright. Let him, therefore, who hath been dead with Christ, and is raised up with him, stand up. But let him pray towards the east. For this also is written in the second book of the Chronicles, that, after the temple of the Lord was finished by king Solomon, in the very Feast of Dedication, the priests, and the Levites, and the singers, stood up towards the east, praising and thanking God, with cymbals

2 Chr. 5: 13. and psalteries, and saying, *Praise the Lord, for he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever.*

XLV.

A Prayer of the newly initiated.

Moreover, let him pray thus after the foregoing prayer, and say, O God Almighty, the Father of thy Christ, thine only-begotten Son, give me a body undefiled, a heart pure, a mind watchful, an unerring knowledge, the influence of the Holy Spirit for the obtaining and the full assurance of the truth, through thy Christ; by whom glory be to thee, in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

These constitutions we have thought it right to make concerning the catechumens.

XLVI.

Who they were whom the holy apostles sent and ordained.

Now concerning those Bishops who have been ordained in our lifetime, we make known to you that they are these: Of Jerusalem, James, the brother of our Lord; upon whose death the second was Symeon, the son of Cleopas; after whom, Judas, the son of James. Of Cæsarea in Palestine, the first was Zaccheus, who was once a publican; after whom was Cornelius; and the third, Theophilus. Of Antioch, Euodius, by me, Peter; and Ignatius, by Paul. Of Alexandria, Annianus was the first, by Mark the Evangelist; the second, Avilius, by Luke, who also was an evangelist. 2 Tim. 4: 21. Of the church of Rome, Linus, the son of Claudia, was the first, by Paul; and Clement, after Linus's death, the second, by me, Peter. Of Ephesus, Timothy, by Paul; and John, by me, John. Of Smyrna, Aristo was the first; after whom, Stratæas, the 2 Tim. 1: 5. son of Lois; and the third, Aristo. Of Pergamos, Gaius. Of Philadelphia, Demetrius, by me [John]. Of Cenchrea, Lucius, by Paul. Of Crete, Titus. Of Athens, Dionysius. Of Tripoli in Phœnicia, Marathones. Of Laodicea in Phrygia, Archippus. Of Philem. 10. Colosse, Philemon. Of Berœa in Macedonia, Onesimus,

once the servant of Philemon. Of the churches of Galatia, Crescens. Of the parishes of Asia, Aquila and Nicetas. Of the church of Ægina, Crispus.

These are the Bishops who have been intrusted by us with the parishes in the Lord; whose doctrine keep ye always in mind, and observe our words. And may the Lord be with you now, and to endless ages; as he himself said to us, when he was about to be taken up to his own God and Father. For, *Lo* (he saith), *I am with you all the days, until the end of the world.* {Matt. 28: 20} Amen.

XLVII.

A Morning Prayer.

Glory be to God in the highest; and upon earth, peace, good will among men. We praise thee, we sing hymns to thee, we bless thee, we glorify thee, we worship thee, by thy great High Priest; thee, who art the true God, who art the One unbegotten, the only inaccessible Being. For thy great glory, O Lord and heavenly King, O God, the Father Almighty, O Lord God, the Father of Christ, the immaculate Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, thou that sittest upon the cherubim; since thou only art holy. Thou only, O Jesus, art our Lord, the Christ of the God of all that hath been brought forth, of the God our King. Through this our Lord, glory be to thee, and honor, and worship.

XLVIII.

An Evening Prayer.

Ye children, praise the Lord; praise the name of the Lord. We praise thee, we sing hymns to thee, we bless thee for thy great glory, O Lord, our King, the Father of Christ, the immaculate Lamb, that taketh away the sin of the world. Praise becometh thee, hymns become thee, glory becometh thee, the God and Father, through the Son, in the most Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen. *Now, O Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to* {Luke 2: 29}

thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.

XLIX.

A Prayer at Dinner.

Blessed art thou, O Lord, who dost nourish me from my youth; who givest food to all flesh. Fill our hearts with joy and gladness, that, having always what is sufficient for us, we may abound to every good work, in Christ Jesus, our Lord; through whom glory, honor, and power, be to thee for ever. Amen.

BOOK VIII.

CONCERNING GIFTS, AND ORDINATIONS, AND ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS.

CHAPTER I.

On whose account the miraculous powers are put forth.

JESUS CHRIST, our God and Saviour, having delivered to us the great mystery of godliness, and called both Jews and Gentiles to the acknowledgment of the one and only true God his Father, as he himself somewhere saith, when he was giving thanks for the
John 17: 6. } salvation of those that had believed, *I have manifested thy*
4. } *name to men; I have finished the work which thou gavest me;*
11. } and having said concerning us to his Father, *Holy Father,*
25. } *although the world hath not known thee, yet I have known thee; and these have known thee;* he with good reason said to all of us together, when we were perfected, concerning those gifts

which were given from him by the Spirit, *Now these signs shall follow them that have believed in my name: They shall cast out demons; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them. They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover.* {Mark 16: 17, 18.

These gifts were first bestowed on us the apostles, when we were about to preach the Gospel to every creature; but afterwards they were of necessity afforded to those who through us had believed,—not for the advantage of those who perform them, but for the conviction of the unbelievers; that those whom the word did not persuade, the power of signs might put to shame. For signs are not for us who believe, but for the unbelievers, both of the Jews and of the Gentiles. For neither is it any profit to us to cast out demons, but to those who are so cleansed by the power of the Lord; as the Lord himself somewhere instructeth us, and showeth, saying, *Rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven:* since the former is done by his power, but this by our good will and diligence; we, it is evident, being assisted by him. {Luke 10: 20.

It is not therefore necessary, that every one of the faithful should cast out demons, or raise the dead, or speak with tongues; but that he should, on whom this gift has been bestowed for some useful object, in respect to the salvation of the unbelievers, who are often put to shame, not by the convincing proof of words, but by the power of signs; that is, such as are worthy of salvation. For all the ungodly are not converted by miracles; and this God himself testifieth, as when he saith in the Law, *With other tongues will I speak to this people, and with other lips, and yet they will not believe.* {Isaiah 28: 11. {1 Cor. 14: 21. For neither did the Egyptians believe in God, when Moses had done so many signs and wonders; nor did the multitude of the Jews believe in Christ (who was like Moses), when he healed every sickness and every disease among them; nor were the former shamed by the rod which was turned into a living serpent, nor by the hand which was made white with leprosy, nor by the river Nile turned into blood; nor the latter by the blind who recovered their sight, nor by the lame who walked, nor by the dead who were raised. Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses; Annas and Caiaphas, Christ. Thus signs do not shame all into belief,

but only those of a good disposition; for whose sake also it is that God is pleased, as a wise superintendent, to appoint miracles to be wrought, not by the power of men, but by his own will.

Now we say these things, that those who have received such gifts may not exalt themselves against those who have not received them; such gifts, we mean, as are for the working of miracles; since there is no man who hath believed in God, through Christ, that hath not received some spiritual gift. For this very thing, to have been delivered from the impiety of Polytheism, and to have believed in God the Father, through Christ, is a gift of God; as also it is to have cast off the veil of Judaism, and to have believed that, by the good pleasure of God, his only-begotten Son, who was before all ages, was in the later time born of a virgin, without the company of a man; and that he lived as a man, yet without sin, and fulfilled all that righteousness which is of the law; and that, by the permission of God, he who was God the Word endured the cross, and despised the shame; and that he died, and was buried, and rose within three days; and that, after his resurrection, having continued forty days with his apostles, and completed his whole constitutions, he was taken up in their sight to his God and Father who had sent him. He who hath believed these things, not at random, nor irrationally, but with judgment and full assurance, hath received a gift from God. So also hath he who is delivered from every heresy.

Let not, therefore, any one that worketh signs and wonders judge any one of the faithful who is not honored with the gift of working them. For the gifts of God which are bestowed by him through Christ, are various. And thou, indeed, hast received this gift, but 1 Cor. 12: 8. } that man, some other: for perhaps one hath the word of wisdom; another, the word of knowledge; another, discerning of spirits; another, foreknowledge of things to come; another, the word of teaching; another, patience; another, continence according to the law. For even Moses, the man of God, when he wrought Exod. 7: 1. } signs in Egypt, did not exalt himself against the men of his nation; and when he was called a god, he did not arrogantly Josh. 10. } despise his own prophet Aaron. Nor did Joshua, the son of Nun, who was the leader of the people after him, though, in the war with the Jebusites, he had made the sun stand still over against Gibeon, and the moon over against the valley of Ajalon, because

the day was not long enough for the victory, insult over Phineas or Caleb. Nor did Samuel, who had done so many surprising things, disregard David, the beloved of God; yet they were both prophets, and the one was high priest, and the other was king. And when there were only seven thousand holy men in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal, Elijah alone among them, and his disciple Elisha, were workers of miracles; yet neither did Elijah despise Abdiah the steward, who feared God, but wrought no signs; nor did Elisha despise his own disciple, when he trembled at the enemies. Moreover, neither did the wise Daniel, who was twice delivered from the mouths of the lions, nor the three children who were delivered from the furnace of fire, despise the rest of their nation. For they knew that they had not escaped these terrible miseries by their own might, but that they both performed miracles, and were delivered from miseries, by the power of God.

{3 Kings, 18: 19. Rom. 11: 4. 4 Kings, 6. Daniel, 6: 14: 3.}

Therefore let none of you exalt himself against his brethren, though he be a prophet, or though he be a worker of miracles. For if it happen that there be no longer an unbeliever, all the power of signs will thenceforward be superfluous; and to be pious is from one's good will, but to work wonders is from the power of Him that worketh them by us; the first of which respecteth ourselves, but the second respecteth God that worketh them, for the reasons which we have already mentioned.

Therefore, neither let a king despise the officers that are under him; nor rulers, their subjects. For where there are none to be ruled over, rulers are superfluous; and where there are no officers, the kingdom will not stand.

Moreover, let not a Bishop be exalted against the Deacons and the Presbyters; nor the Presbyters against the people; for from each and all of these is the composition of the congregation; for the Bishops and the Presbyters are Priests of certain persons, and the Laity are laymen of certain persons. And, indeed, to be a Christian is in our own power; but to be an Apostle, or a Bishop, or in any other such office, is not in our own power, but at the disposal of God who bestoweth the gifts.

Thus much on account of those who have been deemed worthy of gifts and dignities.

II.

Concerning unworthy Bishops and Presbyters.

But to our discourse we add, that neither is every one that prophesieth holy, nor every one that casteth out demons, religious; Num. 23 and 24. for even Balaam the son of Beor, the prophet, prophe- John, 11: 51. sied, though he was himself wicked; as also did Caiaphas, the falsely named high priest. Indeed, even the devil foretelleth many things, and the demons about him; and yet, for all that, there is not a spark of piety in them; for they are oppressed with ignorance, by reason of their voluntary wickedness. It is manifest, therefore, that the ungodly, although they prophesy, do not, by their prophesying, cover their own impiety; nor will they who cast out demons be sanctified by the demons' being made subject to them; for they only mock one another, as they do who play childish tricks for mirth; and they destroy those who give heed to them. Nor is a wicked king any longer a king, but a tyrant; nor is a Bishop oppressed with ignorance or an evil disposition, a Bishop, but falsely so called, being not one sent out by God, but by men, as Hananiah Jer. 28 and 29. and Shemaiah in Jerusalem, and Zedekiah and Achiah Num. 25 and 31. the false prophets in Babylon. And, indeed, Balaam, when he had corrupted Israel by Baal-Peor, suffered punishment; Acts, 19: 14. and Caiaphas at last was his own murderer; and the sons of Sceva, endeavoring to cast out demons, were wounded by them, and fled away in an unseemly manner; and the kings of Israel and Judah, when they became wicked, suffered many kinds of punishment.

It is therefore evident that Bishops and Presbyters, also, falsely so called, will not escape the judgment of God. For it will be said Mal. 1: 6. to them even now, *O ye Priests that despise my name, I* Jer. 29: 22. *will deliver you up to the slaughter, as I did Zedekiah and Achiah, whom the king of Babylon fried in a frying-pan*, as saith Jeremiah the prophet.

We say these things, not in contempt of true prophecies, for we know that they are wrought in holy men by the inspiration of God; but to repress the audacity of vain-glorious men. And we add this

withal, that from such as these God taketh away his grace. For *God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.* {1 Pet. 5: 5.} Indeed, Silas and Agabus have prophesied in our times; yet they have not claimed to be equal to the apostles, nor have they exceeded their own measures, though they are beloved of God. Besides, women also have prophesied: of old, Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron; and, after her, Deborah; and, after these, Huldah and Judith; the former under Josiah, the latter under Darius. The mother of our Lord, likewise, prophesied, and her kinswoman Elizabeth, and Anna; and, in our times, the daughters of Philip. Yet these were not elated against their husbands, but preserved their own measures. Therefore, if among you also there be a man or a woman, and such a one obtain any gift, let him be humble, that God may be pleased with him. For, saith he, *Upon whom will I look, but upon him that is humble and quiet, and trembleth at my words?* {Isa. 66: 2.}

III.

That to make constitutions concerning those things which are to be performed in the churches, is of great consequence.

We have indeed set forth the first part of this discourse concerning gifts, whatever they may be, which God hath bestowed upon men, according to his own will; and how he rebuked the ways of those who either attempted to speak lies, or were moved by the spirit of the adversary; and that, from the wicked, God often taketh away his grace, both as to prophecy and as to the performance of miracles.

But now our discourse hasteneth us to the principal part of the portraiture of ecclesiastical affairs, that so, when ye have learned this constitution from us, ye who have been ordained Bishops by us, conformably to the will of Christ, may perform all things according to the commands delivered to us; knowing that he who heareth us heareth Christ, and he who heareth Christ heareth his God and Father; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

IV.

Concerning Ordinations.

Wherefore, we the Twelve Apostles of the Lord, who are now together, give you in charge these our Divine Constitutions concerning every ecclesiastical form; there being present with us Paul the chosen vessel, our fellow-apostle, and James the Bishop, and the rest of the Presbyters, and the seven Deacons.

In the first place, therefore, I Peter say, that a Bishop to be ordained is to be, as we have already all of us appointed, unblamable in all things, a select person, chosen by the whole people. And when he is named and approved, let the people assemble, with the Presbytery and Bishops that are present, on the Lord's day; and let them give their consent. And let him who is preferred among the rest ask the Presbytery and the people, whether this is the person whom they desire for their ruler. And if they give their consent, let him ask further, whether he hath a good testimony from all men, as to his worthiness for so great and glorious an authority; — whether all things relating to his piety towards God are right; — whether justice towards men hath been observed by him; — whether the affairs of his family have been well ordered by him; — whether he hath been unblamable in the course of his life. And if all the assembly together do, according to truth and not according to prejudice, testify that he is such a one, let them, the third time, as before God the Judge, and Christ, the Holy Ghost also assuredly being present, and all the holy ministering spirits, ask again, whether he is truly worthy of this ministry; — that so, Matt. 18: 19. *in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word may be established.* And if they agree, the third time, that he is worthy, let them all be demanded their vote; and when they all give it willingly, let them be heard. And, silence being made, let one of the principal Bishops, together with two others, stand near the altar; the rest of the Bishops and Presbyters praying silently, and the Deacons holding the holy Gospels open upon the head of him that is to be ordained; and say to God, —

V.

Form of Prayer for the ordination of a Bishop.

O thou the Great Being, thou Supreme Ruler, Lord, God Almighty, who alone art unbegotten and independent; who always art, and wast before the worlds; who needest nothing, and art above all cause and beginning; who only art true, who only art wise; who only art Most High; who art by nature invisible; whose knowledge is without beginning; who only art good and incomparable; who knowest all things before they are; who art acquainted with the most secret things; who art inaccessible, and without a superior; the God and Father of thine only-begotten Son, of our God and Saviour; the Creator of the universe by him; the Provider, the Guardian; *the Father of mercies, and God of all consolation;* who dwellest in the highest heavens, and yet lookest down on things below; thou who didst appoint the rules of the church by the coming of thy Christ in the flesh, — under the Comforter as witness, by thine apostles, and by us the Bishops, who by thy grace are here present; who hast foreordained priests from the beginning, for the government of thy people; Abel in the first place, Seth and Enos, and Enoch and Noah, and Melchisedek and Job; who didst appoint Abraham, and the rest of the patriarchs, with thy faithful servants Moses and Aaron, and Eleazar and Phineas; who didst choose from among them rulers and priests in the tabernacle of thy testimony; who didst choose Samuel for a priest and a prophet; who didst not leave thy sanctuary without ministers; who didst delight in those whom thou chosest to be glorified in; do thou thyself, by the mediation of thy Christ, through us, pour down at this time the influence of thy free Spirit, which is administered by thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ; which he bestowed, according to thy will, on the holy apostles of thee, the eternal God. Grant by thy name, O God, who searchest the hearts, that this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen to be a Bishop, may feed thy holy flock, and discharge the office of a high priest to thee, and minister to thee unblamably, night and day; that he may appease thee, and gather together the number of those that shall be saved, and may offer to thee the gifts of thy holy church. Grant to him, O Lord Almighty, {2 Cor. 1: 3.

through thy Christ, the communion of the Holy Spirit, that so he may have power to remit sins according to thy command; to distribute clerical offices according to thine ordinance; to loose every bond, according to the power which thou gavest to the apostles; that he may please thee, in meekness and a pure heart, steadfastly, unblamably, irreproachably, while he offereth to thee a pure and unbloody sacrifice, which, by thy Christ, thou hast appointed as the mystery of the new covenant, for a sweet savor, through thy holy child Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour; through whom glory, honor, and worship, be to thee, in the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for all ages.

And when he hath prayed for these things, let the rest of the priests add, Amen; and, together with them, all the people.

And, after the prayer, let one of the Bishops elevate the sacrifice upon the hands of him that is ordained; and early in the morning let him be enthroned, in a place set apart for him, among the rest of the Bishops, they all giving him the kiss in the Lord. And after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and our Epistles, and Acts, and the Gospels, let him that is ordained salute the church, saying, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of our God and Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all;* and let them all answer, *And with thy spirit.* And, after the salutation, let him speak to the people the words of exhortation; and when he hath ended his instructive discourse, I Andrew, the brother of Peter, say, that, while all, having risen, are standing up, let the Deacon ascend to some high place and proclaim, Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers stay. And silence being made, let him say,—

VI.

The Divine Liturgy, in which is the bidding Prayer for the Catechumens.

Ye catechumens, pray; and let all the faithful pray for them in their mind, saying, Lord, have mercy on them. And let the Deacon bid prayers for them, saying, Let us all implore God for the catechumens, that He that is good, He that is the lover of mankind, may mercifully hear their prayers and supplications, and so

accept their petitions as to assist them, and give them those desires of their hearts which are for their advantage; and reveal to them the gospel of his Christ, give them illumination and understanding, instruct them in the knowledge of God, teach them his commands and his ordinances, implant in them his saving and holy fear, open the ears of their hearts, that they may exercise themselves in his law day and night; strengthen them in piety, unite them to and number them with his flock, deeming them worthy of the laver of regeneration, and the garment of incorruption, which is the true life; and deliver them from all ungodliness, and give no place to the adversary against them, but *cleanse them from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them* by his Christ; bless their *coming in* and their *going out*, and order their affairs for their good. Let us still earnestly supplicate for them, that they, obtaining by their initiation the forgiveness of their transgressions, may be esteemed worthy of the holy mysteries, and of continuance with the saints.

{2 Cor. 7: 1. / 6: 16. / Psalm 120: 8.

Rise up, ye catechumens. Pray ye that ye may have the peace of God through Christ; a peaceful day, and without sin; and that such may be the whole time of your life. Pray that yours may be a Christian death. Seek a compassionate and merciful God, and the forgiveness of your transgressions. Dedicate yourselves to the only unbegotten God, through his Christ. Bow down your heads, and receive the blessing.

But upon the mention of each of these particulars which the Deacon uttereth in bidding to pray, as we said before, let the people say, *Lord, have mercy;* and let the children say it first.

And as the catechumens have bowed down their heads, let the Bishop who is newly ordained bless them with this blessing:

O God Almighty, unbegotten and inaccessible, who only art the true God, the God and Father of thy Christ, thine only-begotten Son; the God of the Comforter, and Lord of the universe; who by Christ didst appoint the disciples to be teachers, that men might learn piety; do thou thyself even now look down upon thy servants who are catechized in the gospel of thy Christ, and *give them a new heart, and renew a right spirit in their inward parts*, that they may both know and do thy will with full purpose of heart, and with a willing soul. Account them worthy of the holy initiation, and unite them to thy holy church, and make them partakers of the

{Psalm 50: 12.

holy mysteries, through Christ, our hope, who for them suffered death; through whom glory and worship be given to thee in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

And, after this, let the Deacon say, Go out, ye catechumens, in peace.

And after they are gone out, let him say, Ye energumens afflicted with unclean spirits, pray; and let us all earnestly pray for them, that God, the lover of mankind, may by Christ rebuke the unclean and wicked spirits, and deliver his supplicants from the dominion of
Mark, 5: 9. Zech. 3: 2. } the adversary. He that rebuked the legion of demons, and the prince of wickedness, the devil, may he himself even now rebuke these apostates from piety, and deliver his own workmanship from their power, and cleanse those whom he hath made with much wisdom. Let us still pray earnestly for them. Save them, O God, and raise them up by thy power.

Bow down your heads, ye energumens, and receive the blessing. And let the Bishop add a prayer, saying, —

VII.

Prayer for the Energumens.

Thou who hast bound the strong man, and spoiled all that was in his house; who hast given us power over serpents and scorpions to tread upon them, and upon all the power of the enemy; who hast delivered the serpent, the murderer of men, bound, to us, as a spar-
Job, 40: 24. Luke, 10: 18. } row to children; thou whom all things dread, trembling be-
} fore the face of thy power; who hast cast him down as lightning from heaven to earth; not with a fall from a place, but from honor to dishonor, on account of his voluntary evil dispo-
Psalm 105: 9. } sition; thou *whose look drieth the abysses*, and *whose threat-*
96: 5. } *ening melteth the mountains*, and *whose truth remaineth*
116: 2. } *for ever;* whom the infants praise, and sucking babes
8: 2. 96: 7. } bless; whom angels sing hymns to and adore; who *lookest*
103: 32. } *upon the earth, and makest it tremble;* who *touchest the*
Nah. 1: 4. } *mountains, and they smoke;* who *threatenest the sea, and*
1: 3. } *driest it up, and makest all its rivers as a desert, and whose*
Job, 9: 8. } *clouds are the dust of thy feet;* who *walkest upon the sea*

as upon firm ground; thou only-begotten God, the Son of the great Father, rebuke these wicked spirits, and deliver the works of thy hands from the power of the adverse spirit. For to thee belong glory, honor, and worship, and through thee to thy Father, in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

And let the Deacon say, Go out, ye energumens; and, after they have gone out, let him cry aloud, Ye that are about to be illuminated, pray. Let all of us the faithful earnestly pray for them, that the Lord may deem them worthy, after being initiated into the death of Christ, to rise with him, and become partakers of his kingdom, and communicants of his mysteries; — may unite them to and number them among those that are saved in his holy church. Save them, and raise them up in thy grace.

Having sealed themselves to God through his Christ, and having bowed down their heads, let them receive this blessing from the Bishop: —

VIII.

Prayer for the persons about to be baptized.

Thou who hast formerly said by thy prophets to those that were to be initiated, *Wash ye, become clean;* and hast through Christ appointed the spiritual regeneration; do thou thyself even now look upon these that are about to be baptized, and bless them, and sanctify them, and prepare them, that they may become worthy of thy spiritual gift, and of the true adoption; of thy spiritual mysteries; of being gathered together with those that are saved through Christ our Saviour; through whom glory, honor, and worship, be to thee, in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

And let the Deacon say, Go out, ye that are about to be illuminated.

And, after this, let him proclaim, Ye penitents, pray; and let us all earnestly pray for our brethren in the state of penance; that God, the lover of compassion, may show to them the way of repentance, and accept their return and their confession, and *bruise Satan under their feet shortly;* and redeem them from the snare of the devil, and the ill-usage of the demons; and free them from every unlawful word, and every absurd practice and wicked thought; {Rom. 16: 20.}

forgive them all their offences, both voluntary and involuntary, and *blot out the handwriting which is against them*, and write them *in the Book of Life; cleanse them from all filthiness of flesh and spirit*, and restore and unite them to his holy flock. For *he knoweth our frame;* for *who can glory that he hath a clean heart? And who can boldly say, that he is pure from sin?* For we are all under penalties. Let us still pray for them more earnestly (for *there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth*); that, being converted from every evil work, they may be joined to all good practice; that God, the lover of mankind, may soon accept their supplications propitiously; *restore to them the joy of his salvation, and strengthen them with his free spirit;* that they may not be any more shaken, but be admitted to the communion of his most holy things, and become partakers of the divine mysteries; that, appearing worthy of his adoption, they may obtain eternal life. Let us all still earnestly say on their account, *Lord, have mercy.* Save them, O God, and raise them up by thy mercy.

Col. 2: 13, 14. Phil. 4. 3. 2 Col. 7: 1. Psalm 102: 14. Prov. 20: 9 Luke, 15: 7. Psalm 50: 14.

When ye have risen up, bow your heads to God, through his Christ, and receive the blessing.

Let the Bishop then add this prayer: —

III.

The imposition of hands, and Prayer for the Penitent.

Almighty, eternal God, Lord of the universe, the Creator and Governor of all things; who hast exhibited man as the ornament of the world through Christ, and didst give him a law both naturally implanted and written, that he might live according to law, as a rational creature; and, when he had sinned, thou gavest him thy goodness as a pledge, in order to his repentance. Look upon these persons, who have bowed the neck of their soul and body to thee; for thou *desirest not the death of a sinner, but his repentance, that he turn from his wicked way and live.* Thou who didst accept the repentance of the Ninevites; who *willest that all men be saved, and come to the acknowledgment of the truth;* who didst accept of that son who *had*

Ezek. 18. 33. John, 3: 16. 1 Tim. 2: 4.

consumed his substance in riotous living, with the bowels of a father, on account of his repentance ; do thou thyself also now accept of the repentance of thy supplicants ; because there is no man that sinneth not ; for *if thou, O Lord, markest iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? because with thee there is propitiation.* And do thou restore them to thy holy church, into their former dignity and honor, through Christ, our God and Saviour, through whom glory and adoration be to thee, in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen. { Luke, 15. } { 3 Kings, 8: 46. } { Psalm 129: 3. }

Then let the Deacon say, Depart, ye Penitents. And let him add, Let no one of those who have not a right, draw near. All we of the faithful, let us bow the knee. Let us entreat God, through his Christ ; let us all earnestly beseech God, through his Christ.

X.

The bidding Prayer for the Faithful.

Let us pray for the peace and welfare of the world, and of the holy churches ; that the God of the universe may afford us his everlasting peace, and such as may not be taken away from us ; that he may preserve us in a full prosecution of such virtue as is according to godliness. Let us pray for the holy Catholic and Apostolic church, which is spread from one end of the earth to the other ; that the Lord may preserve and keep it unshaken, and free from the waves of this life until the end of the world, as founded upon a rock ; and let us pray for this holy parish, that the Lord of the universe may deem us worthy, without failure, to follow after the heavenly hope, and, without ceasing, to pay him the debt of our prayer. Let us pray for every Episcopate which is under the whole heaven, of those that rightly divide the word of thy truth. And let us pray for our bishop James, and his parishes. Let us pray for our bishop Clement, and his parishes. Let us pray for our bishop Euodius, and his parishes. Let us pray for our bishop Annianus, and his parishes ; that the compassionate God may grant them to continue in his holy churches in health, honor, and long life, and afford them an honorable old age, in godliness and righteousness. And let us pray for our Presbyters, that the Lord may

deliver them from every unreasonable and wicked action, and afford them a Presbyterate in health and honor. Let us pray for all the Deacons and subordinate servants of the church, that the Lord may grant them an unblamable reputation. Let us pray for the Readers, Singers, Virgins, Widows, and Orphans.

Let us pray for those that are in marriage and child-bearing; that the Lord may have mercy upon them all. Let us pray for the eunuchs, leading a life of sanctity. Let us pray for those persons that are in a state of continency and religious abstinence. Let us pray for those that bear fruit in the holy church, and give alms to the needy. And let us pray for those who offer sacrifices and oblations to the Lord our God; that God, the fountain of all goodness, may recompense them with his heavenly gifts, and give them in this world a hundred fold, and in the world to come life everlasting; and bestow upon them, for their temporal things, those that are eternal; for earthly things, those that are heavenly.

Let us pray for our brethren newly enlightened, that the Lord may strengthen and confirm them. Let us pray for our brethren afflicted with sickness, that the Lord may deliver them from every disease and every malady, and restore them sound to his holy church. Let us pray for those that travel by water or by land. Let us pray for those that are in the mines, in banishment, in prisons, and in bonds, for the name of the Lord. Let us pray for those that are worn down with toil in bitter servitude. Let us pray for our enemies, and those that hate us. Let us pray for those that persecute us for the name of the Lord, that the Lord may pacify their anger, and cause their wrath against us to pass away. Let us pray for those that are without, and have wandered out of the way, that the Lord may convert them. Let us be mindful of the infants of the church; that the Lord may perfect them in his fear, and bring them to a complete age. Let us pray one for another; that the Lord may keep us by his grace to the end, and deliver us from the evil one, and from all the scandals of those that work iniquity, and preserve us unto his heavenly kingdom. Let us pray for every Christian soul.

Save us, and raise us up, O God, by thy mercy.

Let us rise up, and let us pray earnestly, and dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God, through his Christ.

Moreover, let the High Priest offer a prayer, and say, —

XI.

Form of Prayer for the Faithful.

O Lord Almighty, the Most High, who dwellest on high, the Holy One, that restest among the saints, without beginning, the Only Potentate; who hast given to us, through Christ, the preaching of knowledge, to the acknowledgment of thy glory, and of thy name, which he hath made known to us for our comprehension. Do thou thyself even now look down, through him, upon this thy flock; and deliver it from all ignorance and wicked practices; and grant that we may fear thee in earnest, and love thee with affection, and have a due reverence of thy glory. Be gracious and merciful to them, and hearken to them when they pray unto thee, and keep them, that they may be immovable, blameless, and irreproachable; that they may be holy in body and soul, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that they may be complete, and no one among them may be defective or imperfect. O thou powerful Defender, who dost not accept persons, be thou the assister of this thy people, which thou hast redeemed with the precious blood of thy Christ; be thou their protector, helper, provider, and guardian, their strong wall of defence, their bulwark and security; because *none can snatch out of thy hand;* for there is no other God like thee; — because on thee is our reliance. *Sanctify them through thy truth; for thy word is truth.* Thou who doest nothing for favor, thou whom none can deceive, deliver them from every disease and every malady, and every offence, every injury and deceit, *from fear of the enemy, from the dart that flieth in the day, from the mischief that walketh about in darkness;* and account them worthy of that everlasting life which is in Christ, thine only-begotten Son, our God and Saviour; through whom glory and worship be to thee, in the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ever. Amen. {John 10: 29. {John 17: 17. {Psalm 63: 2. {90: 6.

After this, let the Deacon say, Let us attend. And let the Bishop salute the church and say, *The peace of God be with you all.* And let the people answer, *And with thy spirit.* And let the Deacon say to all, *Salute ye one another with a holy kiss.* And let the

clergy salute the Bishop; the men of the laity, the men; the women, the women.

Moreover, let the children stand at the reading-desk; and let another Deacon stand by them, that they may not be disorderly. And let other Deacons walk about, and watch the men and women, that no tumult be made, and that no one nod, or whisper, or slumber; and let the Deacons stand at the doors of the men, and the Subdeacons at those of the women; that no one go out, nor a door be opened, although it be for one of the faithful, at the time of the oblation. And let one of the Subdeacons bring water to wash the hands of the Priests; which is a symbol of the purity of those souls that are devoted to God.

XII.

A constitution of James, the brother of John, the son of Zebedee.

Now I also, James, the brother of John, the son of Zebedee, say that the Deacon shall immediately proclaim, Let none of the Catechumens stay here; let none of the Hearers; let none of the Unbelievers; let none of the Heterodox. Ye who have prayed the first prayer, draw near. Let the mothers receive their children. Let no one have any thing against any one; let no one come in hypocrisy; let us stand upright before the Lord with fear and trembling, to offer.

When this is done, let the Deacons bring the gifts to the Bishop at the altar; and let the Presbyters stand on his right hand and on his left, as disciples stand before their master. But let two of the Deacons, on each side of the altar, hold a fan, made of thin membranes, or of the feathers of a peacock, or of fine cloth, and let them silently drive away the small animals that fly about, that so they may not come near to the cups.

Let now the High Priest, simultaneously with the Priests, pray by himself. And let him put on his shining garments, and stand at the altar, and make the sign of the cross upon his forehead, with his hand, before all the people, and say, *The grace of Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all.* And let all with one voice say, *And with*

thy spirit. The high priest, *Lift up your mind.* All the people, *We lift it up unto the Lord.* The high priest, *Let us give thanks to the Lord.* All the people, *It is meet and right so to do.*

Then let the High Priest say, It is very meet and right before all things to sing a hymn to thee, who art the true God, who art before all beings; *from whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named;* who only art unbegotten, and without beginning, independent, and without a master; who needest nothing; who art the bestower of every thing that is good; who art above all cause and generation; who art always and immutably the same; from whom, as from a grand starting place, all things came into being. For thou art eternal knowledge, everlasting sight, unbegotten hearing, untaught wisdom, the first by nature, and the law to being, and superior to all number; who didst bring all things out of nothing into being, through thine only-begotten Son, but didst — before all ages, by thy will, thy power, and thy goodness, without any intermediate agent — beget him, the only-begotten Son, God the Word, the living Wisdom, *the First-born of every creature, the Angel of thy great Council;* and thy high priest, but the king and Lord of every intellectual and sensible nature; who was before all things, and through whom were all things. For thou, O eternal God, didst through him make all things, and through him thou dost account the universe worthy of thy suitable providence; for by the very same by whom thou didst bestow being, thou didst also bestow well-being; — thou, the God and Father of thine only-begotten Son; who by him didst make, before all things, the cherubim and the seraphim, the æons and hosts, the powers and authorities, the principalities and thrones, the archangels and angels; and, after all these, didst by him make this visible world, and all things that are therein. For thou art He who didst frame the heaven as an arch, and *stretch it out like the covering of a tent*, and didst found the earth upon nothing, by thy mere will; who didst fix the firmament, and prepare the night and the day; who didst bring the light out of thy treasures, and on its departure didst bring on darkness, for the rest of the living creatures that move up and down in the world; who didst appoint the sun in heaven to rule over the day, and the moon to rule over the night; and didst inscribe in heaven the choir of stars to praise thy glorious majesty; who didst make the water for drink, and for cleansing; the air in which we live, for respira-

{ Eph. 3: 15.

{ Col. 1: 15. Isaiah, 9: 6.

tion, and for the emission of voice, by means of the tongue, which striketh the air, and for hearing, which coöperateth under the impulse of the air, so that, receiving, it perceiveth the speech that falleth upon it; who madest fire for our consolation in darkness, for the supply of our want, and that by it we might be warmed and enlightened; who didst separate the great sea from the land, and didst render the former navigable, and the latter fit for walking; and didst replenish the former with living creatures, small and great, and fill the latter with tame ones and with wild,—didst adorn it with various plants, and crown it with herbs, and beautify it with flowers, and enrich it with seeds; who didst ordain the great deep, Job. 38: 8–11. Jer. 5: 22. and bestow upon it a mighty amplitude; seas of salt water heaped together, yet didst bound it with barriers of the smallest sand; who sometimes dost raise it to the height of mountains by the winds, and sometimes dost smoothe it into a plain; sometimes dost enrage it into a tempest, and sometimes dost still it with a calm, that it may be easy to seafaring men in their voyages; who didst encompass this world, which was made by thee through Christ, with rivers, and water it with currents, and moisten it with springs that never fail, and didst bind it round with mountains, for the immovable and secure consistence of the earth. For thou hast replenished thy world, and adorned it with sweet-smelling and with healing herbs, with many and various living creatures, strong and weak, for food and for labor, tame and wild, with the noises of creeping things, the sounds of various sorts of flying creatures, with the circuits of the years, the numbers of months and days, the order of the seasons, the courses of the rainy clouds, for the production of the fruits, and the support of living creatures. Thou hast also appointed the station of the winds, which blow when commanded by thee, and the multitude of the plants and herbs.

And thou hast not only created the world, but hast also made man for a citizen of the world, exhibiting him as its ornament. For Gen. 1: 26. thou didst say to thy Wisdom, *Let us make man according to our image, and according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the heaven.* Wherefore, also, thou hast made him of an immortal soul, and of a body liable to dissolution; the former out of nothing, the latter out of the four elements; and hast given him, as to his soul, rational discernment, the distinction of piety and impiety, the observing of

right and wrong; and, as to his body, thou hast granted him five senses, and progressive motion. For thou, O God Almighty, didst, by thy Christ, plant a paradise in Eden, in the East, adorned {Gen. 2.} with various plants, suitable for food, and didst introduce man into it, as into a rich banquet; and, when thou madest him, thou gavest him a law, implanted within him, that so he might have at home, and within himself, the seeds of the knowledge of God. Moreover, when thou hadst brought him into the delightful paradise, thou allowedst him the privilege of enjoying all things, only forbidding the tasting of one tree, in hope of greater blessings; that, in case he would keep that command, he might receive the reward of it, which was immortality: but when he neglected that command, and tasted of the forbidden fruit, by the seduction of the serpent, and the counsel of his wife, thou didst justly cast him out of paradise; yet, of thy goodness, thou didst not overlook him, nor suffer him to perish utterly; for he was thy creature. But thou didst subject to him the whole creation, and didst grant him liberty to procure himself food by his own sweat and labors; while thou didst cause all the fruits of the earth to spring up, to grow, and to ripen. And when thou hadst laid him asleep for a little while, thou didst with an oath call him to a restoration, didst loose the bond of death, and promise him life after the resurrection. And not this only, but when thou hadst increased his posterity to an innumerable multitude, those that continued with thee thou didst glorify, and those that apostatized from thee thou didst punish; and while thou didst accept the sacrifice of Abel, as of a holy person, thou didst reject the gift of Cain, the murderer of his brother, as of one that was abhorred. And, besides these, thou didst accept of Seth {Ecclus. 49.} and Enos, and didst translate Enoch. For thou art the Creator of men, and the giver of life, and the supplier of want, and the giver of laws, and the rewarder of those that observe them, and the avenger of those that transgress them; who didst bring the great flood upon the world, by reason of the multitude of the ungodly, and didst deliver righteous Noah from that flood by an ark, with eight souls, the end of the foregoing generations, and the beginning of those that were to come; who didst kindle a fearful fire against the {Gen. 19.} five cities of Sodom, and didst *turn a fruitful land* {Wisd. 10: 6. Psalm 106: 34.} *into a salt lake, for the wickedness of them that dwelt therein*, but didst snatch holy Lot out of the conflagration. Thou art He who

Gen. 12— didst deliver Abraham from the impiety of his forefathers, and didst appoint him to be the heir of the world, and didst cause thy Christ to appear to him; who didst ordain Melchisedek a high priest for thy worship; who didst render thy patient servant Job the conqueror of that serpent who is the patron of wickedness; who madest Isaac the son of promise, and Jacob the father of twelve Gen. 46: 27. sons, and didst increase his posterity to a multitude, and bring him into Egypt with seventy-five souls.

Thou, O Lord, didst not overlook Joseph, but didst grant him, as a reward of his chastity for thy sake, the government over the Egyp- Exod. 1— tians. Thou, O Lord, didst not overlook the Hebrews when they were afflicted by the Egyptians, but didst deliver them, on account of the promises made to their fathers, and didst punish the Egyptians. And when men had corrupted the law of nature, and had sometimes esteemed the creation the effect of chance, and sometimes honored it more than they ought, and equalled it to the God of the universe, — thou didst not suffer them to go astray, but didst raise Isaiah, 8: 20. up thy holy servant Moses, and by him didst give the written law, for the assistance of the law of nature, and didst show that the creation was thy work, and didst banish away the error of polytheism. Thou didst adorn Aaron and his posterity with the priesthood, and didst punish the Hebrews when they sinned, and receive them again when they returned to thee. Thou didst punish the Egyptians with a judgment of ten plagues, and didst divide the sea, and bring the Israelites through it, and drown and destroy the Egyptians, who pursued them. Thou didst sweeten the bitter water with wood. Thou didst bring water out of the hard rock. Thou didst rain manna from heaven, and quails, for food, out of the air. Thou didst afford them a pillar of fire by night to give them light, and a pillar of a cloud by day, to overshadow them from the heat. Thou didst declare Joshua to be the general of the army, and by him didst overthrow the seven nations of Canaan. Thou didst divide Psalm 73: 15. Jordan, and dry up the rivers of Etham. Thou didst overthrow walls without instruments, or the hand of man.

For all these things, glory be to thee, O Lord Almighty. Thee do the innumerable hosts of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, and powers, thine everlasting armies, Isaiah, 6: 2. adore. The cherubim, and the six-winged seraphim, with twain covering their feet, with twain their heads, and with twain

flying, say, together with thousand thousands of archangels, { Dan. 7: 10. and ten thousand times ten thousand of angels, incessantly, and with constant and loud voices, and let all the people say it with them, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts; heaven and earth are full* { Isaiah, 6: 3. *of his glory. Be thou blessed for ever. Amen.* { Rom. 1: 25.

And afterwards let the High Priest say, For thou art truly holy, and most holy, the highest and most highly exalted for ever. Holy also is thine only-begotten Son, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, who in all things ministered to his God and Father, both in thy various creation and in thy suitable providence, and hath not overlooked lost mankind. But after the law of nature, after the admonitions in the positive law, after the prophetical reproofs, and the attentions of the angels, when men had perverted both the positive law and that of nature, and had cast out of their mind the memory of the flood, the burning of Sodom, the plagues of the Egyptians, and the slaughters of the inhabitants of Palestine, and were just ready to perish universally, after an unparalleled manner, he himself was pleased by thy good will to become man, who was man's Creator; to be under the laws, who was the legislator; to be a sacrifice, who was a High Priest; to be a sheep, who was the shepherd: and he appeased thee, his God and Father, and reconciled thee to the world, and freed all men from the impending wrath, being born of a virgin, and made in flesh, — God the Word, the beloved Son, the First-born of the whole creation, — according to the prophecies which were foretold concerning him by himself, of the seed of David and Abraham, of the tribe of Judah. And in the womb of a virgin He was made, who formed all mankind that are born into the world. He took flesh, who was without flesh. He who was begotten before time, was born in time. He lived holily, and taught according to the law. He drove away every sickness and every disease from men, and wrought signs and wonders among the people; and He was partaker of meat, and drink, and sleep, who nourisheth all that are in need of food, and *filleth every living creature with his* { Psalm 144: 16. *goodness*. He manifested his name to those that knew him { John, 17: 6. not. He banished ignorance; he revived piety; he fulfilled thy will. He finished the work which thou gavest him to do. And when he had set all these things right, he was seized by the hands of the ungodly, of the high priests and priests, falsely so called, and of the disobedient people, through the treachery of him who was

possessed with wickedness as with a confirmed disease. He suffered many things from them, and endured every ignominy, by thy permission. He was delivered to Pilate, the governor; and He who was the Judge, was judged; and He who was the Saviour, was condemned. He who was impassible, was nailed to the cross; and He who was by nature immortal, died; and He who was the Giver of life, was buried; that he might deliver from suffering and death those for whose sake he came, and might break the bonds of the devil, and deliver mankind from his deceit. He rose from the dead, the third day; and when he had continued with his disciples forty days, he was taken up into the heavens, and is seated at the right hand of thee, who art his God and Father.

Being mindful, therefore, of those things which he endured for our sake, we give thee thanks, O Almighty God, not in such a manner as we ought, but as we are able, and fulfil his constitution. 1 Cor. 11. 23. Matt. 26. Mark, 14. Luke, 22. For *in the same night in which he was betrayed, he took bread* in his holy and undefiled hands; and, looking up to thee, his God and Father, *he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, This is the mystery of the new covenant. Take of it, and eat. This is my body, which is broken for many for the remission of sins.* In like manner also *he took the cup*, and mixed it of wine and water, and sanctified it, and delivered it to them, saying, *Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood which is shed for many, for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth my death till I come.*

Being mindful, therefore, of his Passion, and death, and resurrection from the dead, and return into the heavens, and his future second advent, in which he is to come with glory and power to judge the living and the dead, and to recompense to every one according to his works, we offer to thee, our King and our God, according to his constitution, this bread and this cup; giving thee thanks, through him, that thou hast thought us worthy to stand before thee, and to sacrifice; and we beseech thee to look propitiously upon these gifts, which are here set before thee, O thou God, who needest none of our offerings, and to accept them to the honor of thy Christ, and send down thy Holy Spirit, the Witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that he may show this bread to be the body of thy Christ, and the cup to be the blood of thy Christ, in

order that those who are partakers thereof may be strengthened for piety, may obtain the remission of their sins, may be delivered from the devil and his deceit, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, may be made worthy of thy Christ, and may obtain eternal life upon thy reconciliation to them, O Lord Almighty.

We further pray unto thee, O Lord, for thy holy church, spread from one end of the world to another, which thou hast purchased with the precious blood of thy Christ; that thou wilt preserve it unshaken, and free from disturbance, until the end of the world; and for every episcopate that rightly divideth the word of truth.

We further implore thee, for me, who am nothing, who offer to thee; for the whole presbytery, for the deacons, and all the clergy, that thou wilt make them wise, and replenish them with the Holy Spirit.

We further implore thee, O Lord, *for the king, and all in authority*, and for the whole army; that they may be peaceable towards us, that so, leading the whole time of our life in quietness and unanimity, we may glorify thee, through Jesus Christ, who is our hope. {1 Tim. 2: 2.} {1 Tim. 1: 1.}

We further offer to thee, also, for all those holy persons who have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, lay persons, and all whose names thou thyself knowest.

We further offer to thee, for this people, that thou wilt render them to the praise of thy Christ, *a royal priesthood, a holy nation;* for those that are in virginity and purity; for the widows of the church; for those persons who are in honorable marriage and child-bearing; and for the infants of thy people; that thou wilt cast none of us away. {1 Pet. 2: 9.}

We further beseech thee, also, for this city and its inhabitants; for those that are sick; for those that are in bitter servitude; for those that are in banishment; for those that are in prison; for those that travel by water or by land; that thou, the Helper and Assister of all men, wilt be their Supporter.

We further implore thee, also, for those that hate us and persecute us for thy name's sake; for those that are without, and wander out of the way; that thou wilt convert them to goodness, and pacify their anger.

We further implore thee, also, for the catechumens of the church; and for those that are vexed by the adversary; and for our brethren, the penitents: that thou wilt perfect the first in the faith; that thou wilt deliver the second from the energy of the evil one; and that thou wilt accept the repentance of the last, and forgive both them and us our offences.

We further offer to thee, also, for the good temperature of the air, and the fertility of the fruits; that so, partaking perpetually of the good things derived from thee, we may praise thee without ceasing, *who givest food to all flesh.* Psalm 135: 25.

We further implore thee, also, for those who are absent on a just cause; that thou wilt keep us all in piety, and gather us together in the kingdom of the Anointed of thee, the God of all nature, perceptible and conceivable, our King; — that thou wilt keep us immovable, blameless, irreproachable. For to thee belong all glory, worship, and thanksgiving, honor and adoration, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, both now and always, and for everlasting and endless ages.

And let all the people say, *Amen.* And let the Bishop say, *The peace of God be with you all.* And let all the people say, *And with thy spirit.*

And let the Deacon proclaim again, —

XIII.

The bidding Prayer for the Faithful, after the divine Oblation.

Let us still further beseech God, through his Christ, for the gift which is offered to the Lord God, that the good God may accept it, through the mediation of his Christ, upon his heavenly altar, for a sweet-smelling savor.

Let us pray for this church and people. Let us pray for every Episcopate, for every Presbytery, for all the Deacons and Ministers in Christ, for the whole body of the church, that the Lord may keep and preserve them all.

Let us *pray for kings, and those who are in authority,* that they may be peaceable towards us, that so we may have and *lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.* 1 Tim. 2: 2.

Let us be mindful of the holy martyrs, that we may be thought worthy to be partakers of their trial.

Let us pray for those that are departed in the faith.

Let us pray for the good temperature of the air, and the perfect maturity of the fruits.

Let us pray for those that are newly enlightened, that they may all be strengthened in the faith.

Let us pray for one another. Raise us up, O God, in thy grace.

Let us stand up, and dedicate ourselves to God, through his Christ.

And let the Bishop say, O God, who art great, and whose name is great, who art great in counsel, and mighty in works, the God and Father of *thy holy child Jesus*, our Saviour; look upon us, and upon this thy flock, which thou hast chosen through him, to the glory of thy name; and sanctify our body and our soul, and grant us the power to be made *pure from all filthiness of flesh* {2 Cor. 7: 1. *and spirit*, and to obtain the good things laid up for us, and account no one of us unworthy; but be thou our Comforter, Helper, and Protector, through thy Christ, with whom glory, honor, praise, doxology, and thanksgiving be to thee, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

And after all have said Amen, let the Deacon say, Let us attend. And let the Bishop speak thus to the people, Holy things for holy persons. And let the people answer, There is One that is holy; there is one Lord, Jesus Christ, blessed for ever, to the glory of God the Father. Amen. *Glory to God in the highest*, {Luke 2: 14. *and on earth, peace; good will among men.* Hosanna to the Son of David. *Blessed be he* — God the Lord — *that cometh in the name of the Lord*, and hath appeared to us. *Hosanna in the highest.*

And after that, let the Bishop partake; then the Presbyters, and the Deacons and Subdeacons, and the Readers, and the Singers, and the Ascetics; and, of the women, the Deaconesses, and the Virgins, and the Widows; afterwards the children, and then all the people in order, *with reverence and godly fear*, without tumult.

And let the Bishop give the oblation, saying, *The body of Christ;* and let him that receiveth it say, *Amen.* And let the Deacon take the cup, and when he giveth it, let him say, *The blood of Christ, the cup of life;* and let him that drinketh say, *Amen.* And let the thirty-third Psalm be said, while all the rest are partaking.

And when all, both men and women, have partaken, let the Deacons carry what remaineth into the private apartments of the church.

And when the Singer hath done, let the Deacon say, —

XIV.

The bidding Prayer after the Participation.

Having partaken of the precious body and of the precious blood of Christ, let us give thanks to Him who hath thought us worthy to partake of these his holy mysteries; and let us implore him that it may not be to us for condemnation, but for salvation, to the advantage of soul and body, to the preservation of piety, to the remission of sins, and to the life of the world to come. Let us arise. In the grace of Christ let us dedicate ourselves to God, to the only unbegotten God, and to his Christ.

And let the Bishop give thanks: —

XV.

Form of Prayer after the Participation.

O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy Christ, thy blessed Son, who hearest those that call upon thee with uprightness, who also knowest the supplications of those that are silent; we thank thee that thou hast accounted us worthy to partake of thy holy mysteries, which thou hast bestowed upon us, for the entire confirmation of those things which we have rightly known, for the preservation of piety, for the remission of our offences; because the name of thy Christ is called upon us, and we are joined to thee.

O thou that hast separated us from the communion of the ungodly, unite us with those that are consecrated to thee in holiness; confirm us in the truth by the assistance of thy Holy Spirit. Reveal to us the things of which we are ignorant; supply to us the things in which we are defective; confirm us in the things which we already know. Preserve the priests blameless in thy worship;

keep the kings in peace, and the rulers in righteousness; the air, in a good temperature; the fruits, in fertility; the world, in an all-powerful Providence. Pacify the warring nations. Convert those that are gone astray. Sanctify thy people. Keep those that are in virginity. Preserve those in fidelity that are in marriage. Strengthen those that are in purity. Bring to maturity the little ones; confirm the newly perfected; instruct the catechumens, and render them worthy of admission; and gather us all together into thy kingdom of heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord; with whom glory, honor, and worship, be to thee, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

And let the Deacon say, Bow down to God, through his Christ, and receive the blessing.

And let the Bishop add this prayer, and say, O God Almighty, the true God, to whom nothing can be compared; who art everywhere, and present in all things, and art in nothing as one of the things themselves; who art not bounded by place, nor grown old by time; who art not terminated by ages, nor deceived by words; who art not subject to generation, and needest no guard; who art above all corruption, free from all change, and invariable by nature; who *dwellest in light inaccessible;* who by nature art invis- {1 Tim. 6: 16.
ible, and yet art known to all reasonable natures who seek thee with a good mind; who art discovered by those that seek after thee with a good mind; the God of Israel, thy people which truly see, and which have believed in Christ. Be gracious to me, and hear me, for thy name's sake; and bless those that bow down their necks to thee, and grant them the petitions of their hearts, which are for their good, and reject no one of them from thy kingdom. But sanctify, watch over, protect, and assist them; deliver them from the adversary, and every enemy; keep their houses, and guard their *coming in* and their *going out.* For to thee belongeth {Psalm 120: 8.
the glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration, and to thy Son Jesus, thy Christ, our Lord and God and King, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and always, and for ever. Amen.

And the Deacon shall say, *Depart in peace.*

These constitutions concerning this mystical worship, we the Apostles ordain for you the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

XVI.

Concerning the ordination of Presbyters, a constitution of John who was beloved by the Lord.

Concerning the ordination of Presbyters, I, who was beloved by the Lord, make this constitution for you the Bishops: —

When thou ordainest a Presbyter, O Bishop, lay thy hand upon his head, in the presence of the Presbyters and Deacons, and pray, saying, —

O Lord Almighty, our God, who hast created all things by Christ, and dost in like manner take care of the universe by him; for he who had power to make different creatures, hath also power to take care of them, according to their different natures. On which account, O God, thou takest care of immortal beings by preservation alone, but of those that are mortal, by succession; of the soul, by the provision of laws; of the body, by the supply of its wants. Do thou thyself, therefore, even now look upon thy holy church, and increase it, and multiply those that preside in it, and grant them power, that they may labor in word and deed for the edification of thy people. Do thou thyself also now look upon this thy servant, who is put into the Presbytery by the vote and determination of the whole clergy. And do thou replenish him with the spirit of grace and counsel, to assist and govern thy people with a pure heart, in the same manner in which thou didst look upon thy chosen people, and didst command Moses to choose elders, whom thou didst fill with thy Spirit. And now, O Lord, bestow and preserve in us the spirit of thy grace, that this person, being filled with the gifts of healing and the word of teaching, may in meekness instruct thy people, and sincerely serve thee with a pure mind and a willing soul; and may fully discharge the holy ministrations for thy people, through thy Christ, with whom glory, honor, and worship, be to thee and to the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

Exodus, 18: 24 and 28.

XVII.

Concerning the ordination of Deacons, a constitution of Philip.

Concerning the ordination of Deacons, I Philip make this constitution: — Thou shalt ordain a Deacon, O Bishop, by laying thy hands upon him in the presence of the whole Presbytery and of the Deacons, and shalt pray, saying, —

XVIII.

Form of Prayer for the ordination of a Deacon.

O God, the Almighty, the true and faithful, who art rich unto all that call upon thee in truth; who art fearful in counsels, and wise in understanding; who art powerful and great; hear our prayer, O Lord, and let thine ears receive our supplication, and cause the light of thy countenance to shine upon this thy servant, who is appointed for thee to the office of a Deacon; and replenish him with thy Holy Spirit and with power, as thou didst replenish Stephen, who was thy martyr, and follower of the sufferings of thy Christ. And grant that he may discharge acceptably the ministration of a Deacon, steadily, unblamably, and without reproof, and be accounted worthy of a higher degree; through the mediation of thine only-begotten Son, with whom glory, honor, and worship, be to thee, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

XIX.

Concerning a Deaconess, a constitution of Bartholomew.

Concerning a Deaconess, I Bartholomew make this constitution: O Bishop, thou shalt lay thy hands upon her in the presence of the Presbytery, and of the Deacons and Deaconesses; and shalt say, —

XX.

Form of Prayer for the ordination of a Deaconess.

O eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator
Exod. 15: 20. Judg. 4: 4. } of man and of woman; who didst with the Spirit re-
Luke, 2: 36. 4 Kings, 22: 14. } plenish Miriam, and Deborah, and Anna, and Huldah; who didst not disdain that thine only-begotten Son should be born of a woman; who also, in the tabernacle of the testimony and in the temple, didst ordain women to be keepers of thy holy gates; do thou thyself also now look upon this thy handmaid, appointed to the office of a Deaconess; and grant her the Holy Spirit, and *cleanse*
2 Cor. 7: 1. } *her from all filthiness of flesh and spirit;* that she may worthily discharge the work which is committed to her, unto thy glory, and the praise of thy Christ; with whom glory and adoration be to thee, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

XXI.

Concerning Subdeacons, a constitution of Thomas.

Concerning Subdeacons, I Thomas make this constitution for you the Bishops: — When thou dost ordain a Subdeacon, O Bishop, thou shalt lay thy hands upon him, and say, —

O Lord God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things
Num. 3. 1 Chron. 9. } that are therein; who also, in the tabernacle of the testimony, didst appoint overseers and keepers of thy holy vessels; do thou thyself also now look upon this thy servant, appointed a Subdeacon; and grant him the Holy Spirit, that he may worthily handle the vessels consecrated to thy service, and do thy will always, through thy Christ, with whom glory, honor, and worship, be to thee, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

XXII.

Concerning Readers, a constitution of Matthew.

Concerning Readers, I Matthew, who am also Levi, formerly a publican, make this constitution: — Ordain a Reader by laying thy hands upon him, and pray to God, saying, —

O eternal God, who art plenteous in mercy and compassions; who hast made manifest the constitution of the world by the things that are effectuated, and keepest the number of thine elect; do thou thyself also now look upon thy servant, intrusted to read thy Holy Scriptures to thy people; and grant to him that Holy Spirit which was in the prophets. Thou who didst instruct Ezra thy servant to read thy laws to thy people, now also instruct thy {Neh. 8.} servant, in answer to our prayers; and grant that he may without blame perform the work committed to him, and be proved worthy of a higher degree, through Christ; with whom glory and worship be to thee, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

XXIII.

Concerning Confessors, a constitution of James the son of Alpheus.

And I James, the son of Alpheus, make this constitution concerning Confessors: — A Confessor is not appointed. For this is a matter of voluntariness and of patience; and he is worthy of great honor, as having confessed the name of God and of his Christ before nations and kings. If, however, there be occasion, he is to be ordained either a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon. But if any one of the Confessors, who is not ordained, snatch to himself any such dignity, on account of his confession, let this person be deposed and rejected; for he is not what he pretendeth to be, since he hath denied the constitution of Christ, and is *worse than* {1 Tim. 5: 8.} *an infidel.*

XXIV.

The same apostle's constitution concerning Virgins.

Concerning Virgins, I, the same apostle, make this constitution: {1 Cor. 7: 25.} A Virgin is not appointed; for *we have no such command from the Lord.* The prize pertaineth to a voluntary trial, not for the reproach of marriage, but on account of leisure and piety.

XXV.

The constitution of Lebbeus, who was surnamed Thaddeus, concerning Widows.

And I Lebbeus, surnamed Thaddeus, make this constitution concerning Widows: — A Widow is not appointed; yet if she hath lost her husband a long time, and hath lived soberly and {Judith, 16.} {Luke, 2.} unblamably, and hath taken extraordinary care of her family, as Judith and Anna, those women of great reputation, let her be enrolled in the order of Widows. But if she hath lately lost her companion, let her not be confided in, but let her youth be judged of by time; for the passions sometimes grow aged with persons, if they be not restrained by a better bridle.

XXVI.

The same apostle concerning an Exorcist.

Concerning an Exorcist, I, the same apostle, make this constitution: — An Exorcist is not appointed; for the prize pertaineth to voluntary goodness and the grace of God, through Christ, by the influence of the Holy Spirit. For he who hath received the gift of healing is declared by revelation from God, the grace that is in him being manifest to all. But if there be need of him for a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, he is appointed accordingly.

XXVII.

Simon the Cananite, concerning the number necessary for the ordination of a Bishop.

And I, Simon the Cananite, make this constitution determining by how many a Bishop ought to be ordained: — Let a Bishop be ordained by three Bishops, or by two. But if any one be ordained by one Bishop, let him be deposed, both himself and the Bishop that ordained him. If, however, there be a necessity that he have only one to ordain him, because more Bishops cannot come together, as in time of persecution, or for other similar cause, let him bring the suffrage of permission from more Bishops.

XXVIII.

The same apostle's canons concerning Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the rest of the clergy.

In respect to canons, I, the same apostle, make this constitution: A Bishop blesseth, but doth not receive the blessing. He layeth on hands, ordaineth, offereth, receiveth the blessing from Bishops, but by no means from Presbyters. A Bishop deposeth any clerical person deserving to be deposed, except a Bishop; for of himself he hath not power to do that.

A Presbyter blesseth, but doth not receive the blessing; yet he receiveth the blessing from the Bishop, or from a fellow-Presbyter. In like manner he giveth it to a fellow-Presbyter. He layeth on hands, but doth not ordain. He doth not depose; yet he suspendeth from communion those that are under him, if they be liable to such a punishment.

A Deacon doth not bless, doth not give the blessing, but receiveth it from the Bishop and the Presbyter. He doth not baptize; he doth not offer: but, when a Bishop or a Presbyter hath offered, he distributeth to the people, not as a Priest, but as one that ministereth to the Priests. But it is not lawful for any one of the other clergy to do the work of a Deacon.

A Deaconess doth not bless, nor perform any thing belonging to the office of Presbyters or Deacons; but is only to keep the doors, and to minister to the Presbyters in the baptizing of women, on account of decency.

A Deacon suspendeth a Subdeacon, a Reader, a Singer, or a Deaconess, if there be any occasion, in the absence of a Presbyter.

It is not lawful for a Subdeacon to suspend any one, whether a clerical or a lay person; nor for a Reader, nor for a Singer, nor for a Deaconess; for they are only attendants, ministering to the Deacons.

XXIX.

Concerning the blessing of water and of oil, a constitution of Matthias.

Concerning the water and the oil, I, Matthias, make this constitution: — Let the Bishop bless the water or the oil. If, however, he be not present, let the Presbyter bless it; the Deacon standing by. But when the Bishop is present, let the Presbyter and the Deacon stand by, and let him say thus: —

O Lord of hosts, the God of powers, the Creator of the waters, and the Supplier of oil; who art compassionate, and a Lover of mankind; who hast given water for drink and for cleansing, and oil to give man a cheerful and joyous countenance; do thou thyself also now sanctify this water and this oil, through thy Christ, in the name of him or her that hath offered them; and grant them a power to restore health, to drive away diseases, to banish demons, and to disperse all snares, through Christ, our hope; with whom glory, honor, and worship, be to thee, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

Psalm 183: 15.

XXX.

The same apostle's constitution concerning first-fruits and tithes.

Concerning first-fruits and tithes, I, the same apostle, further enjoin, that all first-fruits be brought to the Bishop, and to the Presbyters, and to the Deacons, for their maintenance; but let all the

tithe be for the maintenance of the rest of the clergy, and of the virgins and widows, and of those under the trial of poverty. For the first-fruits belong to the Priests, and to the Deacons that minister to them.

XXXI.

The same apostle's constitution concerning the remaining oblations.

Concerning the residue, I, the same apostle, make this constitution: — Those blessed oblations which remain at the Mysteries, let the Deacons distribute among the clergy, according to the mind of the Bishop, or of the Presbyters: to a Bishop, four parts; to a Presbyter, three parts; to a Deacon, two parts; and to the rest, the Subdeacons, or Readers, or Singers, or Deaconesses, one part. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God, that every one be honored according to his dignity; for the church is the school, not of confusion, but of good order.

XXXII.

Various canons of Paul the Apostle, concerning those that present themselves to be baptized; whom we are to receive, and whom to reject.

And I, Paul, the least of the Apostles, make the following constitutions for you, the Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons, in respect to canons: —

Let those that are beginning to come to the mystery of godliness be brought by the Deacons to the Bishop, or to the Presbyters; and let them be examined as to the causes of their coming to the word of the Lord. And let those that bring them inquire carefully about their character, and give them their testimony. Let their habits and their life be inquired into; and whether they are servants or free persons. And if any one be a servant, let him be asked who is his master. If he be servant to one of the faithful, let his master be asked if he can give him a good character. If he cannot, let him be rejected, until he show himself to his master

to be worthy. But if he give him a good character, let him be admitted. If he be a servant to a heathen, let him be taught to
Tit. 2: 5, 9, 10. please his master, that *the Word be not blasphemed.* If, then, he have a wife, or a woman have a husband, let them be taught to be content with each other. But if they be unmarried, let them learn not to commit fornication, but to enter into lawful marriage. But if his master be one of the faithful, and know that he is guilty of fornication, and yet do not give to him a wife, or to the woman a husband, let him be suspended.

Moreover, if any one have a demon, let him indeed be taught piety, but not received into communion before he be cleansed; yet if death be near, let him be received.

If any one be a maintainer of harlots, let him either leave off to prostitute women, or let him be rejected. If a prostitute come, let her cease from her lewdness, or let her be rejected. If a maker of idols come, let him either desist from his employment, or let him be rejected. If one belonging to the theatre come, whether it be man or woman; or a charioteer, or a dueller, or a racer, or a superintendent of sports, or an Olympic gamester; or one that playeth on the pipe, or on the lute, or on the harp, at those games; or a pantomimic dancing-master; or a keeper of a grog-shop; let them desist,
Luke 3: 14. or let them be rejected. If a soldier come, let him be taught to do no injustice, to accuse no man falsely, and to be content with his allotted stipend. If he comply, let him be received; but if he refuse, let him be rejected. He that is guilty of sins not to be named, a sodomite, an effeminate person, a magician, an enchanter, an astrologer, a diviner, a user of magic verses, a juggler, a mountebank, one that maketh amulets, one that goeth round with heathenish ceremonies for purification, a soothsayer, a fortune-teller, an observer of palmistry; he that, when he meeteth another, observeth defects of the eyes or of the feet, an observer of birds, or of cats, or of noises, or of symbolical sounds; let these be proved by time, for the wickedness is hard to be washed away. And if they leave off those practices, let them be received; but, if they do not agree to that, let them be rejected.

Let a concubine, who is servant to an unbeliever, and confineth herself to her master alone, be received; but, if she be incontinent with others, let her be rejected. If one of the faithful have a concubine, if she be a bond-servant, let him leave off that way, and

marry lawfully. If she be a free woman, let him marry her lawfully. If he do not, let him be rejected.

He that followeth the Gentile customs, or the Jewish fables, either let him reform, or let him be rejected. If any one follow the sports of the theatre, or hunting with dogs, or horse-races, or combats, either let him desist, or let him be rejected.

Let him who is to be catechized, be catechized three years. But if any one be diligent, and have a good will in respect to the business, let him be admitted; for it is not the length of time, but the course of life, that is judged.

He that teacheth, although he be one of the laity, yet, if he be skilful in the Word, and grave in his manners, let him teach. For *they shall be all taught of God.* {John, 6: 45.

Every one of the faithful, whether male or female, when they rise from sleep, before they go to work, when they have washed themselves, let them pray. If, moreover, any catechetical instruction be held, let the faithful person prefer to his work the word of piety.

Let the believer, whether man or woman, treat servants kindly, as we have ordained in the foregoing books, and have taught in our Epistles. {Eph. 6. Col. 4. Philem.

XXXIII.

On what days servants are not to work.

I Paul, and I Peter, make this constitution:—Let the servants work five days; but on the Sabbath, and on the Lord's day, let them have leisure to go to church, for the doctrine of piety. We have said that the Sabbath is on account of the creation, but the Lord's day on account of the resurrection. Let servants rest from their work all the Great Week, and that which followeth it; for the one is in memory of the Passion, and the other of the Resurrection. And there is need of their being instructed who it is that suffered, and rose again; and who it is that permitted him to suffer, and raised him again. Let them have rest from their work on the Ascension, because it was the conclusion of the dispensation by Christ. Let them rest at Pentecost, on account of the coming of the Holy Spirit,

which was given to those that believed in Christ. Let them rest on the festival of his Birth; for then the unexpected favor was bestowed on men, that the Word of God, Jesus Christ, was born of the virgin Mary, for the salvation of the world. Let them rest on the festival of the Epiphany; for then there was made a manifestation of the divinity of Christ, the Father bearing him testimony at his baptism; and the Comforter, in the form of a dove, indicating to those who were present, the individual respecting whom the testimony was borne. Let them rest on the days of the Apostles; for they were constituted your teachers in respect to Christ, and have deemed you worthy of the Spirit. Let them rest on the day of Stephen, the first martyr; and on the days of the other holy martyrs, who have esteemed Christ more precious than their own life.

XXXIV.

At what hours, and why, we are to pray.

Offer up your prayers at the dawn of day, and at the third hour, and the sixth, and the ninth, and at evening, and at cock-crowing: — at the dawn, returning thanks, because the Lord hath sent you light, hath led away the night, and brought on the day; at the third hour, because at that hour the Lord received the sentence of condemnation from Pilate; at the sixth, because at that hour he was crucified; at the ninth, because all things were in commotion at the crucifixion of the Lord, as trembling at the bold attempt of the wicked Jews, and not bearing the injury offered to the Lord; at evening, giving thanks, because he hath given you the night, a season of repose from the daily labors; and at cock-crowing, because that hour bringeth the good news of the coming of the day, for the performance of works requiring the light.

But if it be not possible to go to the church, on account of the unbelievers, thou, O Bishop, shalt assemble the faithful in some house, that a godly man may not enter into an assembly of the ungodly. For it is not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the man the place. And if the ungodly possess the place, avoid thou it, because it is profaned by them; for as holy priests sanctify a place, so the profane defile it. If it be not possible to assemble

either in the church or in a house, let every one by himself sing, and read, and pray, or two or three together. For *where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* {Matt. 18: 20.}

Let not one of the faithful pray with a catechumen; no, not even privately. For it is not reasonable that he who is initiated should be polluted with one not initiated.

Let not one of the godly pray with a heretic; no, not even privately. For *what fellowship hath light with darkness?* {2 Cor. 6: 14.}

Let believers, man or woman, connected with servants, withdraw themselves from the illicit intercourse, or be rejected from the church.

XXXV.

A constitution of James, the brother of Christ, concerning Evening Prayer.

I James, the brother of Christ according to the flesh, but his servant as the only-begotten God, and one appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord himself and the apostles, ordain thus: —

When it is evening, thou, O Bishop, shalt assemble the church; and, after the repetition of the Psalm at the lighting-up of the lights, the Deacon shall bid prayers for the catechumens, the energumens, the persons about to be baptized, and the penitents, as we have before said. But after the dismission of these, the Deacon shall say, So many as are of the faithful, let us pray to the Lord. And after he hath bidden the supplications contained in the first prayer for the faithful, he shall say, —

XXXVI.

A bidding Prayer for the Evening.

Save us, O God, and raise us up by thy Christ.

Let us stand up, and ask for the mercies of the Lord and his compassions; for the angel of peace; for what things are good and profitable; for a Christian departure out of this life; an evening

and a night of peace, and free from sin. And let us entreat that the whole course of our life may be unblamable. Let us dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God, through his Christ.

And let the Bishop add this prayer, and say, —

XXXVII.

A Thanksgiving for the Evening.

O God, who art without beginning and without end, the Maker of the universe through Christ, and the Provider for it; but, before all, his God and Father; the Lord of the Spirit, and the King of existences conceivable and perceptible; who hast made the day for the works of light, and the night for the refreshment of our infirmity. Psalm 73: 16. For *the day is thine; the night also is thine. Thou hast prepared the light and the sun.* Do thou thyself now, O Lord, thou lover of mankind, and fountain of all good, mercifully accept this our evening thanksgiving. Thou who hast brought us through the length of the day, and hast brought us to the beginning of the night, preserve us by thy Christ; afford us a peaceful evening, and a night free from sin; and account us worthy of everlasting life, by thy Christ; through whom glory, honor, and worship, be to thee in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

And let the Deacon say, Bow down for the laying-on of hands. And let the Bishop say, —

O God of our fathers, and Lord of mercy, who by thy Wisdom didst form man a rational creature, and beloved of God more than the other beings on earth; and didst give him authority to rule over the earth, and didst ordain, by thy will, rulers and priests; the former for the security of life, the latter for a regular worship; — do thou thyself now also look down, O Lord Almighty, and cause thy face to shine upon thy people, who bow down the neck of their heart; and bless them by thy Christ; through whom thou hast enlightened us with the light of knowledge, and hast revealed thyself to us; and with whom worthy adoration is due from every rational and holy nature to thee in the Holy Spirit the Comforter, for ever. Amen.

And let the Deacon say, Depart in peace.

In like manner in the morning, after the repetition of the morning Psalm, and his dismission of the catechumens, the energumens, the candidates for baptism, and the penitents, and after the usual bidding of prayers (that we may not repeat the same things), let the Deacon add, after the words, *Save us, O God, and raise us up in thy grace*, the following: —

Let us beg of the Lord his mercies and his compassions; that this morning, and this day, and all the time of our sojourning, may be peaceful, and without sin; that he will grant us his angel of peace; that our departure out of this life may be a Christian departure; and that God will be merciful and gracious. Let us dedicate ourselves, and one another, to the living God, through his only-begotten.

And let the Bishop offer this prayer, and say, —

XXXVIII.

A Thanksgiving for the Morning.

O God, the God of spirits and of all flesh, who art beyond comparison, and needest nothing; who hast given the sun to rule over the day, and the moon and the stars to rule over the night; do thou thyself also now look upon us with gracious eyes, and receive our morning thanksgivings; and have mercy upon us. For we have not *spread out our hands to a strange God;* for there {Psalm 43: 20.} is not among us any new God, but thou the eternal God, who art without end; who hast given us our being through Christ, and given us our well-being through him. Do thou thyself also bestow upon us, through him, eternal life; with whom glory, and honor, and worship, be to thee, and to the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

And let the Deacon say, Bow down for the laying-on of hands. And let the Bishop add this prayer, saying, —

XXXIX.

A Prayer, with imposition of hands for the Morning.

O God, who art faithful and true; who hast mercy on thousands Exodus, 34 and 20. and ten thousands of them that love thee; who art the lover of the humble, and the protector of the needy; of whom all things stand in need, for all things are subject to thee; look upon this thy people, who bow down their heads to thee; and bless them with Psalm 16: 8. spiritual blessings. *Keep them as the apple of an eye.* Preserve them in piety and righteousness, and account them worthy of eternal life, in Christ Jesus, thy beloved Son; with whom glory, honor, and worship, be to thee, and to the Holy Spirit, now, and always, and for ever. Amen.

And let the Deacon say, Depart in peace.

And when the first-fruits are offered, the Bishop giveth thanks in this manner: —

XL.

Form of Prayer for the First-fruits.

We give thanks to thee, O Lord Almighty, the Creator of the universe, and its Preserver, through thine only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, for the first-fruits; which are offered to thee, not in such a manner as we ought, but as we are able. For who among men can worthily give thee thanks for those things which thou hast given them to participate? Thou the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, and of all the saints; who madest all things fruitful by thy Word, and didst command the earth to bring forth various fruits for our rejoicing and our food; who hast given juices to the more dull and sluggish sort of creatures; herbs to them that feed on herbs; and to some, flesh; to others, seeds; but to us, grain, as advantageous and proper food; and many other things; some for our necessities, some for our health, and some for our pleasure. On all these accounts, therefore, thou art worthy of

exalted hymns of praise for thy beneficence by Christ; through whom glory, honor, and worship, be to thee, in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

Moreover, concerning those who are at rest in Christ, the Deacon, after he hath bidden the supplications contained in the first prayer for the faithful (that we may not repeat it), shall add as followeth: —

XLI.

A bidding Prayer for those who have fallen asleep.

Let us pray for our brethren that are at rest in Christ, that God, the lover of mankind, who hath received the soul of the person departed, may forgive him every sin, voluntary and involuntary; and may be merciful and gracious to him; and give him his lot in the land of the pious, that are sent into the bosom of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, with all those that have pleased him, and done his will, from the beginning of the world; whence all sorrow, grief, and lamentation, are banished.

Let us arise; and let us dedicate ourselves, and one another, to the eternal God, through that Word which was in the beginning.

And let the Bishop say, —

O thou who art by nature immortal, and hast no end of thy being; from whom every creature, whether immortal or mortal, is derived; who didst make man a rational, living creature, the citizen of this world, in his constitution mortal, and didst add the promise of a resurrection; who didst not suffer Enoch and Elias to taste of death; — thou, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; who art the God of them, not as of {Matt. 22: 32.} dead, but as of living persons. For the souls of all men live with thee; and the spirits of the righteous are in thy hand, and {Wisd. 3: 1.} no torment can touch them; for they are all sanctified under thy hand. Do thou thyself also now look upon this thy servant, whom thou hast selected and received into another state; and forgive him, if voluntarily or involuntarily he hath sinned; and afford him merciful angels, and place him in the bosom of the patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and of all those that have pleased thee from the beginning of the world, where there is no grief, nor sorrow, nor

lamentation; but the peaceful region of the godly, the undisturbed land of the upright, and of those that therein see the glory of thy Christ; through whom glory, honor, and worship, thanksgiving and adoration, be to thee in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

And let the Deacon say, Bow down, and receive the blessing. And let the Bishop give thanks for them, saying as followeth: —

Psalm 27: 9. O Lord, *save thy people, and bless thine inheritance*, which thou hast purchased with the precious blood of thy Christ. Feed them under thy right hand, and cover them under thy wings; and

2 Tim. 4: 7. grant that they may fight the good fight, and finish their course, and keep the faith, firmly, unblamably, and irreproachably, through our Lord Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son; with whom glory, honor, and worship be to thee, in the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

XLII.

How and when we ought to celebrate the memory of the faithful departed; and that we ought then to give somewhat out of their goods to the poor.

Let the third day of the departed be celebrated with psalms, and lessons, and prayers, on account of him who arose within the space of three days. And let the ninth day be celebrated in remembrance of the living, and of the departed; and the fortieth day, according to the ancient pattern; for so did the people lament Moses, and

Deut. 34: 8. observe the anniversary in memory of him.

And let alms be given to the poor out of the goods of the person departed, for a memorial of him.

XLIII.

That memorials or mandates do not at all profit those who die wicked.

These things we say concerning the pious; for as to the ungodly, thou wilt not benefit such a person at all, if thou give all the world to the poor. For to whom the Deity was an enemy while he was

alive, it is certain he will be also when he is departed; for *there is no unrighteousness with him.* For *the Lord is righteous, and hath loved righteousness.* And, *Behold the man and his work.* {John, 7: 18.} {Psalm 10: 8.} {Isaiah, 62: 11.}

XLIV.

Concerning Drunkards.

Now when ye are invited to the celebration of the memory of the departed, feast ye with good order and in the fear of God, as disposed to intercede for those that are departed. For since ye are the Presbyters and Deacons of Christ, ye ought always to be sober, both among yourselves and among others; that so ye may be able to *warn the unruly.* Now the Scripture saith, *The men in power are passionate. But let them not drink wine, lest, by drinking, they forget wisdom, and be not able to judge aright.* And certainly the Presbyters and the Deacons, after God Almighty and his beloved Son, are rulers of the church. We say this, not that they are not to drink at all; for otherwise it would be to the reproach of what God hath made for cheerfulness; but that they be not disordered with wine. For the Scripture doth not say, Drink not wine. But what saith it? Drink not wine to drunkenness. And again, *Thorns spring up in the hand of the drunkard.* {Prov. 31: 4.} {Prov. 32.} {Eph. 5: 18.} {Ecclus. 31.}

Nor do we say this to those only who are of the clergy, but also to every Christian of the laity, upon whom the name of our Lord Jesus Christ is called. For to them also it is said, *Who hath woe? Who hath tumult? Who hath contentions and babbling? Who hath livid eyes? Who hath wounds without cause? Do not these things belong to those that tarry long at the wine, and that go to seek where there is drinking?* {Prov. 23: 29–

XLV.

Of receiving those that are persecuted for Christ's sake.

Receive ye those that are persecuted on account of the faith, and who flee from city to city, as mindful of the words of the Lord. For knowing that though *the spirit be willing, the flesh is weak*, they flee away, and prefer the spoiling of their goods, that they may preserve the name of Christ in themselves without denying it. Supply them, therefore, with what they need, and fulfil the Lord's command.

Matt. 10: 23. / 26: 41.

XLVI.

That every one ought to remain in that rank in which he is placed, and not seize for himself those offices which are not intrusted to him.

Now this we all in common proclaim, that every one remain in that rank which is appointed him, and transgress not the limits; for they are not ours, but God's. For saith the Lord, *He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that heareth me, heareth Him that sent me.* And, *He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me.*

Luke 10: 16. / Matt. 10: 40. / John 13: 20.

For if those things that are without life observe good order, as the night, the day, the sun, the moon, the stars, the elements, the seasons, the months, the weeks, the days, the hours; and are subservient to the uses appointed them, according to that which is said, *Thou hast set them a bound which they shall not pass;* and again, concerning the sea, *I have set bounds to it, and have encompassed it with bars and gates; and I said to it, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further;* — how much more ought ye not to dare to remove those things which we, according to the will of God, have determined for you? But because many think this a small matter, and venture to confound the orders, and to remove the ordination which belongeth to them severally, snatching to themselves in a stealthy manner dignities which were never given

Psalm 103: 9. / Job 38: 10.

them, and allowing themselves to bestow arbitrarily that authority which they have not themselves, and thereby provoke God to anger (as did the followers of Corah and King Uzziah, { Num. 16. who, having no authority, usurped the High Priesthood, { 2 Chron. 26. without commission from God; and the former were burnt with fire, and the latter was struck with leprosy in his forehead); and exasperate Christ Jesus, who hath made the constitution; and also grieve the Holy Spirit, and make void his testimony; therefore — foreknowing the danger that hangeth over those who do such things, and the neglect about the sacrifices and eucharistical offices which will arise from their being impiously offered by those who ought not to offer them; who think the honor of the High Priesthood, which is an imitation of the great High Priest Jesus Christ our king, to be a matter of sport — we have found it necessary to give you warning in this matter also; for some are already turned aside after their own vanity.

We say that Moses, the servant of God (*to whom God spake face to face, as if a man spake to his friend;* to whom he said, *I know thee above all men;* to whom he spake directly, and not by obscure methods, or dreams, or angels, or enigmas)—this person, when he made constitutions and divine laws, distinguished what things were to be performed by the High Priests, what by the Priests, and what by the Levites; distributing to every one his proper and suitable office in the divine service. And those things which were allotted for the High Priests to do, might not be meddled with by the Priests; and those things which were allotted to the Priests might not be meddled with by the Levites; { Num. 4. but the persons of each order observed those ministrations which were written down and appointed for them. And if any one would meddle beyond the tradition, death was his punishment. { Num. 12: 7, 8. { Exod. 33: 11. { 33: 17.

Moreover, the experience of Saul showeth this most plainly, who, thinking that he might offer sacrifice without the Prophet and High Priest Samuel, drew upon himself a sin and a curse without remedy. Nor did even his having anointed him king discourage the Prophet. Besides, God showed the same by a more visible effect in the case of Uzziah, when, without delay, he exacted the punishment due to his transgression; and he that madly coveted after the High Priesthood was rejected even from his kingdom. { 1 Kings, 13. { 2 Chron. 26.

As to those things which have happened among us, ye yourselves are not ignorant. For ye know perfectly that those who are by us named Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons, were made by prayer and by the laying-on of hands; and that by the difference of the names, is indicated the difference of their employments. For not every one that will is ordained, as the case was in that spurious {3 Kings, 14: 33.} and counterfeit Priesthood of the calves under Jeroboam. For if there were no rule, or distinction of orders, it would suffice to perform all the offices under one name. But being taught by the Lord the series of things, we distributed the functions of the High Priesthood to the Bishops, those of the Priesthood to the Presbyters, and the ministration under them both to the Deacons; that the divine worship might be performed in purity.

For it is not lawful for a Deacon to offer the sacrifice, or to baptize, or to give the blessing, either small or great. Nor may a Presbyter perform ordination; for it is not agreeable to holiness to {1 Cor. 14: 33.} have order overturned. *For God is not the author of confusion*, that the subordinate persons should arbitrarily assume to themselves the functions belonging to their superiors, forming a new scheme of laws to their own hurt, not knowing that *it is hard* {Acts, 9: 5.} *for them to kick against the pricks*. For such as these do not fight against us, nor against the Bishops, but against the universal Bishop, even the High Priest of the Father, Jesus Christ our Lord.

High Priests, Priests, and Levites, were ordained by Moses, the most beloved of God. By our Saviour, we, the thirteen Apostles, were ordained; and by the Apostles, I James, and I Clement, and others with us (that we may not make the catalogue of all those Bishops over again). Moreover, by us all in common were ordained Presbyters, and Deacons, and Subdeacons, and Readers.

The most eminent High Priest, therefore, who is so by nature, is Christ the Only-begotten; not having seized that honor for himself, but having been by the Father appointed; who, being made man for our sake, and offering the spiritual sacrifice to his God and Father, before his suffering, gave it to us alone in charge to do this; although there were with us others who had believed in him. But he that believeth is not presently appointed a Priest, nor obtaineth the dignity of the High Priesthood. And after his ascension we

offered, according to his constitution, the pure and unbloody sacrifice; and ordained Bishops, and Presbyters, and Deacons seven in number; one of whom was Stephen, the blessed martyr, {Acts, 6 and 7.} who was not inferior to us, as to his pious disposition of mind towards God; and who manifested so great piety by his faith and love towards our Lord Jesus Christ, as to give his life for him; and was stoned to death by the Jews, the murderers of the Lord. But, nevertheless, this man, such and so great, who was fervent in spirit; who saw Christ on the right hand of God, and the gates of heaven opened, — doth nowhere appear to have exercised functions which did not appertain to his office of a Deacon, nor to have offered the sacrifices, nor to have laid hands upon any, but to have kept his order of a Deacon unto the end. For so it became him, who was a martyr for Christ, to preserve good order. But if some blame Philip our Deacon, and Ananias our faithful brother, that the one baptized the eunuch, and the other me Paul, these men do not understand what we say. For we have affirmed only that no one snatcheth the sacerdotal dignity to himself, but receiveth it, either from God, as Melchisedek and Job, or from the High Priest, as Aaron from Moses. Therefore, Philip and Ananias did not constitute themselves, but were appointed by Christ, the High Priest of that God to whom no being is to be compared.

XLVII.

The Ecclesiastical CANONS *of the same holy Apostles.*

I. Let a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops.

II. Let a Presbyter be ordained by one Bishop; as also a Deacon and the rest of the clergy.

III. If any Bishop or Presbyter, contrary to what our Lord hath ordained concerning the sacrifice, offer any other things at the altar of God, as honey, or milk, or strong drink instead of wine, or sweetmeats, or birds, or any animals, or pulse, let the transgressor be deposed.

IV. Except grains of new corn, or bunches of grapes, in their season, and oil for the holy lamp, and incense in the time of the divine oblation, let it not be lawful that any thing be brought to the altar.

V. But let all other fruits be sent to the house of the Bishop, as first-fruits for him and for the Presbyters, but not to the altar. Now it is plain that the Bishop and the Presbyters are to divide them to the Deacons, and to the rest of the clergy.

VI. Let not a Bishop, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, cast off his own wife, under pretence of piety; but if he cast her off, let him be suspended. If he continue to do it, let him be deposed.

VII. Let not a Bishop, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, undertake the cares of this world; but if he do, let him be deposed.

VIII. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, shall celebrate the holy day of the Passover before the vernal equinox, with the Jews, let him be deposed.

IX. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, or any one of the catalogue of the priesthood, when an oblation is made, do not communicate, let him mention his reason; and if it be just, let him be forgiven; but if he do not mention it, let him be suspended, as becoming a cause of damage to the people, and occasioning a suspicion against him that offered.

X. All those of the faithful that enter into the holy church of God, and hear the Sacred Scriptures, but do not stay during prayer and the holy communion, must be suspended, as causing disorder in the church.

XI. If any one, even privately, pray with a person excommunicated, let him be suspended.

XII. If any clergyman pray with one deposed, as with a clergyman, let him also himself be deposed.

XIII. If any clergyman or layman who is suspended, or ought not to be received, go away, and be received in another city, without commendatory letters, let both those who have received him, and him that is received, be suspended. But if he be already suspended, let the suspension be prolonged upon him, as lying to and deceiving the church of God.

XIV. A Bishop ought not to leave his own parish and leap into another, although he should be urged by very many, unless there be some reasonable cause compelling him to do this, as the prospect of greater usefulness; and this not merely in his own estimation, but also according to the judgment of many Bishops, and the most urgent entreaty.

XV. If any Presbyter or Deacon, or any one of the catalogue of the clergy, leave his own parish, and go to another, and, entirely removing himself, continue in that other parish, without the consent of his own Bishop, him we command no longer to go on in his ministry; especially in case his Bishop call upon him to return, and he do not obey, but continue in disorder. However, let him communicate there as a layman.

XVI. But if the Bishop with whom they are, disregard the deprivation decreed against them, and receive them as clergymen, let him be suspended, as a teacher of disorder.

XVII. He who hath been twice married after his baptism, or hath had a concubine, cannot be a Bishop, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or any one of the sacerdotal catalogue.

XVIII. He who hath married a divorced woman, or a harlot, or a servant, or one belonging to the theatre, cannot be a Bishop, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or any one of the sacerdotal catalogue.

XIX. He who hath married two sisters, or his brother's or sister's daughter, cannot be a clergyman.

XX. Let a clergyman who becometh a surety, be deposed.

XXI. A eunuch, if he be such by the injury of men, or his testicles were taken away in a persecution, or he was born such, and yet is worthy, let him be made a Bishop.

XXII. He who hath mutilated himself, let him not be made a clergyman; for he is a self-murderer, and an enemy to the creation of God.

XXIII. If any one who is of the clergy mutilate himself, let him be deposed; for he is a murderer of himself.

XXIV. If a layman mutilate himself, let him be suspended three years.

XXV. A Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who is taken in fornication, or perjury, or stealing, let him be deposed, and not sus- Neh. 1: 9. pended; for the Scripture saith, *Thou shalt not avenge twice for the same crime, by affliction.*

XXVI. In like manner also, the rest of the clergy.

XXVII. Of those who come into the clergy unmarried, we permit only the Readers and the Singers, if they have a mind, to marry afterwards.

XXVIII. We command that a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who striketh the faithful that offend, or the unbelievers who do wickedly, and thinketh to terrify them by such means, be deposed; for our Lord hath nowhere taught us such things. On the con- 1 Pet. 2: 23. trary, when he himself was stricken, he did not strike again; *when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not.*

XXIX. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who is deposed justly for manifest crimes, venture to meddle with that ministration which was once intrusted to him, let him be entirely cut off from the church.

XXX. If any Bishop obtain by money that dignity, or a Presby-

ter, or a Deacon, let him, and the person who ordained him, be deposed; and let him be entirely cut off from communion, as Simon Magus was by me Peter.

XXXI. If any Bishop make use of the rulers of this world, and by their means obtain the power over a church, let him be deposed, and let all that communicate with him be suspended.

XXXII. If any Presbyter despise his own Bishop, and make a separate assembly, and fix another altar, when he hath nothing to condemn in his Bishop, as to piety and righteousness, let him be deposed, as an ambitious person; for he is a tyrant; and the rest of the clergy, as many as join themselves to him. And let the laity be suspended. But let these things be done after one, and a second, and a third admonition from the Bishop.

XXXIII. If any Presbyter or Deacon be put under suspension by his Bishop, it is not lawful for any other to receive him than the Bishop who put him under suspension, unless it happen that this Bishop die.

XXXIV. Do not receive any stranger, whether Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, without commendatory letters; and even when such are presented, let the strangers be examined; and if they be preachers of piety, let them be received; but if not, supply their wants, but do not receive them to communion; for many things are done by surprise.

XXXV. The Bishops of each province ought to know who is the chief among them, and to esteem him as their head, and not to do any great thing without his consent; but every one to manage only the affairs that belong to his own parish, and the places subject to it. But neither let the chief Bishop do any thing without the consent of all; for thus there will be unanimity, and God will be glorified by Christ, in the Holy Spirit.

XXXVI. A Bishop must not venture to ordain out of his own bounds, for cities or countries that are not subject to him. But if he be convicted of having done so, without the consent of such as

govern those cities or countries, let him be deposed, and those whom he hath ordained.

XXXVII. If any Bishop that is ordained do not undertake his office, nor take care of the people committed to him, let him be suspended until he do undertake it; and, in like manner, a Presbyter and a Deacon. But if he go, and be not received, not because of the want of his own consent, but because of the ill-temper of the people, let him continue Bishop; but let the clergy of that city be suspended, because they have not taught that disobedient people better.

XXXVIII. Let a council of Bishops be held twice in the year; and let them ask one another the doctrines of piety; and let them determine the ecclesiastical disputes that happen: once in the fourth week of Pentecost, and again on the twelfth of October.

XXXIX. Let the Bishops have the care of all the ecclesiastical possessions, and administer them as in the presence of God. But it is not lawful for him to appropriate any part of them to himself, or to give the things of God to his own kindred. But if they be poor, let him support them as poor; but let him not, under such pretences, alienate the property of the church.

XL. Let not the Presbyters and Deacons do any thing without the consent of the Bishop; for it is he who is intrusted with the people of the Lord, and will be required to give an account of their souls.

Let the proper goods of the Bishop, if he have any, and those belonging to the Lord, be openly distinguished; that he may have power, when he dieth, to leave his own goods as he may please, and to whom he may please; that, under pretence of the ecclesiastical revenues, the Bishop's own may not come short, who sometimes hath a wife and children, or kindred, or servants. For this is just before God and men, that neither the church suffer any loss by ignorance of the affairs of the Bishop; nor his kindred, under pretence of the church, be injured, or his relations fall into lawsuits, and so his death be liable to reproach.

XLI. We command that the Bishop have power over the goods of the church; for if he be intrusted with the precious souls of men, much more ought he to give directions about goods, that, under his authority, they all be distributed by the Presbyters and Deacons to those in want, and be administered in the fear of God, and with all pious caution. He is also to partake of those things he needeth (if he need) for his necessary occasions, and those of the brethren who live with him, that they may not, by any means, suffer destitution. For the law of God appointed that those who waited at the altar should be maintained by the altar; since not so much as a soldier, at any time, beareth arms against the enemies, at his own charges.

XLII. If a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, indulge himself in dice or in excessive drinking, either let him leave off those practices, or let him be deposed.

XLIII. If a Subdeacon, or a Reader, or a Singer, do the like, either let him leave off, or let him be suspended. In like manner also, a layman.

XLIV. If a Bishop, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, require usury of those to whom he lendeth, either let him leave off to do so, or let him be deposed.

XLV. If a Bishop, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, only pray with heretics, let him be suspended; but if he also permit them to perform any part of the office of a clergyman, let him be deposed.

XLVI. We command that a Bishop, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, who receiveth the baptism or the sacrifice of heretics, be deposed; *for what agreement is there between Christ and Belial? or what part hath a believer with an infidel?* {2 Cor. 6: 15.

XLVII. If a Bishop or a Presbyter rebaptize him who hath had true baptism, or do not baptize him who is polluted by the ungodly, let him be deposed, as ridiculing the cross and the death of Christ, and not distinguishing real priests from counterfeit ones.

XLVIII. If any layman divorce his own wife, and take another, or one divorced by another, let him be suspended.

XLIX. If any Bishop or Presbyter do not baptize, according to the Lord's constitution, into the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, but into three beings without beginning, or into three Sons, or into three Comforters, let him be deposed.

L. If any Bishop or Presbyter do not perform three immersions of one initiation, but one immersion which is given into the death of Christ, let him be deposed; for the Lord did not say, *Baptize into my death;* but, *Go ye and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Do ye, therefore, O Bishops, baptize thrice into one Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, according to the will of Christ and our constitution by the Spirit.

LI. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, or indeed any one of the sacerdotal catalogue, abstain from flesh and wine, not for his own exercise, but out of hatred of the things, forgetting that *all things were very good,* and that *God made man male and female,* and blasphemously abuse the creation, either let him reform or let him be deposed, and be cast out of the church. In like manner also, let a layman be disciplined. {Gen. 1: 31. 1: 26.}

LII. If any Bishop or Presbyter do not receive him that returneth from his sin, but reject him, let him be deposed; because he grieveth Christ, who saith, *There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.* {Luke, 15: 7.}

LIII. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, do not, on festival days, partake of flesh or wine (abominating them, and not for his own exercise), let him be deposed, as *having a seared conscience,* and becoming a cause of scandal to many. {1 Tim. 4: 2.}

LIV. If any one of the clergy be taken eating in a tavern, let him be suspended; excepting when, by necessity, he stoppeth at an inn upon the road.

LV. If any one of the clergy abuse his Bishop, let him be deposed; for *thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.* {Exod. 22: 28, and Acts, 23: 5.

LVI. If any one of the clergy abuse a Presbyter or a Deacon, let him be suspended.

LVII. If any one of the clergy mock at a lame, or deaf, or blind man, or at one afflicted in his feet, let him be suspended. And the like for the laity.

LVIII. If a Bishop or a Presbyter take no care of the clergy or the people, and do not instruct them in piety, let him be suspended; and if he continue in his negligence, let him be deposed.

LIX. If any Bishop or Presbyter, when any one of the clergy is in want, do not supply his necessity, let him be suspended; and if he persevere, let him be deposed, as having killed his brother.

LX. If any one publicly read in the church the spurious books of the ungodly, as if they were holy, to the destruction of the people and of the clergy, let him be deposed.

LXI. If there be an accusation against a Christian for fornication, or adultery, or any other forbidden action, and he be convicted, let him not be promoted into the clergy.

LXII. If any one of the clergy, for fear of men, as of a Jew, or of a Gentile, or of a heretic, shall deny the name of Christ, let him be suspended; but if he deny the name of a clergyman, let him be deposed; but when he repenteth, let him be received as a layman.

LXIII. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, or indeed any one of the sacerdotal catalogue, eat flesh with the blood of its life, or that which is torn by beasts, or which died of itself, let him be deposed; for this the law hath forbidden; {Gen. 9: 4. Lev. 17: 10–16. Comp. Acts, 15: 29. but if he be a layman, let him be suspended.

LXIV. If any one of the clergy be found to fast on the Lord's

day, or on the Sabbath, excepting one only, let him be deposed; but if the person be a layman, let him be suspended.

LXV. If any clergyman or layman enter into a synagogue of the Jews or of the heretics to pray, let him be deposed and suspended.

LXVI. If any of the clergy strike one in a quarrel, and kill him by that one stroke, let him be deposed, on account of his rashness; but if the offender be a layman, let him be suspended.

LXVII. If any one violate a virgin not betrothed, and keep her, let him be suspended. Moreover, it is not lawful for him to marry another, but he must retain her whom he hath chosen, although she be poor.

LXVIII. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, receive a second ordination from any one, let him be deposed, and the man who ordained him, unless he can show that his former ordination was from the heretics; for those that are either baptized or ordained by such as these, can be neither Christians nor clergymen.

LXIX. If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, or Reader, or Singer, do not keep the holy Quadragesimal fast, or do not fast on the fourth day of the week, or on the Preparation, let him be deposed, unless he be hindered by weakness of body; but if the offender be a layman, let him be suspended.

LXX. If any Bishop, or any other of the clergy, fast with the Jews, or keep the festivals with them, or accept of the presents from their festivals, as unleavened bread, or any such thing, let him be deposed; but if the offender be a layman, let him be suspended.

LXXI. If any Christian carry oil into a heathen temple, or into a synagogue of the Jews, or light up lamps in their festivals, let him be suspended.

LXXII. If any clergyman or layman take away wax or oil from the holy church, let him be suspended, and let him add a fifth part to that which he took away.

Lev. 5: 16.

LXXIII. A vessel of silver or of gold, or linen, that has been consecrated, let no one appropriate to his own use; for it is unjust: but if any one be caught, let him be punished with suspension.

LXXIV. If a Bishop be accused of any crime by credible and faithful persons, it is necessary that he be cited by the Bishops; and if he come, and confess, or be convicted, let his punishment be determined. But if, when he is cited, he do not obey, let him be cited a second time, two Bishops being sent to him; but if then he despise them, and will not come, let the council pass what sentence they please against him; that he may not appear to gain advantage by avoiding their judgment.

LXXV. Admit not a heretic for a testimony against a Bishop, nor indeed one Christian only; for the law saith, *In the mouth of two or three witnesses, every word shall be established.* {Deut. 19: 15.

LXXVI. A Bishop must not, by human affection, confer favors on a brother, or a son, or other kinsman; for we must not put the church of God under the laws of inheritance; but if any one shall do this, let the ordination be invalid, and let him be punished with suspension.

LXXVII. If any one be maimed in an eye, or lame of his leg, but is worthy, let him be made a Bishop; for it is not a blemish of the body that can defile him, but the pollution of the soul.

LXXVIII. But if he be deaf and blind, let him not be made a Bishop; not as being a defiled person, but that the ecclesiastical affairs may not be hindered.

LXXIX. If any one have a demon, let him not be made one of the clergy. Nay, let him not pray with the faithful; but when he is cleansed, let him be received; and if he be worthy, let him be ordained.

LXXX. It is not right to appoint him a Bishop immediately who is just come in from the Gentiles, and baptized, or from a bad mode of life; for it is unjust that he who hath not yet afforded any trial

of himself should be a teacher of others, unless it anywhere happen by divine grace.

LXXXI. We have said that a Bishop ought not to let himself down to civil offices, but to occupy himself with the necessary affairs of the church. Either, therefore, let him be persuaded not to do so, or let him be deposed; for *no one can serve two masters*, {Matt. 6: 24.} according to the Lord's admonition.

LXXXII. That servants be chosen into the clergy without their master's consent, we do not permit, on account of the grief of the owners. For such a practice would occasion the subversion of families. But if at any time a servant appear worthy of advancement to ordination, as our Onesimus appeared, and his masters consent, and give him his freedom, and dismiss him from their house, let him be ordained.

LXXXIII. Let a Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who indulgeth himself in military service, and desireth to retain both the Roman magistracy and the sacerdotal administration, be deposed; for the *things of Cæsar belong to Cæsar, and the things of God to God.*

LXXXIV. Whosoever shall abuse a king or a governor, let him suffer punishment; and if he be a clergyman, let him be deposed; but if he be a layman, let him be suspended.

LXXXV. Let the following books be esteemed venerable and holy by you all, both of the clergy and of the laity: — Of the Old Covenant, the five books of Moses, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy*; one of *Joshua*, the son of Nun; one of the *Judges;* one of *Ruth;* four of the *Kings;* two of the *Chronicles;* two of *Esra;* one of *Esther;* |one of *Judith;*| three of the *Maccabees;* one of *Job;* one of the *Psalms;* three of Solomon, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Song of Songs;* of the *Twelve Prophets*, one; of *Isaiah*, one; of *Jeremiah*, one; of *Ezekiel*, one; of *Daniel*, one. And besides these, take care that your young persons learn the Wisdom of the very learned *Sirach*. But our sacred books, that is, those of the New Covenant, are these: — The four Gospels, of *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John;* fourteen epistles of

Paul; two epistles of *Peter;* three of *John;* one of *James;* one of *Jude;* two epistles of *Clement*, and the *Constitutions* dedicated to you the Bishops, by me *Clement*, in eight books, which it is not proper to publish before all, because of the mysteries contained in them; and the *Acts* of us, the Apostles.

Let these canonical arrangements be established by us, for you, O ye Bishops; and if ye continue to observe them, ye shall be saved, and shall have peace; but if ye be disobedient, ye shall be punished, and have perpetual war, one with another, undergoing a penalty suitable to your disobedience.

Now God who alone is unbegotten, and the Maker of the whole world, unite you all through his peace, in the Holy Spirit; perfect you unto every good work, immovable, unblamable, and unreprovable; and vouchsafe to you eternal life, with us, through the mediation of his beloved Son, Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour; with whom glory be to him, the God and Father over all, in the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, now, and always, and for ever and ever. Amen.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 252, in Canon LI. between the words *from* and *flesh*, insert the words *marriage, and from.*

Page 253, in Canon LXII. for *suspended*, read *cast out.*

Page 474, in l. 17, for *Baden*, read *Orleans.*

AN ESSAY,

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,

ON

THE ORIGIN AND CONTENTS

OF

THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

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INTRODUCTION.

It may be regarded as an acknowledged truth, that ecclesiastical history, — the great image of the spiritual development of mankind, which exhibits the contest of the Gospel, not only with the external world, but also with the internal opposition in men, — can be carried to perfection only when its immense materials have been sufficiently prepared by preliminary labors on particular subjects. As, in the progress of literary enterprise, monographs have portrayed to us the men who were preëminent in the life of the church; as they have conducted us into the depths of the inner life of those men; described the means by which their characters were formed; and brought before us, in a lively manner, their great influence, full of interest for all; ecclesiastical history has unquestionably gained in truth and power.

Not less profitable, indeed altogether necessary, must be investigations that seek, by a careful study of the original documents and by a fair and thorough criticism, to solve the many difficult problems which hitherto have not been sufficiently examined. They must afford to general ecclesiastical history many results which it cannot itself gain; since it lies in the nature of the thing, that problems, the explanation of which rests upon an exact consideration of a great multitude of original documents, can be thoroughly prosecuted only in particular investigations.

Such a problem is the origin of the so-called *Apostolical Constitutions*, ascribed to Clement of Rome. It may well be called one of the most difficult and important in the early history of the church. It is attended with peculiar difficulty, since the external testimonies respecting this book have been much doubted, and even wholly denied. Some of them stand even in contradiction to the Constitutions; and hence there is need of a careful examination to show that these testimonies can still be admitted, and to gain in them an historical point of fixture, on which the discussion of the internal evidences, for the determination of the age of the Constitutions, can fasten itself. This proof from internal evidences can be brought only by a comparison of dogmas, church usages, and arrangements pertaining to discipline. It has, however, this difficulty, that, since a writing can mention doctrinal opinions and especially ecclesiastical arrangements, from a time earlier than its rise, and even quote them as at its time still remaining and valid, this comparison can be performed only with the greatest caution. Besides, a writing never bears on it such an impress of its time, that many things which belong to an earlier period might not be found in it as matters of history. Hence, such mentioning and quoting can be no decisive proofs of an earlier time for a writing, if there are other things which manifestly point to a later age; and, least of all, if it is a writing which, according to its plan and object, appropriates to itself as much as possible the characteristics of an earlier time, in order that its pretended origin may be acknowledged.

This investigation is also one of the most important for ecclesiastical history. The Constitutions, it is true, have never exerted so great and extended an influence as the canons; partly, because their form is unsuitable; and partly because in the ancient church they were little known, and were rejected at an early period, as being interpolated and heretical. But they are one of the most important sources for Christian archaeology, for what pertains to the forms of public worship, and for many points of ecclesiastical history. However the investigation concerning their origin may turn out, and

in whatever time we may place their rise, they still give us, notwithstanding the design to represent the apostolic time, a very manifest picture of their own time. The design itself to which the Constitutions owe their origin, and the plan which is followed in them, will serve to make the picture of their own age complete. Especially do we learn from them the whole ritual and disciplinary arrangement of the Christian church, the instruction which she imparted, the state of her teachers and ministers, and the full form of her public worship. If a fundamental, well-authenticated knowledge of these things, as they have been variously modified in all ages, is highly desirable and necessary, their state in the first centuries must be peculiarly worthy of the attention and inquiry of every theologian who wishes to understand clearly the development of the Christian life and of the structure of the church. But of all the ancient writings, the Constitutions contribute the most to the establishment of correct views respecting the Christian worship and ecclesiastical arrangements of that period.

This has often been acknowledged; and yet there has hitherto been no adequate investigation respecting the Constitutions. We have, indeed, from some learned men of an earlier time, several comprehensive works on the subject; but they came forward as controvertists, and the object in their investigations was only to gain a negative result, — to show most conclusively that the Constitutions could not have been derived from the apostles, nor from Clement of Rome. Circumstances have now changed; and this polemic interest has passed away; for the point then contested is now generally decided. In the present advanced state of ecclesiastical history, our task can be no other than to show at what time these regulations for the church were written. Hence the result of our investigation must be a positive one, namely, to explain satisfactorily their claiming to pass for apostolical, and their bearing the name of Clement; to estimate justly, in view of the relations to one another and to the Constitutions, all the external testimonies, some of which pronounce this work heretical and interpolated; to

represent its origin, on account of its contents as well as of external considerations, as necessarily falling in this or that period; and to develop its plan more fully.

The most diverse views in regard to the Constitutions have been presented; but they have been conjectures thrown out, rather than any theory fully carried through. Several of them need an extensive retrospection and a critical estimate; and hence we begin with a history of the various views on this subject.

ESSAY.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE VARIOUS OPINIONS RESPECTING THE CONSTITUTIONS.

Charles Bovius, a Neapolitan from Brindisi, who at first was a Bishop at Ostunum, but afterwards became a Bishop in his native country, translated into Latin the eight books of the Constitutions,[1] and published them, with an extensive Commentary, at Venice, in the year 1563.[2] In the same year also, Francis Turrian, a learned Spanish Jesuit, published the Constitutions, with *Prolegomena* and *Scholia* written in Greek.[3] Both labored strenuously to procure respect and influence for the work, and to refute the numerous opposers of it, as well as they could. Bovius, Turrian, Stapleton,[4] and Alanus Copus,[5] went so far as to assert that it is full of the apostolic spirit. Indeed, Stapleton asserted that, if the modern church should receive the Apostolical Constitutions into the canon of the Holy Scripture, there would be no reason why we should not hold them for canonical as much as the Epistle of James.

These and similar assertions are to be explained, partly from the

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[1] *Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγιων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου τε καὶ πολίτου, ἡ καθολικὴ διδασκαλία.* For accounts of various editions, see *Ittig* in Diss. de Pseudepigraphis Christi, Mariæ, et Apostolorum, cap. xii. p. 190; and *Fabricii* Biblioth. Græc. lib. v. cap. i. p. 33.

[2] Still earlier, Charles Capell had published, at Ingolstadt, in 1546, an abridgment of the Constitutions. This he had found on the island of Crete. It may be seen in Crabbe's Collection of Councils, which appeared at Cologne in 1551.

[3] Afterwards Turrian translated them into Latin, furnished them with defensive remarks, and republished them at Antwerp in 1578.

[4] Defens. Auct. Eccles. lib. i. cap. xi. and Princip. Doctr. Controv. v. Quæst. ii. art. 3.

[5] On the opinions of these defenders of the Constitutions, see *Gerhard*, Conf. Cath. tom. i. lib. i. p. 409. The same opinion was defended also by *Nicol. Serrarius*, Opusc. Theol. Dissert. de Apostolis.

violent party spirit which impelled these men, to whom extensive erudition cannot be denied; and partly from the special interest which some of them had to exhibit, through this work, ecclesiastical arrangements and rites, as already existing in a very early period of the church. For it would be wrong to assert, that the Catholic church or her distinguished writers had held fast the apostolical origin of the Constitutions, or had considered the author or collector of them to be Clement of Rome. That is not at all the case. On the contrary, several very eminent and learned men of the Catholic church, at an early day, acknowledged that the Constitutions could not have descended from the apostles, nor from Clement.

Bellarmin[1] says, decidedly, that he considers the *Recognitions* (which he holds to be one and the same work with the *Itinerarium* or *Circuitus Petri*) and the Apostolical Constitutions not as works of Clement; that the latter, in the Latin church, had scarcely ever had any respect and influence; and that the later Greeks, at the Trullan Council [in Constantinople, A.D. 692], had rejected them, as having been corrupted by heretics. Still it is remarkable that Bellarmin, notwithstanding this judgment, often makes use of the Constitutions, in order to defend the errors of the Romish church.[2]

The same opinion is openly expressed also by Baronius, in many places of his Annals.[3] He often calls them directly an apocryphal writing. He mentions, further, that Athanasius and Epiphanius, and other fathers of the church, classed them with apocryphal productions; and that, finally, the second canon of the sixth council [he means the Trullan, which the Greeks regarded as a continuation of the sixth] testifies that they have been interpolated by heretics.

Margarin de la Bigné,[4] Gabriel Albaspinæus,[5] and Cardinal du Perron,[6]

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[1] De Scriptor. Eccles. i. Sæc. in Clement. p. 53. De Libris Constitutionum Apostolicarum, quæ Clementi auctori tribuuntur, idem fere judicium fieri debet ex de libris Recognitionum. Multa in illis sunt utilia et a Græcis veteribus magnifiunt, sed in ecclesia Latina nullum fere nomen habent, &c.

[2] This is shown by *Robert Cocus*, in Censura Scriptorum quorundam Veterum, p. 29.

[3] Tom. i. A.D. 32, § 18—A.D. 44, § 36. Putarunt aliqui (inquit Bellarminus) eandem sententiam ex ejusdem Clementis Constitutionibus, sed apocryphis roborari.—Tom. ii. A.D. 102, § 9. Sicut aliqua quæ in eis sunt, hæretici sunt perperam interpretati; ita etiam ab iisdem multa fuisse corrupta, canon nomine sextæ synodi testari videtur. Aliqua insuper in eas ex Græcorum fontibus effluxisse, mihi facile persuadeo.

[4] A theologian of the Sorbonne, in his *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. iii. ed. 3, in Anast. Nic. 9, in Script. col. 44.

[5] Bishop of Orleans, in his Observat. Eccles. c. 13, p. 37.

[6] Jacobus Davius Perronius, De Eucharistia, lib. ii. c. i. p. 174. Hoc opus a multis gravibus auctoribus veteris ac recentis memoriæ in dubium vocatur. Epiphanius

pronounce a similar judgment. The Cardinal, in his work on the Eucharist, goes back to the testimony of Epiphanius, of the Trullan council, and of Photius; and from the facts that Epiphanius does not doubt the authority of the Constitutions, that the Trullan Council rejects them, and that, in the opinion of Photius, they are tinctured with Arianism, he draws the conclusion that Epiphanius had before him Constitutions very different from those which are referred to by Photius and the council.

Dionysius Petavius[1] also, one of the most distinguished of the learned, made, in his time, the remark that the Constitutions of Epiphanius and ours are different. Hence, he rejects them entirely, and calls them *Pseudo-diataxes Apostolicas.* Entirely of the same tenor are the judgments of many other learned men of this church; as of Peter Halloix,[2] of Natalis Alexander,[3] and of Christian Lupus;[4] the last of whom designated the fourth century as the time when the Constitutions were written; and he considered them interpolated in respect to doctrine, and to discipline and the ritual.

Cardinal Bona[5] believed that, if the Constitutions were not dictated directly by the apostles, we must, nevertheless, admit that they are older than the Nicene Council, and that they contained the church discipline which was usual in the oriental church, under the heathen emperors, before the time of Constantine the Great.

On the contrary, Tillemont[6] asserts that our Constitutions were first fabricated in the sixth century, probably by the falsifier of the Epistles

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libri meminit id nomen præferentis, aitque multos suo tempore eum in dubium revocare; se vero eum nequaquam rejicere. Synodus Constantinopoli in Trullo, multis post Epiphanium temporibus sub Justiniano Rhinotmeto habita, opus condemnat. Photius vero Constantinopolitanus Patriarcha, ipsa illa synodo recentior, vix Arianismo purgari posse ait; quod suspicari cogit librum hunc vel non eundem esse cum eo, qui Epiphanii temporibus hoc nomine censebatur, vel certe ab Arianis postea corruptum adulteratumque fuisse.

[1] On the various places of Epiphanius where the Constitutions are cited; and on Epiph. Exposit. Fid. p. 360; and De Doctrina Temporum, lib. ii. c. 57.

[2] A learned Jesuit, in notis ad Vitam Polycarpi, cap. vi. et ad Vitam Ignatii, cap. ii.

[3] Historia Eccles. Sæc. I. Dissert. xviii. p. 195.

[4] At first a Professor at Lyons, afterwards an Augustinian monk, — in scholiis ad Canones Conciliorum, par. 2, p. 867; and in Opusculorum Posthumorum, tom. i. p. 683 et 749.

[5] Rerum Liturg. lib. i. c. 8. Quidquid autem sit de auctore harum Constitutionum, certum apud omnes et exploratum nunc est, quodsi ab apostolis immediate dictatæ non fuerunt, concilio tamen Nicæno antiquiores sunt, et in his continetur disciplina ecclesiastica, qua Orientalis ecclesia sub ethnicis imperatoribus ante Constantinum M. regebatur. So, too, J. Morinus, p. ii. De Sacris Ordinat. p. 20.

[6] Memoires, tom. ii. art. vii.

of Ignatius. This opinion, certainly, had some plausibility; since, in those Epistles and in the Constitutions, the same ideas are expressed and designedly urged, especially the idea of the elevation and regard due to Bishops and all the clergy.

Among those who have conjectured that the author lived so early, at least, as in the third century, we would mention here also John Fronto[1] and Peter de Marca.[2]

Du Pin,[3] who mentions the citations from the Constitutions in Epiphanius and in the author of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum*, and their being different from our Constitutions, thinks it probable, in view of this fact, that they are corrupted; and that the place, b. vi. c. 25, where those are reckoned as heretics who believe that Jesus is one and the same with God, indicates an Arian interpolator. Moreover, he considers the *Apostolical Constitutions* a different work from *The Instructions of the Apostles* (τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχαὶ or διδαχὴ) mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, and thinks that they were collected in the third or fourth century, but that, in the course of time, they suffered much alteration.

But more than all others, J. B. Cotelerius ought to be mentioned here with honor and gratitude. For as he has done much to encourage the general study of the Fathers, so he has especially promoted the study of the Constitutions. He has not, indeed, given us any profound dissertation respecting them; but, with the aid of two manuscript copies which were at Vienna, he prepared an edition more correct than any that had preceded it; and he has furnished it with most valuable historical and critical remarks, which greatly facilitate our ascertaining the essential facts in this investigation.[4] For the most part, he is inclined to place them in the age before Epiphanius; yet he leaves it undecided whether Epiphanius was acquainted with our present Constitutions, or how far these are the same with those which Epiphanius had before him. Still, he is of the opinion that our present Constitutions are greatly corrupted and interpolated.[5]

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[1] In his Prænotat. ad Calendas Rom. p. 5.

[2] De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, lib. iii. c. 2.

[3] Nova Bibliotheca Auctorum Ecclesiasticorum, tom. i. p. 9, 46. Parisiis, 1692.

[4] See his Apostolical Fathers, tom. i. p. 201. Amstel. 1724.

[5] Judicium de Constitutionibus Apostolicis (tom. i. p. 195). At ista mihi ambigua sunt, quo primùm tempore libri Constitutionum Pseudo-apostolicarum lucem conspexerint, quando interpolati sunt, quem habuerint parentem, quem corruptorem et quibus in locis fuerint depravati. Certò novi quod primus scriptor post tempora apostolica et ante Epiphanium vixerit; sed an proprior illis vel huic plane nescio. Nempe Patrum secundi ac tertii seculi silentium non est nota indubia, non extitisse eorum ætate dia-

In the Protestant church the Constitutions have, from the beginning, been entirely rejected, both as to their having an apostolical origin, and as to Clement's being their author. In the Reformed church, however, Richard Montacutius[1] has defended them; and upon Clement, as the writer of them, he has bestowed high encomiums. But his opinion had no influence; and, as it was quite unfounded, it passed away without leaving any impression. We shall hereafter examine more fully the view of Whiston, which went still further, while, at the same time, it excited more attention, and had more influence. On the contrary, it is from the Reformed church that there have been the most fundamental and ample attacks upon the Constitutions.

Blondell[2] advanced the opinion that the Constitutions came from the same author as the Recognitions, and that he put them together towards the end of the second century, — perhaps about the year 180. But he has said this only incidentally, without giving any reasons which guided him in his judgment.

Grabe[3] supposes that Blondell, in this conjecture, had in his eye a passage in the Constitutions, b. vi. c. 8.[4] To this passage the author of the Recognitions, in the second and third book of this work, doubtless has referred; but this affords no sufficient ground to assert that the author of the Recognitions and of the Constitutions was one and the same person. Cotelerius[5] also has justly objected that the two works are, in their character, very different from each other. Photius long ago remarked, that in extensive erudition, and especially in elegance of style, the Recognitions much excel the Constitutions; and that the author of the Constitutions was well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures and with the ecclesiastical usages; but that, on the contrary, the author of the

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taxes: quandoquidem Apocrypha diu ignorantur, diutius contemnuntur: unde incerta solent habere principia. Utrùm etiam is in eodem ac Arius hæreseos luto hæserit, necne, dicere non possum.

[1] In his Apparatus ad Origines Ecclesiasticas, p. 394.

[2] In his Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus Vapulantes, p. 28, Genev. 1628. Also in his Traité de la Primauté de l'Eglise. Genev. 1641, fol.

[3] In his Spicilegium Patrum Sæc. I. p. 283.

[4] But Simon, meeting me Peter first at Cæsarea of Strato (where the faithful Cornelius, a Gentile, believed on the Lord Jesus by me), endeavored to pervert the word of God; there being with me the holy children, Zaccheus who was once a publican, and Barnabas, and Nicetas, and Aquila, who were brethren, and Clement the Bishop and citizen of Rome, who was the disciple of Paul, our fellow-apostle, and fellow-helper in the gospel. I thrice discoursed before them with him concerning the true prophet, and concerning the monarchy of God; and when I had overcome him by the power of the Lord, and had put him to silence, I drove him away into Italy.

[5] In his Judicium de Constitutionibus Apostolicis.

Recognitions was very little acquainted with these subjects. It ought to be added, that in their doctrines there is a difference. Cotelerius shows, for example, that in the Constitutions, b. viii. c. 46, the sun, moon, and stars, are reckoned among lifeless objects;[1] while in the Recognitions, b. v. c. 16, directly the contrary respecting them is asserted.[2]

Respecting the author of the Constitutions, William Beveridge[3] has made an interesting conjecture, which, although his reasons are inadequate and untenable, must still be pronounced ingenious. He thinks that the author was, not Clement of Rome, but Clement of Alexandria. He argues particularly from the last apostolical canon.[4] He concludes from the phrase, *by me Clement*, which is found alike in all the manuscripts, that it is he who collected both the canons and the Constitutions, and that this Clement is mentioned. But this Clement could not possibly be Clement of Rome, who, according to the preceding words, wrote the two epistles; for in the canon it stands, not two epistles of *me* Clement, but, without the pronoun, 'two epistles of Clement.' If the Clement who collected the Constitutions, and the Clement who wrote the two epistles, had been the same, then, doubtless, the pronoun *me* would have been connected with the one as well as with the other. The question who, then, was the Clement that was different from the Clement of Rome, he answers by suggesting the probability that it was Clement of Alexandria. Eusebius seems to support this conjecture. He informs us that Clement of Alexandria, in his book on the Passover, asserts that he was compelled by his friends to write down traditions which had been transmitted to him from ancient Presbyters.[5] Clement of Alexandria, moved by the solicitations of his friends, has therefore collected the traditions which were scattered here and there, and has also made

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[1] For if those things which are without life observe good order, as the night, the day, the sun, the moon, the stars, &c.

[2] Tu ergo adoras insensibilem, cum unusquisque habens sensum, nec ea quidem credat adoranda, quæ a Deo facta sunt et *habent sensum;* id est, *solem* et *lunam*, vel *stellas*, omniaque quæ in cœlo sunt et super terram. Compare also Clementin. x. 9, and iii. 35.

[3] In his Annotationes ad Pandectas, p. 40, and Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ vindicatus et illustratus. Lond. 1678. Amstel. 1697.

[4] Let the following books be esteemed venerable and holy by you, both of the clergy and of the laity, &c.: — Two epistles of Clement, and the Constitutions dedicated to you the Bishops by me Clement, in eight books; which it is not suitable to publish before all, because of the mysteries contained in them.

[5] Eccles. Hist. b. vi. c. 13: — In his treatise on the Passover, he acknowledges that, for the benefit of posterity, he was urged by his friends to commit to writing those traditions that he had heard from the ancient Presbyters.

extracts from the writings of those who were immediately connected with the apostolic age, as from Clement, Polycarp, and Ignatius; respecting which Beveridge conjectures that they are the same which were called Institutes (διαταγαὶ) or Constitutions (διατάξεις); but that, at a later period, writers, deceived by the name of Clement, have ascribed them to Clement of Rome.

Much, however, can be objected to this reasoning; and the whole conjecture will be found to be untenable. The proof derived from the last canon, ingenious as it is, cannot be regarded as valid, since this canon manifestly was written at a later time than that in which Clement of Alexandria lived. It appears to have been written by a later hand than that of the first compiler.

There is another strong objection. The Instructions, Institutes, or Constitutions (διδαχαὶ, διαταγαὶ, or διατάξεις), were known to Eusebius, Athanasius, and Epiphanius, only under the name of the apostles; and in the testimonies of the ancients, which we have upon the Constitutions, the very first mention of Clement, as the author, occurs in the second canon of the Trullan Council [A.D. 692]. Further, even if we admit the conjecture of Beveridge, that Clement of Alexandria, perhaps with the concurrence of some council, added the Constitutions collected by him to the previous catalogue of the canonical books, there still remains a very great difficulty: — It is not easy to explain why his doing this has not been mentioned at all by any of the writers who flourished in his time; and why he himself, in all his other writings, has passed it over in entire silence. The later writers mention nothing of it; and hence it is clear that all the external testimonies are against the conjecture, and that the most natural inference from the last canon is, that a comparatively late interpolator has inserted the words *by me* immediately before Clement, without adverting to the previous mention of that name, in the same connection.

Pearson[1] has endeavored to establish the opinion that the eight books of the Constitutions, which we now possess, were, after the age of Epiphanius, collected out of the teachings (διδασκαλίαι) of the apostles and of the apostolical fathers; that hence our Constitutions had acquired the title of a catholic teaching, instruction, or doctrine (καθολικὴ διδασκαλία); that the Instructions of the Apostles (διδαχὴ or διδακαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων) are, in great part, contained in that compilation, with the exception of the points which were no longer adapted to the usages and customs of this more modern time, but were at variance with them. Thus, for example, the precept requiring that the celebration of the Pass-

[1] In his Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii, p. i. c. 4.

over [Easter] be held at the same time with its celebration by the Jews, is changed; and many other things are left out or added. Although we are of the same opinion with Pearson, that the Constitutions have received their present form since the time of Epiphanius, yet we cannot go so far with him as to admit that they were then first collected, and had then first acquired, for the most part, their present ingredients; but only so far as to admit that the Constitutions extant in the time of Epiphanius suffered, at a later period, changes and additions, which, however, were not very great; and that, in this form, they have come down to us. With his views respecting the lateness of the collection, it is the more inexplicable how Pearson could come to the opinion that the Constitutions were collected out of the 'instructions' (διδασκαλίαι) of the apostolical fathers, and even of the apostles themselves. There lay also before him the quotations of Epiphanius, from which every one can infer so much, at least, that the Constitutions were then no work of a very inconsiderable extent; — at least, that it was not a brief 'instruction,' out of which, with the addition of many other 'instructions,' and with the mingling of the peculiar additions of the interpolator, our Constitutions could first come forth. To say no more on this topic, it is almost incredible that Pearson could deceive himself into the belief that they exhibit the character of the apostolic age; since the bare reading of them, it would seem, must sufficiently convince us of the contrary. For if, in respect to rites and doctrines, there is, in the Constitutions, much that agrees with the first and second centuries, and that could give some ground for this opinion; yet the whole bears so much the traces of a later age, and is so far removed from the simplicity and the indescribable stamp of the apostolic age, that, unless we begin the investigation with prejudice, we cannot hesitate long to pronounce them no production of that period.

Grabe[1] has expressed an opinion very similar to that of Pearson. Although he admits that the apostles have neither written nor dictated the Constitutions which are ascribed to them, yet it seems to him to be beyond a doubt that this book was collected out of traditions which the several churches received from the apostles, who preached in various places, and exerted themselves to introduce church discipline and rites; and that the collection was made towards the end of the first century, or, at the latest, in the beginning of the second. To this view, he says, he is led especially by the decree [constitutio] which commands the celebrating of the Passover at the same time with the Jews. That in this, regard is had to the first Bishops and believers of the church at Jerusa-

[1] In his Spicilegium Patrum Seculi I. p. 45.

lem, is proved by Epiphanius, who expresses himself thus: — 'But as there have been fifteen Bishops of the circumcision, so it was then proper, the Bishops being of the circumcision, and established in Jerusalem, that the whole world imitate them, and celebrate with them; that there might be one harmonious voice, one confession, one feast.'[1]

Those fifteen Bishops had succeeded one another before the siege of Jerusalem by Adrian. This is evident from the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius,[2] who informs us that all the Bishops there had lived only a very short time. He adds, 'So much, however, have I learned from writings, that down to the invasion of the Jews, under Adrian, there were fifteen successions of Bishops in that church, all of whom, they say, were Hebrews from the first, and received the knowledge of Christ pure and unadulterated.' Now, since this siege occurred perhaps about the year of our Lord 120, Grabe concludes that the 'instructions of the apostles' (*διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων*) had been collected and committed to writing before this time. But this opinion must be rejected as wholly unfounded and untenable. In the first place, we have a right, since every thing else indicates it, to assume, or, at least, to suppose as highly probable, that the compiler of the Constitutions used by Epiphanius — well acquainted, as he naturally must have been, with all the manners, usages, and ecclesiastical arrangements, in respect to the external and the internal affairs of the church — has designedly borrowed, out of the first and second centuries, many things which may or which may not have continued later (for to him, with his object, they would be as valuable in the one case as in the other), in order sometimes to conceal his interpolation, and sometimes to commend it strongly as of apostolic origin.

Grabe was confirmed in his opinion that the Constitutions have arisen out of various 'instructions' (*διδασκαλίαι*) of the apostles and of Barnabas, of Clement, Ignatius, and others, by a discovery which he made in the Bodleian library: — As he was examining the Codex xxvi. Boroccianus, he found several 'instructions' (*διδακαὶ*) which bore the name of the apostles, and from which he soon convinced himself, upon comparing them with our Constitutions, that they are contained in the eighth book of this work. Hence he afterwards maintained that the eighth book was collected out of 'instructions' (*διδασκαλίαι*) of the apostles; respecting which we will hereafter treat more fully.

In regard to Grabe's assertion, which he founded on that decree concerning the celebration of the Passover, I think that I can show its

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[1] Hær. lxx. § 10. *Ἅμα δὲ καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπίσκοποι γεγόνασιν ἐκ περιτομῆς, καὶ ἐχρῆν τότε τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐκ περιτομῆς ὄντων, ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ κατασταθέντων, τὸν πάντα κόσμον τούτοις συνέπεσθαι, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖν ἵνα μία τις γένηται συμφωνία, μία ὁμολογία, μία ἑορτὴ ἐπιτελουμένη.*

[2] B. iv. c. 5.

incorrectness, from considerations independent of the reply already given. For from the place which Epiphanius cites from his Constitutions (Heresy lxx. § 10), it appears, incontrovertibly, that misunderstanding and dissension concerning the celebration of the Passover had already arisen. There is mention made of the two parties, the Jewish and the Gentile Christians. The whole decree bears upon it an impress, indicating that it was made for the allaying of a vehement strife; and if we could not conclude this already from the words, 'Make not computations, but celebrate when your brethren of the circumcision do; celebrate at the same time with them,'[1] — the subsequent remark of Epiphanius sets it beyond all doubt: — 'But, under the apostles, the injunction is introduced for the sake of unity, as they testify, saying, Though they [the Jewish Christians] may be deceived, let it give you no solicitude.'[2]

This decision, from whomsoever it may have come, a matter which we set aside at present, was made *for the sake of concord;* which necessarily supposes that strife on the subject was arising or had already arisen. But now it is evident from ecclesiastical history, that between the churches of Rome, Cesarea, Jerusalem, Tyre, and Alexandria, on the one hand, with the Bishop Victor at their head, and the churches of Asia Minor on the other hand, with Polycrates, of Ephesus, at their head, the strife concerning the Passover first arose about the year 190. We cannot with propriety speak of there being any controversy on this subject previous to the episcopate of Victor, who, entirely in the spirit of that hierarchical principle, the development of which we can from that time onwards clearly trace in the history of the church, wrote to the Asiatic Bishops who differed from him in the celebration of the Passover, that haughty and dictatorial letter in which he enjoined on them a conformity to his own custom in respect to the time of celebrating this feast, and finally excommunicated all who disregarded his mandate. The contention must have been the more vehement, in proportion as a disposition was manifested to oppose the pretensions of the Roman Bishop; and from the letter of Irenæus, who, in the name of the churches at Lyons and Vienna, earnestly and sternly corrected Victor for his arrogant attack on the rights of his fellow-bishops as well as of all believers, we perceive that this extraordinary procedure of Victor led to a general strife, and met with strong opposition.

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[1] Μὴ ψηφίζετε, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖτε, ὅταν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς· μετ' αὐτῶν ἅμα ποιεῖτε.

[2] Παρὰ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις δὲ το ῥητὸν δι' ὁμόνοιαν ἐμφέρεται, ὡς ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι, λέγοντες, ὅτι κἂν τε πλανηθῶσι, μηδὲ ὑμῖν μελέτω.

If, in support of Grabe's assertion, it be objected that already before Victor, contentions concerning the celebration of the Passover had arisen, the objection can be fairly repelled. It ought not, indeed, to be denied, that, already long before his time, differences on this subject had arisen; but these differences, like many others, had continued quiet in the several churches, without having been particularly expressed. At all events, we may assume as fully proved, that this diversity, in the celebration of the Passover, between the Romish church and those of Asia Minor, was not brought into consideration, on either side, before Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna, visited the Bishop Anicetus at Rome, in the year 162. But the allaying of controversies concerning the Passover was not at all the object of Polycarp's journey, for no general controversy concerning it had yet arisen; but as in many external things there prevailed a diversity between these churches, so this must necessarily fall under their view, and become the subject of remark, in the course of Polycarp's visit. But these consultations were so far from being contentious, and there was so little need of a decree for the preservation of concord, that Anicetus, in token of concord, permitted Polycarp to administer the Lord's supper at Rome. From this, therefore, we see sufficiently that no contentions then prevailed; that, further, this decree could not be applied to these supposed contentions; and that, even were we obliged to admit both of these unfounded suppositions, still the opinion of Grabe is untenable; since he places the origin of this decree, and according to his view, consequently, the origin of them all, in a time (about the year 122) in which this diversity, so far as history gives us any authentic information, was not at all mentioned. But since, on the contrary, it is at the present day universally acknowledged as the correct result of many investigations, that, properly speaking, the contentions respecting the Passover first proceeded from the Bishop Victor, and raged more vehemently from this time onward, until they were settled in the council at Nice, we may well assume it as proved, that Grabe's opinion, according to which the decree quoted by Epiphanius must have been given before the year 122, is entirely erroneous. Such a decree implies contentions respecting the celebration of the Passover; but the contentions first arose towards the end of the second century. Accordingly there is then, indeed, presented even in the decree itself the need of a law deciding contentions of this kind.

Of all who among the Protestants have attempted the defence of the Constitutions, no one has gone further than Whiston,[1] who does not hesi-

[1] In his 'Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions, wherein is proved that they are the most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament.' Lond. 1711.

tate to assert that these ecclesiastical laws, disciplinary precepts, and decisions respecting doctrines, 'were delivered personally by our Saviour to the eleven apostles, after his resurrection and first ascension, during the forty days which he spent with them.' He even goes so far as to determine the place where this was done: — 'in the famous place of their constant Christian assemblies, in that part of Jerusalem which was built on Mount Zion, whence the Christian law was to proceed, according to the ancient prophecies.'[1] And he places the Constitutions, in respect to credibility, on a level with the books of the New Testament. We hardly know how to account for his opinion, since he was one of the most learned men of his time in England; and only a slight study of the Constitutions must, it would seem, have convinced him of the contrary. Hence, Grabe, Turner,[2] and others, have sought to explain this from the relations in which he stood. The Arian subordination-theory, which had found many adherents in England, was also defended by Whiston. He therefore fell under the suspicion of Arianism, to which he had at least shown himself strongly inclined, and lost, consequently, his professorship at Cambridge.[3] Now those writers have very naturally concluded that he endeavored to prove the genuineness of the Constitutions, in order to sustain his Arianism, since they contain much that is Arian. This conjecture has also met with approbation among the learned men of Germany.[4]

Among the opposers of Whiston, it is proper to mention, as one of the most considerable, John Le Clerc.[5] But it is to be regretted that in his whole discussion he has occupied himself, almost exclusively, with the refutation of Whiston, and has only in general terms expressed his own opinion; which is, that the author of the Constitutions was an Arian, perhaps the Bishop Leontius, who lived in the reign of the emperor Constantius, and that he wrote near the end of the fourth century.[6]

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[1] Whiston's Essay, p. 14.

[2] A Discourse of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions. Lond. 1715.

[3] Upon this, he repaired to London, and soon published a work in his defence, entitled, An Historical Preface to Primitive Christianity Revived, with an Appendix. Not long after, he published his larger work which he had promised, under the title: Primitive Christianity Revived (in five volumes; Lond. 1711–12), in the third volume of which is contained the above-mentioned extensive treatise on the age and authority of the Constitutions.

[4] Acta Eruditorum Suppl. tom. v. p. 214; ann. 1711, p. 558; ann. 1712, p. 96; ann. 1714, p. 28.

[5] Dissert. de Constitutionibus Apostolicis, in Coteler. Patr. Apostol. tom. ii. p. 493.

[6] We introduce here some of Whiston's opposers; for the subject excited a lively interest at the time. Peter Allix, at first a reformed preacher at Charenton, in France, but afterwards a canon at Windsor, published a work under the title, *Remarks on some*

Jo. Phil. Baratier, however, pleads for the early age of the Constitutions. He not only places their origin in the beginning of the second century, but also asserts their integrity, and rejects the supposition of interpolations.[1] Bingham, on the contrary, holds that our Constitutions are a very good collection of liturgies and matters pertaining to the ecclesiastical ritual, from the third century and the fourth, and that this collection is less corrupted than any other liturgy which has come down to us. He endeavors to explain this smaller corruption of our Constitutions from the circumstance that they never stood in so high esteem as to be used in any church as the customary liturgy; that therefore no special interest would have prompted to their corruption. We shall, in our subsequent investigation, often have occasion to recur to Bingham, who has very carefully made use of our Constitutions.

Only a few writers have attempted to determine the author or collector of the Constitutions, although many have toiled to determine the age to which they should be ascribed. This, doubtless, has arisen from their feeling that we should there be lost in an endless multitude of conjectures, each of which, if possible, would become still more unfounded and untenable than the others. Among those who, nevertheless, have attempted it, belongs Thomas Bruno,[2] who, as well as Le Clerc, thinks it probable that Leontius, an Arian Bishop at Tripoli in Lydia, who lived under the Emperor Constantius, was the author or collector of the Constitutions. For his opinion he adduces the following reasons. Leontius was the only one among the fathers of this century who had acquired such respect and influence that he was denominated the *rule* or *law of the church*.[3] Besides, his efforts to increase the respect shown to the

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places of Mr. Whiston's book; to which Whiston soon sent forth a *Reply*. As his principal opposers, we have further to name, Richard Smalbroke, in his work entitled The pretended Authority of the Clementine Constitutions confuted by their inconsistency with the Inspired Writings; Lond. 1714; — John Edwards, in some Brief Observations and Reflexions on Mr. Whiston's Primitive Christianity Revived, &c. p. 15; — and Matthew Henry, in the Exposition of the Historical Books of the New Testament. William Loyd, too, Bishop of Worcester, in various letters which he addressed to Whiston on this subject, has prominently opposed his view. A very extensive catalogue of all the writings which appeared against Whiston are found in Christ. Matt. Pfaff's Introductio in Histor. Theolog. Litter.; lib. iii. de Theologia Polemica, p. 274.

[1] Baraterii Dissert. de Constit. Apost. in his work De Successione Roman. Episcop. Prim. p. 229 and p. 260.

[2] Thomæ Brunonis, canonici Windesoriensis, Judicium de Auctore Canonum et Constitutionum. Compare Cotelerii Patr. Apost. tom. ii. p. 177.

[3] Κανὼν ἐκκλησίας, as Suidas testifies under the word Λεόντιος: — 'Κανόνα δὲ ἀυτὸν ἐκάλουν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.'

Bishops, and to extend the ecclesiastical discipline, speak for him as the author of the Constitutions. Bruno also shows, that throughout the Constitutions the preëminence of the Bishops is brought to view, and that the design is prosecuted of elevating the power and authority of the Bishops above all worldly power. Leontius not only had a similar plan, but he also carried it through. For when in the presence of Eusebia, the wife of the Emperor Constantius, there was held a council, and the other Bishops upon their entrance saluted the Empress with suitable homage, Leontius, as he heard of it, remained at home; and, though he had been particularly invited by the Empress, he would not come to the assembly, except on the stipulated condition that, when he entered, the Empress should descend from the throne, advance towards him, and bow down her head in order to receive his blessing; and that, after he had seated himself, she should not sit down, until he should give her permission.[1] . . . .

But that Leontius was the author of the Constitutions is only a conjecture.

Spanheim, after presenting a brief survey of the opinions which have been entertained respecting the Constitutions, expresses himself to this effect: — that if we compare them with the writings of Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, the history of Eusebius, the doctrine, the customs, and the discipline of this age, we must admit that, if not a great part, still a part, of these Constitutions came into use towards the end of the third century; but that the whole work seems to have been brought together towards the end of the fifth century. In favor of this judgment, he mentions the manner in which they express themselves concerning the Son of God and the Holy Spirit: further, that they require the rebaptizing of heretics; that they fix the celebration of the Passover against the Quatuordecimians; that they, against the Novatians, allow the reception of penitents; that they require the Sabbath to be celebrated as a festival; that they prohibit fasting on the Sabbath; and that they augment the episcopal authority. But he leaves it undetermined whether the *διατάξεις*, *διδαχαί*, and *διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, mentioned in Eusebius and Athanasius, are one and the same work with our Constitutions.[2]

James Basnage has expressed no peculiar opinion respecting the Con-

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[1] Le Clerc — in his edition of Coteler. Patr. Apostol. tom. ii. p. 493 — quotes the whole Fragment of Philostorgius, Hist. Ecclesiasticæ, lib. vii. c. 6, which is found in Suidas, and concludes, Hinc satis liquet Leontium pluris fecisse auctoritatem episcopalem, quam imperatoriam; nec aliter esse rationatum quam auctorem Constitutionum, quisque ille fuerit. [Compare Gieseler, vol. i. p. 247.]

[2] Frederici Spanhemii Opera, quatenus complectuntur Geographiam, Chronologiam, et Historiam sacram atque ecclesiasticam. Lugd. Batav. 1701, fol. p. 580 et p. 784.

stitutions, although he mentions them, and examines some testimonies which we have respecting them.[1] He thinks them interpolated, as this appears from the citations of Epiphanius. But it has been incorrectly supposed that there have been many collections of traditions under the name of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp. Basnage further mentions that Lambeciers,[2] who found the whole work in the imperial library, has published four or five such traditions, in which Hippolytus makes the twelve apostles say, that they assembled for the purpose of giving rules and prescriptions. But he thinks, as it is difficult to judge about this, the reader must wait until Mill, who found the same work in an Oxford Manuscript, has published it. Further on, we shall again advert to this matter. Basnage seems in general to be of the opinion that our Constitutions are a collection of ecclesiastical traditions, and is not disinclined to think them a collection of Hippolytus, who, at least among the fathers of the first three centuries, is the only one to whom a collection of traditions could, with any confidence, be attributed. But, in his view, it is more than probable that the eighth book of the Constitutions is a collection of Hippolytus.

Samuel Basnage[3] also entertained no peculiar view respecting the Constitutions; yet his opinion ought here to be introduced, since he, at least, endeavored to determine their age with more than usual accuracy. From the mention of Cerinthus, Basilides, and other more recent heretics; from the custom which, in the Constitutions (b. ii. c. 25), is mentioned, of giving tithes and first-fruits to the Bishops; from the bringing in of the festival of Christmas and Epiphany, and of Quadragesima (b. v. c. 12); from the celebration of the feast of the Passover [Easter] at the same time with the Jews (b. v. c. 16); and from many other regulations and usages, he first drew the conclusion that the Constitutions must have arisen long after the time of Clement. Then Basnage mentions the difference between our Constitutions and those of Epiphanius, in the prescription respecting the celebration of Easter, yet admits that they agree in other places; but this he does without having compared them throughout. Against the opinion of Cave and Beveridge, he asserts his full conviction that the author of the Constitutions wrote after Epiphanius. The reason which he assigns, namely, that no author before Epiphanius has ever mentioned them, is consistent with his rejection of the testimony of Athanasius. He also adduces, as a motive for

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[1] Jaques Basnage, Histoire de l'Eglise. Rotterd. 1699. fol. vol. i. liv. ix. chap. 5, p. 475.

[2] Bibl. Vindob. tom. viii. p. 429.

[3] Samuelis Basnagii Annales Politico-ecclesiastici. Rotterd. 1706. Tom. i. p. 821, § 8.

his rejecting it, the consideration that the διδαχή, mentioned by Athanasius, is designed for the instruction of the catechumens. Here I remark only, since it is treated more extensively in another place, that Basnage seems to have entirely overlooked the testimony of Eusebius. Still it ought to be noted, that Basnage, like many before and after him, is of the opinion that the Constitutions of Epiphanius and ours differ essentially in respect to their extent. But, as far as I know, this has never yet been shown by any man; and the many and large citations in Epiphanius appear, on the contrary, to oppose this opinion; and it might hence be difficult to prove that the Constitutions known to Epiphanius were of a very moderate extent. Finally, Basnage gives the age of the Constitutions, from a ground certainly very insulated, — namely, that they were collected at a time when the usage of the Latins, in the festival of Christmas, had been introduced into the East, and Christmas upon the 25th of December was established. Basnage further concludes, from book viii. c. 10, that the author of the Constitutions belonged to the church at Jerusalem, since he placed the Bishop of Jerusalem before the Roman Bishop. But now it is proved that the celebration of Christmas was not observed by the Christians at Jerusalem before towards the end of the fifth century. The inconclusiveness of this reasoning, which rests upon a circumstance that we shall hereafter examine, is manifest, irrespectively of the consideration that we must not reason from this eighth book to the whole work of the Constitutions.

Ittig has treated very largely on the Constitutions. At first, he gives a short historical survey, in which he exhibits the various absurd judgments passed by hyper-Romanists, respecting them. Then he shows with how great impropriety testimonies for them have been brought forward from Dionysius the Areopagite, Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, and others.[1] Still, he does not refer the testimony of Eusebius and Athanasius to our Constitutions; and he asserts, respecting the testimony of Epiphanius, that, on the whole, it goes to show that our Constitutions were different from those of this father; and hence that a later interpolation is to be assumed. Finally, he advances the opinion that the Apostolical Constitutions, for the most part, arose and became known in the fourth century; but, at a later period, perhaps about the sixth century, were corrupted and interpolated by an Arian.[2]

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[1] De Constitutionibus Pseudapostolicis, in his Dissert. de Pseudepigraphis Christi, Mariæ, et Apostolor. cap. xii. § 14, p. 199.

[2] Dissert. de Pseudepigraphis, &c. c. xii. § 54 et 55, p. 219; and in his Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Primi Sæculi Selecta Capita, c. i. § 22, p. 53.

Usher also has sought to defend the same opinion.[1] Among all those who would represent the Constitutions as consisting of various kinds of 'instructions' (*διδαχαὶ* and *διδασκαλίαι*,) he has defended this hypothesis the most ingeniously. The *διδαχὴ* mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, he refers not to the Constitutions, as they at present form a whole, connected work, but only to one of those *διδαχαί*, out of which, at a later period, the Constitutions were composed. In support of this, his assumption, he has very skilfully employed the testimony of Anastasius. But further on, where we claim for our Constitutions the testimonies of Eusebius and Athanasius, we will consider the objections of Usher, and endeavor to explain the testimony of Anastasius in favor of our opinion.

Among the theologians of this time [the seventeenth century], Daillé should be mentioned with distinguished honor. He devoted to our Constitutions a very extended examination.[2] The tendency of his work is chiefly polemical. He strenuously opposes the opinion of Bovius and Turrian; and hence he discusses the question respecting the origin of the Constitutions, negatively throughout; and scarcely attempts the positive answering of this question. It is to be regretted that he deemed it of no importance for us to ascertain when the Constitutions were written, but that it is sufficient to show that they are a forged work, which was wrongfully ascribed, whether to an apostle or to Clement.[3] His polemical interest led him to this view, and caused him to overlook the importance of the Constitutions, as casting light on ecclesiastical history and antiquities. Otherwise, he would have contributed greatly to the solution of our question, since his distinguished erudition and extensive reading peculiarly fitted him for such a service. Instead of this, he proves, with a great expense of knowledge, by a comparison

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[1] Prolegomena ad Epistolas Ignatii, c. vi. et vii. in Coteler. Patr. Apostolic. Op. vol. ii. p. 210. Compare And. Rivetus, in Critico Sacro, c. ii. p. 107. Hugo Grotius, De Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. i. c. ii. not. ad § ix. assigns the Constitutions to the third century. Cave says very little respecting them, and assumes that they were made up of various *διατάξεις* of apostolical men, and, after the time of Epiphanius, were interpolated by heretics. See his Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria, vol. i. p. 29. Comp. Caspar Ziegler, De Origine et Incremento Juris Canonici, § 15. Herm. Conringius (Animadver. de Purgator. n. xxxii.) placed the Constitutions in the fifth century.

[2] Johannis Dallæi de Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis, seu Libris Octo Constitutionum Apostolicarum Apocryphis, Libri III.

[3] C. 17, p. 392. Quod si quæras, a quibus viris quove nominatim tempore scriptus, consarcinatusque ea, qua nunc est, forma fuerit Constitutionum liber, primo respondeo, nihil esse quod ea de re, vehementius laboremus. Satis est, quod librum fictitium atque suppositium, falsoque sive apostolis, sive Clementi adscriptum, adhæc pessimæ inter apocryphos notæ, mendaciorum atque errorum plenum esse deprehendimus.

with the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the apostolical fathers, that the Constitutions could belong neither to the apostles nor to Clement; a judgment for which, in his time, there was scarcely any proof needed. Much that is self-evident he asserts very profusely and emphatically, just to expose the absurd opinions of his antagonists. Hence the benefits which may be derived from his extensive treatise are comparitively small. But his investigation respecting the external evidences of the Constitutions preëminently merits consideration; for it is conducted with critical acuteness, although, in the detail and in his result, we cannot agree with him, since he rejects almost all the evidences for the Constitutions. We limit ourselves here to a brief statement of his views; for in the sequel his opinion is critically examined. What he has here and there, although indirectly, pointed out respecting the interpolations of the Constitutions, is also important.

The testimonies of Eusebius and Athanasius he denies to our Constitutions, and asserts that the διδαχὴ and διδαχαὶ were two writings altogether different from our Constitutions. Even the testimony of Epiphanius for our Constitutions, he does not admit to be valid; and on account of the difference between our Constitutions and the διάταξις of Epiphanius, which appears from the citations of the latter, he believes it may be asserted that the two works are entirely different from each other. But the agreement between some citations of Epiphanius and our Constitutions, he seeks to explain by supposing that the author of the Constitutions has designedly taken much from those διατάξεις of Epiphanius into his work. He thinks, too, that the same person borrowed much from the works mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, which had the same contents. But here it is difficult to conceive why he who prepared the Constitutions did not take all out of the διάταξις of Epiphanius into his work; for then the difference of the two works, and the fraud used in the case, would the more easily have been concealed. He scarcely replies at all, or, at least, very unsatisfactorily,[1] to the objection, that if we assume that the works cited by Eusebius, Athanasius, and Epiphanius, are not our Constitutions, it would be very difficult to explain the fact that no one of those works has come down to us; nay, not a single trace of them is extant. Thus he casts away these external testimonies, from which he might have gained for himself a

[1] C. 17, p. 410. Quod vero tum διδαχὴ hæc, tum illa Epiphasiana διάταξις interciderint, hanc ipsam causam fuisse arbitror; quod scilicet cum recentior hic noster διατανὺς ex iis plurima, ac fere omnia in opus suum transcripsisset, supervacaneum esse visum est seorsim edita retinere, quæ ille uno eodemque opere plenius ac fusius complecti sategerat.

suitable holding-point for the investigation respecting the Constitutions, and is of the opinion that no cogent reasons, whether external or internal, authorize the assumption that the Constitutions had come into existence before the council of Nice. His positive opinion respecting the Constitutions, he has brought forward only as a conjecture, without entering further into its proof. He has added it to the conclusion of his investigation, as being to him the most probable, — namely, that the Constitutions might have been written before the end of the fifth century; since they contain the ecclesiastical discipline and customs of the third and the fourth century, while, on the other hand, they contain nothing which must have been introduced after the fifth.[1]

To Daillé, however, belongs the merit of having proved, the most decisively, that the Constitutions did not originate with the apostles nor with Clement.[2]

The Magdeburg centuriators, who first instituted an extended examination respecting the canons of the apostles, which, for the most part, is directed polemically against the Catholic church, have, on the contrary, left our Constitutions almost entirely unnoticed. It is easy to explain this, from the fact that, while the canons had become canon law, and thus very many of their prescriptions had also become ecclesiastical practice, the centuriators took these into consideration rather than the far more extensive work of the Constitutions, which, although it is of much greater importance for ecclesiastical history and antiquities, yet has never had a direct practical influence on the church. Still they mention the testimony of Epiphanius respecting the Constitutions.[3]

Several Lutheran theologians, besides, have rejected the Constitutions, as coming neither from the apostles nor from Clement; and have presented a brief survey of the various opinions of earlier theologians, with-

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[1] P. 393. Si tamen, ut in re obscura, conjecturas et argumenta admittere libet, illud imprimis pro certo constitui posse mihi videtur, fuisse hoc opus ante finem quinti seculi scriptum atque editum. Primo enim cum multa habeant, tertio quartoque seculo in ecclesiæ mores ac disciplinam invecta, nihil eorum, quantum memini, exhibet, quæ post quintum seculum de novo inducta sunt; nullam imaginum uspiam mentionem fecit, nullam reliquorum, quæ prioribus temporibus inusitata, istis frequentari cœpere.

[2] The following authors also may be compared, though it is unnecessary to make a long statement respecting them; for they have, in the main, followed Daillé: namely, *Abraham Schultetus*, in Medulla Patrum, pt. i. lib. 2, c. 5; *Chamier*, Panstratia Cathol. tom. i. lib. 5, c. 13; *Chemnitius*, in Examine Concil. Trident. pt. iv. p. 778; *Varenius*, in Rationario Scriptorum Secul. I. p. 97; *Ger. Van Mastricht*, Historia Juris Ecclesiastici, § 106, p. 82; and *Casimir Oudinus*, Comment. de Scrip. Ecclesiast. tom. i. p. 28.

[3] Centur. v. cap. v. p. 172.

out giving their own judgment; their object generally not requiring it. This remark is applicable to Buddeus,[1] Walch,[2] and Fabricius.[3]

Mosheim, in several places of his works on ecclesiastical history, judges very unfavorably respecting the Constitutions. He represents them, however, as an ancient work, but as belonging to an uncertain time, and prepared by a man who was austere, and unfriendly to intellectual culture, and who did not hesitate to attribute his views respecting the discipline and government of the church to the apostles and to Clement, in order to procure for them the more favorable reception. Their origin and age he leaves undetermined; but admits that they are a very important document for the knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity.[4]

In more modern times, there has not been, respecting the Constitutions, a comprehensive examination, bestowing suitable attention on all the external and internal reasons and testimonies, and furnishing the means of arriving at a well-founded result. For although there have been produced several large works on ecclesiastical history, yet these have had little or no influence on establishing a judgment respecting the Constitutions.

From the following brief survey of the decisions which the ecclesiastical historians, and other theological writers of modern times, have passed respecting them, we shall see that most of them are only intimations and generally expressed conjectures, founded either on the general impression made by the reading of the Constitutions, or on single external circumstances, or on some isolated internal reason. For as there was no preliminary work entering into detail on this subject, it was natural that large ecclesiastical histories (since they, comprehensive as they are, cannot prosecute such an investigation on all sides) could only express themselves in general terms. There were not yet furnished them, by a distinct investigation, sufficient criteria for their decision. But, certainly, we may well wonder how Christian archæology, that branch of theological study which in modern times earliest

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[1] J. F. Buddei Isagoge Historico-theologica ad Theologiam universam, lib. ii. c. 5, p. 662.

[2] Jo. G. Walchii Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti, sec. i. cap. 3, § 3, p. 331.

[3] Jo. Albert. Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. lib. v. cap. i. p. 33.

[4] J. L. Moshemii De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum Commentarii, Sæc. I. p. 158. Constitutionum Apostolicarum libri viii., opus antiquum, verum incertæ ætatis, hominis præter modum severi et omnem tam animi quam ingenii culturam contemnentis; qui quam ipse mente informaverat et apostolorum sententiis convenientem judicabat, ecclesiæ gubernandæ et disciplinæ formam, quo plures fautores et amicos reperiret, apostolis subjicere, et ex ore illorum a discipulo eorum, Clemente, exceptam esse, fingere non dubitabat. See also his Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, b. i. pt. ii. c. ii. § 19.

acquired new life and vigor, has hitherto been without an investigation respecting the Constitutions; since these are, for the first four centuries of the Christian church, one of the most important and copious sources. Hence, — because, from this science, even yet no sufficient discussion respecting the origin and contents of the Constitutions has come forth, — it has also occurred, that we cannot fail to perceive much uncertainty and unsatisfactoriness in the use of the Constitutions, on all subjects connected with Christian antiquities. Still we shall often have occasion to point to the many instances where, on archæological questions and investigations, our Constitutions were either the only or the principal source, and therefore could not but be referred to, and even were amply taken into consideration. But we shall always find that in such an introduction of the Constitutions, where it is necessary still to say something about their age, in order to be able to use them for the object in view, the opinion long since placed beyond all doubt, that they proceeded neither from the apostles nor from Clement of Rome, is always repeated. Then, without any specific statement of the reasons, it is usually further asserted that they were composed of various materials, which must be referred to various ages. This assumption has become the more customary, the more convenient and agreeable it has appeared to use the Constitutions, piecemeal, at pleasure, without having the whole in view, and to assign a time to any particular part, in a great measure arbitrarily.

Schröckh, after giving in brief the contents of the Apostolical Constitutions, draws the conclusion that these contents prove the Constitutions to have been forged, and remarks that it is less important to know *who was their author*, which could be answered only by conjectures, than *at what time, and why*, he would have deceived the world; in which opinion also we entirely agree with him. Epiphanius, on Heresy lxx. 10, is the first Christian writer who introduces them under the name of Apostolical Regulations of the Church; and from the fact that he adduces a passage which, in these Regulations, as we now read them, says exactly the contrary of what it says as quoted by him, it appears to follow that Epiphanius had before him another work, with a similar superscription; as in Eusebius and Athanasius we meet with traces indicating that they had similar writings under the name of the apostles. We must say, then, without being able to prove it, that the church regulations which Epiphanius used, were afterwards corrupted. As to Schröckh's inference, that Epiphanius had before him another work, with a similar superscription, this may well be called somewhat adventurous and rash. For although the passage of those Constitutions, or Church Regulations, cited in the passage of Epiphanius, which Schröckh has ad-

duced, is not found in our Constitutions, as the comparison which we shall hereafter institute between the Constitutions of Epiphanius and ours will fully show; yet he is not authorized to infer, from this difference, immediately, a different work; for a more exact comparison must have shown him that the Constitutions of Epiphanius are, in many places, identical with ours; which identity we shall also point out in our comparison. This difference, while there is identity in other places, must, if he had let the matter remain undetermined until the proof was adduced, have inclined him rather to the assumption that the Constitutions, at a later period, had suffered some corruptions. But it were to be wished that Schröckh had expressed his opinion respecting the testimony of Eusebius and of Athanasius, more definitely; for, from his statement, it does not appear whether he does or does not hold the *διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων* and the *διδαχαὶ των ἀποστόλων* in Eusebius and Athanasius to be identical with the Constitutions of Epiphanius, as well as with ours; nor whether the remark that they had known similar writings, is or is not to be referred to the Constitutions which Epiphanius knew, or to those which we have.

In general terms, Schröckh expresses his judgment that this work was composed under the government of heathen emperors, towards the end of the third or in the beginning of the fourth century. This makes probable the condition of the Christian congregations generally, which are there described, and the duties enjoined on the Christians towards their brethren who are condemned, by the heathen, to death and to bodily punishments. The church offices, too, of the third century, and various matters characteristic of that period, he suggests, occur in the work; and, from all the circumstances, it is credible that the Constitutions were composed by some teacher, perhaps a Bishop, in the East; not merely in order to furnish the churches with regulations, but chiefly in order to elevate the episcopal dignity over all; in which work also something could be written by him (as if by Clement), to procure the more respect through the name of the apostles.[1]

Cotta, in his Ecclesiastical History, has treated the subject of the Constitutions with great diligence.[2] After giving an excellent survey of

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[1] J. M. Schröckh, Christliche Kirchengeschichte, Th. ii. S. 127–132.

[2] Joh. Fried. Cotta's Versich einer ausführlichen Kirchen-Historie des neuen Testaments, Th. ii. § 429–432. There is also an Inaugural Dissertation by Cotta, De Constitutionibus Apostolicis vulgo dictis, Tubing. 1746; but this I have never seen, notwithstanding my efforts to procure it. The substance of this Dissertation, however, Cotta seems to have wrought into his history. Spittler, in his History of the Canon Law, p. 65, has mentioned it only by the way.

the contents of all the eight books of the Constitutions, he has adduced several various opinions of earlier learned men. Yet this collection is not well connected, and is given rather by the way. The attention, too, which he bestows on the external testimonies respecting the Constitutions, is defective and fragmentary; and the internal evidences are not discussed. After he has adduced some decisions of others, respecting the time when the Constitutions were written, or their collection was undertaken, he remarks: We must candidly acknowledge that the age of the Constitutions cannot be exactly determined. So much, however, seems to be correct, — that this work is very ancient, and was prepared, if not in the third, yet, at least, soon after the beginning of the fourth century, and, of course, a considerable time before Epiphanius. Besides, we find in the collection, regulations by which the Eastern church was governed, while under the power of heathen emperors, and consequently before the times of Constantine. According to all probability, they were collected by some teacher, or, most likely, by a Bishop in the East. Cotta, who also adduces from the Constitutions the citations of Epiphanius, judges, very rightly, that the work extant at the present day, under the title of Apostolical Constitutions, was here and there corrupted, even in the more ancient times; which is quite evident from those places which have been adduced, some by Epiphanius, and some by the author of *an incomplete work on Matthew;* for some of these places are found, either not at all, or only in part, or different in our present Constitutions. He expresses the opinion, that in the Constitutions there are various places which very much favored Arianism, and, to use his own expression, were patched in by an Arian teacher.

Starck also has endeavored to estimate the Constitutions critically. He remarks that Eusebius mentions a *διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, which has frequently been held to be one and the same work with the Apostolical Constitutions; for this view was already in more ancient times expressed by Zonaras and Matthew Blastares, as it has been also by Baronius, Turrian, and Cotelerius. Nothing, however, he thinks, is more certain than that the two works are very different from each other. As a reason for his opinion, he states that the Constitutions contained much that was of a secret character, and were designed only for those who were occupied with the government and administration of ecclesiastical affairs; while, on the contrary, the *διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων* was only for the instruction of catechumens. Further on, when we examine the external evidences, we shall attend amply to this objection. Here we would only say beforehand, that the objection of Starck against regarding the *διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων* as an extract made for catechumens, is not well founded. He asserts that, in favor of this view, there is not the least

testimony among the ancients; while yet, unquestionably, the citation of Athanasius, in his Synopsis of Sacred Scripture,[1] is a valid document in favor of it; and, at least, by this testimony of Athanasius we are authorized to believe that there was actually such an extract, so that there would certainly be great probability in supposing this to be the work which was commended for the instruction of catechumens; especially when, in the Synopsis of Sacred Scripture, it is expressly mentioned that what is most true and divinely inspired, has been selected.

Respecting the other external evidences also, Starck has adduced only what is very unsatisfactory. In opposition to the opinion of Bruno and Le Clerc, he thinks that the Constitutions were neither made nor corrupted by Arians. But now, when Starck says, They who have conjectured this have not thought on the quotations of Epiphanius, nor have observed that there is no mention of them in the Arian controversies, — it may be replied, The citations of Epiphanius can give us no assurance that our Constitutions have not been corrupted by Arians. Then also, while we are willing here to abstain from the question how far the Constitutions of Epiphanius are identical with our Constitutions, Starck should have examined the citations of Epiphanius more accurately; and the differences between the places of the Constitutions, as Epiphanius adduces them, and the same places as they are in our present Constitutions, should have convinced him that changes and corruptions in this work have been attempted. Now, although Epiphanius, who often seeks too zealously after supposed heresies, would not have characterized the Constitutions as a work which contained nothing at variance with the Catholic system,[2] if at that time there had been in them any thing Arian; yet this proves only that any changes and corruptions which they may exhibit, first came in after the times of Epiphanius. Hence it is easy to perceive that the Constitutions could not be made the subject of remark in the Arian controversies, since the single Arian expressions which are now found in this work were not found in it at that time.

As to the Constitutions themselves, Starck judges that if we place together the traces occurring in them of more ancient and of more recent times, it becomes clear that they are neither the work of one man, nor the production of one age; but that they are a confused collection, made here and there, in the apostolical churches, of ecclesiastical laws, some of them being old, and some of them new; which probably, on account of those churches' having been guided by apostles, received the name

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[1] Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ.

[2] *Οὐδεν παρακεχαραγμένον τῆς πίστεως, οὐδε τῆς ὁμολογίας*, &c.

'instructions of the apostles' (*διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων*) or 'apostolical constitutions' (*ἀποστολικαὶ διατάξεις*). This view Starck, as it were by the way, seeks to derive from the testimony of the Presbyter Timotheus; which we shall examine in a subsequent discussion, where we shall endeavor to show that the view is erroneous. Further, Starck admits that it might be difficult to determine more nearly by whom the Constitutions were collected. Yet so much is proved, — that they were made at various earlier and later times; and some of them existed already in the second and the third century. Several of them appeared to him to have been taken from the book of Hippolytus, entitled Apostolical Traditions,[1] since, on the margin of the eighth book, almost throughout, the ancient manuscripts had the name of Hippolytus. It is not to be denied that this circumstance must necessarily have contributed to give currency to the opinion that the Constitutions were composed of various materials. Still more, however, must this opinion have gained in probability, when it appeared from the comparison of the Codex xxvi. Baroccianus, in the Bodleian library, that at least the eighth book consisted of various instructions; or, since several successive chapters of the eighth book were not found in this manuscript, that a number of various instructions were melted down into the eighth book. Here, since, in the examination respecting the eighth book, an extensive comparison of it with these instructions will be instituted, we merely intimate that, while neither manuscripts nor other external testimonies favor this view, no one ought, from the relation of the eighth book, to argue to all the other books; but, on the contrary, the fact that the eighth book exhibits a very different character from that of the others, ought to make us careful, in judging of the Constitutions, to discriminate between the first seven books and the eighth. But Starck, in concluding his judgment, observes that they were probably collected for the very first time, in the fifth century, by that individual who has collected the apostolical canons, and added them to the Constitutions.[2]

Schmidt, too, in his Ecclesiastical History, has expressed his view only in a general way. He leaves it undetermined whether the *διατάξεις* of Epiphanius are one and the same work with the *διδαχή* and the *διδαχαὶ* of Athanasius. Notwithstanding the council of Constantinople (in the year 692), and the testimony of Photius, it seems to him to be doubtful whether the Constitutions were corrupted, or whether it was only the fact that, at the time of this council, and at the time of

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[1] *Ἀποστολικαὶ παραδώσεις.*

[2] J. A. Starck, Geschichte des christliche Kirche des ersten Jahrhunderts. Zweiter Band, S. 502–514.

Photius, much was held to be heretical that was not yet held to be such in the times of Epiphanius. Still he admits that we cannot assume our Constitutions to be altogether those ancient ones; for much that the ancients read in theirs is not found in ours; but, on the other hand, we must admit that the work which we have, arose out of those ancient Constitutions; for it contains many passages which are quoted from them by Epiphanius and others.

Besides, according to Schmidt's opinion, most of the regulations show that they could not have been written earlier than in the fourth century. He has also, it is probable, felt the later origin of the eighth book; for, in concluding his judgment on the Constitutions, he adds, The nearer they advance towards their end, the more their contents seem to betray a later age. But when Schmidt further asserts that they doubtless were continually subjected to alteration, we find, at least, no document for this assertion in the external historical testimonies, so far as they go; and, as to the proof from internal reasons, this might not in general be easily brought.

Rosenmüller, in his History of the Interpretation of the Sacred Books, has furnished much that is valuable in assisting us to understand the plan and object which the author of the Constitutions had in writing or collecting them.[2] He also shows, in many places, how perpetually, in the Constitutions, their author is endeavoring to send us back to the Old Testament, and to its discipline and ecclesiastical regulations; and how he strives to draw analogies and parallels between the Levitical priesthood and the Christian worship, and to transfer the idea of this priesthood to the Christian church, in order thereby to gain a powerful authority for innovations in ecclesiastical discipline, and for the unlimited respect, the power and the influence of the Bishops in the hierarchy at that time gradually developing itself. But, as to the origin of the Constitutions, he presents us neither any thing new and peculiar, nor any critical result, drawn from the earlier investigations. He believes only that no one can determine who the author was, and at what time he wrote; but it seems to him probable that the Constitutions were collected neither by one author nor at one time, but by various authors and at various times; and that, in the progress of ages, new constitutions were added, as new occasions arose. In this manner, we may make a general reply to the general representation that in the work much is contained which already, in

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[1] J. E. Ch. Schmidt, Handbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte. Erste Theil, S. 481–484.

[2] Jo. Geo. Rosenmüller, Historia Interpretationis Librorum Sacrorum in Ecclesia Christiana inde ab Apostolorum ætate usque ad Origenem, pars i. p. 117–147.

the second century, was received in the Greek church, but much also which did not come into use before the third or fourth century. For suppose the Constitutions were prepared or collected in the third or fourth century, then their author or collector could, at the same time, besides the dogmas and disciplinary regulations which had become customary in his time, borrow much also from the earlier centuries, and take it into his Constitutions, without our being permitted to infer that he wrote in one of those earlier centuries.

But how important for the study of archæology our Constitutions are, may be perceived with peculiar clearness from the great archæological work, for which we in modern times are indebted to Augusti, who, by reviving this so important, and yet for a long time entirely neglected study, has unquestionably gained for himself great credit. For in all archæological investigations which concern the first three or four centuries, recourse can usually be had to our Constitutions; and since from them a great multitude of materials, or at least valuable contributions for most of the materials, of Christian archæology, can and must be derived, they are much used and had in view by this author, throughout all parts of his work. It is so much the more to be lamented, that he has not given a preliminary dissertation, comprehensive and entering into detail, respecting this so much contested, yet exceedingly important production; for with his extensive reading, and his knowledge of the proper sources, he would have been preëminently in a condition to establish a satisfactory result. For although Augusti reminds us,[1] that properly historico-critical investigations and new disclosures respecting unsettled and disputable points of Christian archæology did not lie within the scope of his work, and that the consideration of these subjects, as occasions present themselves, must not interfere with the principal tendency of the whole, which should be directed more to the general than to the particular; yet we believe, that, while even what is said in less important matters should have its value, it is not only desirable, but even necessary for the whole, here to examine more nearly, and to establish what is to be affirmed. For from his not having done this, there has arisen the awkwardness that in his many quotations and his multifarious use of the Constitutions, he could never refer to a result, or at least to an established opinion, of his own; and that, whenever he makes a citation, he must repeat that by most of the learned they are assigned to the fourth century, but that they contain various materials from the second century and the third. In this way, it is true, the using of the Constitutions is made very easy;

[1] Preface to the first volume of the Denkwürdigkeiten, p. 11.

but, on the other hand, it must necessarily appear arbitrary; and thus, indeed, it comes to rest on a mere assumption. We shall often have occasion to advert to the frequent use of the Constitutions, which is found in all the volumes of the work that we have just mentioned, and thence to show what may be regarded as Augusti's general view respecting the Constitutions, of whose origin and contents he, to be sure, has directly treated, but without having satisfied himself, as it appears from his citations elsewhere.

Augusti leaves it doubtful, whether the διδαχὴ and διδαχαὶ mentioned in Eusebius and Athanasius are one and the same work with our collection, since they gave no citations from them; yet the identity of our collection with that of Epiphanius could be shown. Without, however, instituting a nearer comparison between the Constitutions of Epiphanius and ours, Augusti mentions, that, certainly in Epiphanius also, some citations occur, which do not agree with our present text; but whether this diversity arises from a less exact quoting, made from memory, or from an entirely different edition, so to speak, could not be reduced to certainty. Respecting the rejection of the Constitutions by the Trullan Council, held at Constantinople, A.D. 692, Augusti conjectures that it was not so much dogmatic errors as ecclesiastico-political heresies, on account of which this council — which, in so many points, has opposed the Romish hierarchy — rejected the Constitutions. Then, after presenting an array of various opinions, he thinks it evident that all skilful judges, indeed, agree in the rejection of the apostolical origin and immediate promulgation of these Constitutions, but at the same time, also, that no one could place our present collection of them later than in the sixth century; and that most assume that there are contained in it materials, some of which are from the earliest period, and some, no doubt, from the second century and the third. This assumption is of itself, to a great extent, arbitrary; and it is easy to perceive that it is so broad and ambiguous as to give room for proceeding arbitrarily in using the Constitutions; and that Augusti, throughout his whole investigation, never gained a firm position, to which, amidst his abundant use of these documents in his great archæological work, he might go back, and sustain himself.

Here we must mention a new work in ecclesiastical history, which, if the inquiries and results laid down in it had proved themselves to be true and correct, must necessarily have made an epoch in the ecclesiastical history of the first three centuries. As we shall several times be under the necessity of referring to it, we here give briefly the result of the

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[1] Die *Agape* oder der geheime Weltbund der Christen, von Clemens in Rom unter Domitians Regierung gestiftet. Dargestellt von Dr. August Kestner. Jena, 1819.

investigation, and endeavor to refute it, so far as it concerns our Constitutions.

Kestner, in his work entitled *The Love Feast*, sought to point out the existence of a secret Christian confederacy, clear traces of which he thought that he had found in the historical sources of the first Christian centuries. According to his view, the plan was devised by the Roman Bishop Clement, to effect, throughout the world, a revolution which should make Christianity victorious over the religions, the manners, and the institutions of antiquity. By means of a secret confederacy which should prepare the way for the overthrow of the old politico-religious constitution of the world, that politic, far-seeing man, inspired by Christ, believed it possible to achieve the decided triumph of the Christian cause. By a great multitude of writings, forged agreeably to the spirit of the time, and to the object of the confederacy, and circulated under the names of Christians generally honored; by the introduction of a new mode of explaining the genuine writings of the apostles and prophets, invented for this purpose; and by true and energetic coadjutors in many countries, Clement first had the skill to combine into one body the various Christian, apostolical sects, and to give uniform regulations and discipline to all the compliant churches, according to his so-called Apostolical Constitution of the confederacy. This is set forth by Kestner himself, as the substance of his investigation.[1] After he has pointed out the existence of this confederacy, he endeavors to trace its history till towards the end of the second century. At the time of Clement's death, this confederacy, according to a very probable estimate, had more than a million of firmly attached adherents, scattered in all countries; and from history it would appear that, till the reign of the Antonines, the successors of Clement in the presidential chair of the confederacy at Rome had always, by their influence, held the extensive confederacy together, internally and externally; although it was only with effort, and by various shrewdly calculated and craftily executed measures, that they had been able to secure to themselves the supremacy.

It is impossible here to enter into a discussion respecting these discoveries; especially since the author himself, in his preface (p. 18), has announced that his historical evidence for the existence of such a Christian confederacy, established in the first century, rests not on single facts or on single historical statements, but on a whole series of such facts, and on their attitude in respect to each other. Still, I cannot forbear to express my judgment, that, however much in this work may be spiritedly

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[1] Einleitung, S. 17–22.

conceived and ingeniously combined, it presents no historical proof of the fact which it asserts. Perhaps it would not be too much to say, that he who has truly known Christianity, he who has experienced it in himself, he who, through all its centuries, has, with due examination, traced its history as a proof, continually renewing itself, of its divine power, would hardly be led to such a conjecture; which cannot fully explain the rapid extension of Christianity. But we are willing to leave this undetermined, in order to avoid the reproach of arbitrariness in our judgment. In the mean time, I cannot here pass over one circumstance which presents itself to historical criticism, and in view of which I do not hesitate to reject at once the hypothesis of Kestner. Most of the proofs which he thinks he can bring as deciding in favor of it are borrowed from sources whose value and fitness to be used are by no means made to appear. Those sources cannot be acknowledged as authentic, till accurate investigations, entering into detail respecting their origin, their compilation, and their contents, have presented something firm respecting the heterogeneous elements which they contain. He has also endeavored to make his hypothesis credible by testimonies whose validity and fitness to be admitted might not be assented to by ecclesiastical historians without further inquiry. Most of these documents and writings, from which he argues, have, by the greater part of learned Protestants and Catholics, been acknowledged as spurious productions of later writers palmed on their pretended authors, corrupted, too, it is probable, and not at all belonging in so early a period. Most of his discoveries, and the proofs for them, he derives from the Recognitions of Clement, from the Acts of his Martyrdom, from the pretended writings and letters of Dionysius the Areopagite, from the testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, from the Apocalypse of Ezra, from the epistles of Ignatius, &c.; all writings from which we should argue with great caution, and not altogether arbitrarily, as Kestner has done. He does, indeed, acknowledge that these writings are spurious, and much interpolated; but he asserts that they were forged and interpolated for the very purpose of serving the object of the Christian confederacy discovered by him, and that hence we may argue from them the sooner and the more confidently. But this may well pass for reasoning in a circle, till something better established, in respect to these writings, come in the place of an arbitrary judgment.

We now turn from this his general view, on which we think we have bestowed sufficient attention, and subject his view respecting our Constitutions to a nearer scrutiny.

Kestner[1] regards the Apostolical Constitutions as the statute-book of the Christian confederacy discovered by him, to which the collection of canons was added as a supplement. But he seems to have entirely misunderstood the external testimonies respecting the Constitutions, or to have explained them so as to favor his preconceived view. When he infers from the testimony of Eusebius,[2] that the Apostolical Constitutions, even those which contained the regulations of the Christian confederacy, were a work generally known in the time of that historian, it is, indeed, not easy to conceive how he could derive this from the testimony of Eusebius, who in the simplest terms mentions as belonging, among the apocryphal books, *what are called the teachings (or institutes) of the apostles*.[3] This is the more to be wondered at, since, doubtless, he must have known that Clement is never mentioned in any testimony of the ancients, before the second canon of the Trullan Council. Since, in the present so-called Constitutions, a multitude of regulations are contained, which can be referred, not to the catholic church of the confederacy, but to the hierarchical catholic church, Kestner concludes further, that, at the time of Epiphanius, when the Clementine confederacy, with its mysteries, had begun to be dissolved, the aim of those who sought for power was directed to set aside the old constitution of the confederacy, and to introduce a newly fabricated one in its place. Yet here also the testimonies are very confused. He says, indeed, that on a sudden, in the end of the fourth century, Epiphanius, in several of his writings, represents the Constitutions as a genuine work of the apostles. But how? Had Eusebius ever mentioned them as a work of Clement, or does not Eusebius call them *διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, as much as Epiphanius calls them *διάταξις τῶν ἀποστόλων*? A proof that the new so-called Apostolical Constitutions were substituted for the old, Kestner would deduce from the condemnatory judgment of the Trullan Council. But here the confusion reaches its highest point. For the Trullan Council rejects most expressly a Clementine edition of the Constitutions.[4] Hence, even if his hypothesis were true and tenable, he cannot once say that those hierarchico-ecclesiastical Constitutions, which should form an opposition to those pretended earlier Clementine Constitutions, were rejected by that council; but he must acknowledge that the work rejected was one which proceeded from Clement. A mere comparison of the Constitutions of Epiphanius with ours would have led him to the right result; — that,

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[1] P. 187.

[2] Ecclesiastical History, b. iii. c. 25.

[3] *Καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί.*

[4] *Τὰς τῶν αὐτων ἁγίων διὰ Κλήμεντος διατάξεις.*

certainly, the Constitutions were altered, but that this altering of them must have occurred, not between the time of Eusebius and that of Epiphanius, but, much rather, between the time of Epiphanius and that of the Trullan Council; for our Constitutions do not entirely agree with those of Epiphanius, and this council assigns, as the ground of rejecting them, their having been corrupted by heretics; while, on the other hand, Epiphanius testifies, respecting the Constitutions in his day, that they were free from all heresy.[1]

Gieseler[2] thinks that the Constitutions were composed towards the end of the third century, but that they underwent various modifications, according to the changes of ecclesiastical usages, till, in the fourth and the fifth century, they acquired their present form. With some earlier ecclesiastical historians, he supposes that the Constitutions contain materials from various times. But he has not indicated how far, according to his opinion, these modifications and changes have affected the Constitutions; whether the interpolations and corruptions concerned larger and essential parts of the Constitutions; or whether only changes in the detail, as, further on, we shall have occasion to show, have been undertaken.

Neander,[3] also, is of the opinion that the Constitutions gradually arose from various pieces produced in the latter part of the second century, and subsequently, till some time in the fourth. He remarks that the origin of these, perhaps, is analogous to the origin of the so-called apostolical creed. For as, originally, in a dogmatic respect, men spoke of an apostolical tradition, without supposing that apostles had set forth a confession of faith, so, in regard to the Constitution and usages of the church, men spoke, in the same sense, of an apostolical tradition, without supposing that the apostles had given written laws respecting these matters. From this mode of speaking, it came at last to be conceived that the apostles had written a confession of faith, and a collection of ecclesiastical laws. Hence, Neander remarks, various collections of this kind may have arisen; as that which Epiphanius adduces is manifestly not identical with our Constitutions. Still, from this circumstance, according to my conviction, it cannot be inferred that the collection which Epiphanius

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[1] H. P. K. Henke, in his Geschichte der christlichen Kirche, Bd. i. S. 393, mentions the Constitutions, though he does it only by the way. The same may be said of J. T L. Danz, in his Lehrbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte, Th. i. s. 59.

[2] Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, Bd. i. S. 113. [Text-book of Church History, vol. i. p. 68, in Cunningham's translation.]

[3] Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche, Bd. i. S. 1105. [General History of the Christian Religion and Church (where the author treats of the more eminent teachers), vol. i. p. 409, in Rose's translation; and p. 660, in Torrey's.]

knew, was another and entirely different collection from ours; but since, on the contrary, the Constitutions of Epiphanius are, in many places, identical with ours, it could only be inferred that, after his time, they suffered changes. But besides, if I should not succeed in showing the identity of the διδαχαὶ cited by Eusebius, with the διατάξεις of Epiphanius, still it will always remain problematical, whether there were different collections; and the reasons in favor of the identity will certainly, at least, counterbalance those which can be urged against it.

CHAPTER II.

DISCUSSION OF THE EXTERNAL TESTIMONIES RESPECTING THE CONSTITUTIONS.

Testimonies of Eusebius and Athanasius.

The first historical testimony for the Constitutions, we find in Eusebius, who died A.D. 340. It occurs in the twenty-fifth chapter of the third book of his Ecclesiastical History, the celebrated statement respecting 'the Sacred Scriptures acknowledged as genuine, and those that are not such.' In enumerating and judging the ancient ecclesiastical writings, he mentions, among the spurious and apocryphal books, our Constitutions; for he describes them by the expression, What are called the Instructions of the Apostles.[1] Besides this testimony of Eusebius, there are two testimonies of Athanasius, which we would examine in connection with this; for they are not less important in determining the age of the Constitutions. In one of his writings, Athanasius, who died A.D. 373, mentions a book, not indeed as canonical, but as commended by the fathers to be read by new converts and catechumens, and names this, What is called the Instruction of the Apostles.[2] In another, his

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[1] Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. b. iii. c. 25. Among the spurious must be numbered both the books called the Acts of Paul, and that called Pastor, and the Revelation of Peter. Besides these, the books called the Epistle of Barnabas, and *what are called the Instructions of the Apostles* (καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαὶ).

[2] In his Festal Epistle, Works, tom. ii. ed. Paris, p. 39, 40 [ed. Paris, 1698, p. 963]. There are also other books besides these, not placed in the canon indeed, but approved

Synopsis,[1] he introduces it among the opposed books of the New Testament.[2] Both the writers agree in their opinion respecting the book: Eusebius reckons it as *spurious;* Athanasius, as *not placed in the canon.* We may also, without doubt, regard their testimony as the first firm historical point, from which we shall be able to discover criteria for the time of its origin, or at least of its existence. But many have viewed the testimonies of both as quite unimportant, or, at least, as proving nothing in respect to the age of the Constitutions. They were of the opinion that both Eusebius and Athanasius had and described a work entirely different from our Constitutions; that their testimony, therefore, affords not the least evidence in favor of the Constitutions. Indeed, they went still further. They also denied the identity of the Constitutions which Eusebius and Athanasius adduce, with those which Epiphanius cites in many places of his work on Heresies. This opinion James Usher, especially, has endeavored to carry through; and Daillé[3] has not only assented to it, but has also endeavored to sustain and to establish it by some considerations superadded to those which are brought forward by Usher. But probably it was polemic zeal against Bovius and Turrian that carried them so far as to deny that the testimonies of Eusebius and Athanasius are of any importance, or indicate any thing in favor of our Constitutions. For Bovius and Turrian had directly assumed the identity of that work, the Instruction of the Apostles,[4] with our present Constitutions, and had endeavored to establish, on the above-adduced testimonies, its apostolic origin; incomprehensibly enough,

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by the fathers to be read by those who have recently come to us, and desire to be taught the doctrine of piety: The Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobias, and what is called the Instruction of the Apostles (*καὶ διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων*), and the Pastor. But, beloved, while those are placed in the canon, and these are read, there is nowhere any mention of the apocryphal; but they are the device of heretics, writing them indeed when they please, but gratuitously assigning and affixing dates to them, that, as bringing forward ancient documents, they may plausibly deceive the simple.

[1] It is, indeed, very uncertain whether this writing actually proceeded from Athanasius. At the same time, although it is not found in the manuscripts which contain his collected works, yet it is written in his spirit. The author is, unquestionably, of the Alexandrian school, and, in any case, does not belong to an age much later than that of Athanasius. The testimonials of the ancients give us no additional information respecting the author of this writing.

[2] Synopsis Scripturæ Sacræ; Works, tom. ii. p. 154 [p. 202, ed. Paris, 1698]. *Τῆς νέας πάλιν διαθήκης ἀντιλεγόμενα ταῦτα· — περίοδοι Πέτρου, περίοδοι Ἰωάννου, περίοδοι Θωμᾶ, εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶν, διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων, Κλημέντια· ἐξ ὧν, μετεφράσθησαν ἐκλεγέντα τὰ ἀληθέστερα καὶ θεόπνευστα. Ταῦτα τὰ ἀναγινωσκόμενα,* &c.

[3] In the work already cited, i. c. 4, p. 62.

[4] *Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων.*

to be sure, since even those ecclesiastical fathers so decidedly deny them apostolical authority, and ascribe to them only a very subordinate value.

While we unhesitatingly admit that those Constitutions with which Eusebius and Athanasius were acquainted, are not our present Constitutions, it may be confidently asserted that, in all probability, they are the same which Epiphanius, in many places, quotes expressly and copiously.

We will state distinctly the various reasons which can be adduced for and against this identity. The first objection against it is borrowed from the Festal Epistle of Athanasius. He reckons the Instruction of the Apostles[1] among the books which must be used in teaching catechumens:[2] but the Constitutions are directed to the Bishops; they treat very much of ecclesiastical government; and by the eighty-fifth canon it is expressly forbidden to communicate them to all, 'because of the mysteries contained in them.'[3] At the same time, much may be said in reply. While in the eighty-fifth canon it is expressly said, 'And the Constitutions dedicated to you the Bishops, by me Clement, in eight books,'[4] it is also, on the other hand, said, in the same canon, 'Let the following books be venerable and holy to you all, clergy and laity.'[5] Even admit that this could be explained otherwise, and that the preceding objection is not removed by it; yet, unquestionably, we may oppose to that objection the beginning of the first book of the Constitutions, 'The apostles and elders to all those who, from among the Gentiles, have believed on the Lord Jesus Christ.'[6] To this we may add, that from our investigation, it will appear that the eighty-fifth canon was, in all probability, added by a later hand; that, at least, it is not so ancient as the first edition of the Constitutions,[7] which Eusebius, Athanasius, and Epiphanius, had before them; so that we cannot well hesitate to conclude that nothing can be inferred against Athanasius from the eighty-fifth canon, and, consequently, nothing against our Constitutions from the testimony of Athanasius.

There are also, for the Constitutions, two testimonies, which, although they belong to a far later time, we would here, on account of the connection, examine carefully; for from them arguments are brought against our

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[1] Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων.

[2] Ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον.

[3] Διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μυστικά.

[4] Καὶ αἱ διαταγαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις δι' ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἐν ὀκτὼ βιβλίοις προσεφωνημέναι.

[5] Ἔστω δὲ ὑμῖν πᾶσι κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοις βιβλία σεβάσμια καὶ ἅγια.

[6] Οἱ ἀποστόλοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πιστεύσασιν εἰς τὸν κύριον, &c.

[7] Διατάξεις.

Constitutions. Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, mentions a work entitled the Instruction of the Apostles.[1] In like manner, Nicephorus Callisti mentions the Apostolical Constitutions.[2] Both the works adduced by these writers must, according to the opinion of some, be different from our Constitutions. For the Instruction named by Nicephorus of Constantinople contained, according to the translation of the librarian Anastasius, only two hundred lines. Hence, on account of its containing so little, Daillé rejects the idea entirely, that our Constitutions could ever have been thus described, consisting, as they did, of eight books, of no inconsiderable extent. At the same time, we must here not overlook a very ingenious conjecture, which also Daillé[3] presents, but, in reference to this point, has left unnoticed. It is, he thinks, not only possible, but very probable, that there were of the Constitutions two simultaneous *editions* —(may I be permitted to use this expression, since a false notion could easily be connected with the word *collection*, as if these books had arisen from many small parts); — that the one edition embraced all the eight books of the Constitutions; but that the other was, as it were, only an extract, leaving out all that was false and injurious, or less useful for the multitude. This conjecture is founded especially on the fact, that, respecting the Instruction of the Apostles,[4] Athanasius seems to judge more favorably in the Festal Epistle than in the Synopsis; and since he, in the Synopsis, adds, — From which disputed books the more true and divinely inspired portions being selected, these have been moulded into a different form,[5] — we may reasonably conclude that it is the extract which he, in his Festal Epistle, commends to the catechumens; and that it was even this which Nicephorus, in his chronology, cites to us, since he perhaps had seen only this, and not the whole work. To invalidate the objection of which we are speaking, we might also prefer the reading of the manuscript of John Croius, which, instead of the letter (σ′) indicating two hundred, has the letters (στ′) indicating five hundred. Still, this is quite unnecessary; and, unless we assume that there were two editions, many difficulties would remain unexplained. By assuming this, the objection would entirely fall away, which is brought from the last canon against the testimony of Athanasius; for, while he found the extract

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[1] In the end of his Chronology, where, concerning the books of the Scriptures, he says, Καὶ ὅσα τῆς νέας εἰσὶν ἀπόκρυφα . . . . διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων στίχοι σ′. &c.

[2] Nicephorus Callisti, Eccles. Hist. b. 3. c. 18. Τοῦτον συγγραφέα καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν διατάξεων, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἱερων κανόνων πιστεύομεν.

[3] In the work already cited, p. 66–68.

[4] Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων.

[5] Ἐξ ὧν μετεφράσθησαν ἐκλεγέντα τὰ ἀληθέστερα καὶ θεόπνευστα.

from the Constitutions useful for the catechumens, he would, perhaps, on the same account as the last canon, have found the entire Constitutions unsuitable for them. Two external testimonies, moreover, may be brought in favor of the opinion that the Instruction[1] mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius was regarded as similar to the Constitutions of the Apostles, written by Clement.[2] These are that of Zonaras on the Festal Epistle of Athanasius, quoted by Usher, in his Prolegomena to the Epistles of Ignatius, c. 7;[3] and that of Matthew Blastares, who, for the most part, agrees with him.[4]

The third reason for his assertion, Usher has drawn from the catalogue of the sacred books, which is appended to the Questions of Anastasius of Nice, and is found in the library of the University of Oxford. There the Instruction of the Apostles[5] and the Teaching of Clement[6] are brought forward as different works, and both described as apocryphal. Certainly it is not to be denied that our Constitutions are called a Teaching.[7] Turrian states that he found, in an old Greek manuscript, this title, together with that of the Institutes,[8] and has connected them both together; whence has arisen the present superscription which the Constitutions bear. This title of a Teaching[9] is confirmed even by the Constitutions, which ascribe this name to themselves in several places: as b. i. c. 1; b. ii. c. 39; b. vi. c. 14 and 18. This name occurs also in a citation by Epiphanius, Heresy lxxx. 7.[10] Hence, some have judged that the Instructions[11] must have been different from our Constitutions.

In the catalogue, also, which is appended to the Questions of Anastasius, in the manuscript 1789 of the Royal Library at Paris, the Instructions of the Apostles (*διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων*) and the Teaching of Clement (*διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος*) are presented as different works; but here it is important to remember the difference, which has been proved to be highly probable, between the whole work and the extract. Even irrespectively of this, however, why may there not have been a Teaching

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[1] *Διδαχή.*

[2] *Διατάξεις τῶν ἀποστολῶν διὰ τοῦ Κλήμεντος γραφείσας.*

[3] MSS. 277, 507, in the Royal Library. *Τὴν δὲ διδαχὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τινὲς λέγουσιν εἶναι τὰς διὰ τοῦ Κλήμεντος γραφείσας τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεις, ἃς ἡ λεγομένη ἕκτη σύνοδος ἀναγινώσκεσθαι οὐ συγχωρεῖ, ὡς νοθευθείσας καὶ παραφθαρείσας ὑπὸ αἱρετικῶν.*

[4] Collector Canonum ineditus, in multorum bibliothecis latens, lit. *β*, cap. 11; where, concerning the passage in Athanasius, he says: *Ἐξωθεν δὲ τῶν κανονιζομένων εἶναί φησιν, τὴν σοφίαν Σολομῶντος, &c. τὸν ποιμένα καὶ τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων· ταύτην δὲ ἡ ἕκτη σύνοδος ἠθέτησεν.*

[5] *Διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.* [6] *Διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος.*

[7] *Διδασκαλία.* [8] *Διαταγαί.* [9] *Διδασκαλία.*

[10] *Ἐν ταῖς διατάξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων φάσκει ὁ θεῖος λόγος καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία.*

[11] *Διδαχαί.*

of Clement (διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος) different from the Teaching generally used (καθολικὴ διδασκαλία)? Indeed, we still find traces of there having been very many other Teachings (διδασκαλίαι). Thus there was Peter's Teaching, mentioned by Origen and Damascenus; there were also the Teachings of the Holy Apostles (διδασκαλίαι τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων), mentioned in a work on jurisprudence;[1] and there is found among the Ethiopians an Apostolic Teaching.

To the reasons which have been considered, Daillé adds a fourth, as follows: — Athanasius, in his Synopsis, mentions and distinguishes the Instruction of the Apostles (διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων) and the Clementines (Κλημέντια) as two books; but our Constitutions must have been contained in the Clementines, if they had been the same with the Instruction (διδαχὴ); for they bear the name of Clement as the individual who arranged them. In explaining this circumstance, the distinction which we have already made between the whole work and the extract comes to our aid; and here we must hold it fast. That extract might well be meant, when the Instruction (διδαχὴ) was mentioned; and Athanasius could not include it under the general name of the Clementines, since he probably did not know by whom it had been prepared. Besides, Cotelerius also brings a passage from Nicephorus,[2] where even the Apostolical Constitutions (διατάξεις ἀποστολικαὶ) and the Clementines (τὰ Κλημέντια) are named as two different works; so that the citation of Athanasius is nothing unusual, and does not prove what some have supposed could be deduced from it.

The fifth objection Daillé has derived from the silence of Eusebius. In his Ecclesiastical History, b. iii. c. 15 and 16, where he speaks concerning the first epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, he represents it as being authentic and admirable. Here he would have had occasion to speak of our Constitutions; but he mentions neither the Constitutions (διατάξεις) nor the Instruction (διδαχὴ) of the Apostles. Still, in reference to this, it is worth while to consider b. iii. c. 38, where Eusebius, as it were on purpose, treats very copiously concerning the works of Clement; and where he rejects the second epistle to the Corinthians, which is extant under the name of Clement, and then adds the following: — There are also other writings, verbose and of great length, which, not long since, some have brought forward as his, — containing the dialogues of Peter and of Apion; of which there is no mention at all among the ancients; nor do they preserve pure the character

[1] Lib. v. Juris Græco-Romani, in interrogatione secunda Marci Alexandri et responsione Theodori Balsamonis ad illam.

[2] Hist. b. 3, c. 18.

of the apostolic orthodoxy.[1] But, above all, should be considered the sentence with which Eusebius, in that very place, finishes his critique on the writings of Clement: — 'The writing, therefore, of Clement, which is acknowledged as genuine, is evident.'[2]

From this, to be sure, it would now seem that, whether the Instructions of the Apostles (*διδαχαὶ ἀποστόλων*) bore the name of Clement, rightfully or wrongfully, Eusebius must here have mentioned and judged them. Still, something on the contrary may be said with good reason. In the first place, it is not necessary to urge particularly, in this passage, the silence of Eusebius, as must certainly have been done, had he not, in b. iii. c. 25, mentioned 'what are called the Instructions of the Apostles' (*τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί*). Besides, Eusebius has here, in like manner, passed over in silence the Constitutions of Clement (*διατάξεις τοῦ Κλήμεντος*), as he has the Clementine Journeys, which, in another place, he has mentioned under the name of the Acts of Peter. But it is probable that, although the Constitutions were then already known under the name of the Apostolical Constitutions, they were not yet ascribed to Clement.

Finally, it is alleged that our Constitutions, which contained many Arian doctrines, had not been used by the Arians to sustain their errors; that at least Athanasius had not deemed it necessary to contradict them as such. Hence it follows of itself, that although in the times of Athanasius there was a work entitled the Instruction of the Apostles (*διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*), yet our Constitutions had not come into existence; and that, therefore, our present Constitutions were composed out of the Instruction of the Apostles (*διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*) and the Constitutions (*διατάξεις*) mentioned by Epiphanius. On the other side, Cotelerius rightly objects that the Arians could then have brought forward many other writings, and Athanasius would have had to contradict many; and he adduces, as an example, that the Recognitions of Clement, though full of Arianism, were not used by them to promote their cause. At least, no trace of this is found in the writings of Athanasius. It is readily admitted to be very strange that our Constitutions, if then extant in their present form, were not used in order to set forth as apostolical the principal dogma in which they departed from the general church; for, as to the dogma of the Trinity, our present Constitutions

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[1] *Ἤδη δε καὶ ἕτερα πολυεπῆ καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χθὲς καὶ πρώην τινὲς προήγαγον, Πέτρου δὴ καὶ Ἀπιώνος διαλόγους περιέχοντα· ὧν οὐδ' ὅλως μνήμη τις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς φέρεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀποσώζει τὸν χαρακτῆρα.*

[2] *Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογουμένη γραφὴ, πρόδηλός ἐστιν.*

speak entirely in the Arian spirit. But, on the contrary, it is very natural that the Arians have not used the Constitutions for this purpose. For, in the beginning of the Arian controversy, the Constitutions were not yet extant in the form in which we have them at present, and in which much that is Arian is contained. Our aim is not to show that the Instruction of the Apostles (*διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*) is not different from our Constitutions, but only that, in all probability, it is one and the same with the Constitutions (*διατάξεις*) mentioned by Epiphanius. But whether the Constitutions mentioned by Epiphanius are the same which we now possess, or not, or how far they have been corrupted by heretics, will be considered further on, in an investigation devoted to that subject.

Here it will be enough to remark, that Epiphanius mentions them in such a way as shows that they contained nothing heretical, or at variance with the orthodoxy of the general church; which (on Heresy lxx. 10) he says expressly.[1] Hence it is evident that the Constitutions, since they contained nothing particularly favorable to Arianism, could not be adduced by the Arians; so that we are here under no necessity of assuming that the Instruction of the Apostles (*διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*) and the Constitutions mentioned by Epiphanius are different. For were this to be assumed, then it would remain unexplained how our Constitutions could have remained unknown to Eusebius and Athanasius, those thorough and diligent inquirers into ecclesiastical antiquities. But we must assume that they did remain unknown, if they were not mentioned as the Instructions of the Apostles.

Grabe[2] assents to the opinion of Usher, but without assigning any reasons which we have not already considered.

Comparison of the Testimonies of Epiphanius with those of the second Trullan canon, and of Photius.

The testimony of Epiphanius is of very great value to us, since, in many places of his work on heresies, he introduces the Constitutions, judges respecting their contents, and, in doing this, gives us, as it were, a measuring rod, according to which we may make an estimate of the Constitutions with which he was acquainted. In another respect, too, his testimony is of importance. Several citations which, in that work,

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[1] *Πᾶσα γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ κανονικὴ τάξις ἐμφέρεται, καὶ οὐδεν παρακεχαραγμένον τῆς πίστεως, οὐδε τῆς ὁμολογίας, οὐδε τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διοικήσεως, καὶ κανόνος καὶ πίστεως*, &c.

[2] In his Spicilegium Patrum Sæculi I. p. 41.

he has made from the Constitutions, enable us to institute a comparison between the Constitutions which we now possess, and those which he had before him; and this will lead us to important results.

The judgment of Epiphanius respecting the Constitutions seems very favorable. He says, indeed, that the book was doubted by many, but yet that it was not to be rejected. It contained nothing that was heretical, or that departed from the ecclesiastical orthodoxy, discipline, and government.[1] Besides, he introduces the decisions of the Constitutions, in other places, always with great respect. To this judgment we must attribute the more weight, since we know how very much averse Epiphanius was to all heterodoxy, and that, in this respect, he has often gone too far. Hence it is not a little striking that these Constitutions, to which he awards, in full measure, the praise of orthodoxy, have, at a later period, been rejected on account of heterodoxy charged upon them. And yet it is so. In the second canon of the Trullan Council[2] [A.D. 692], we find this cause expressly assigned for the rejection of the Constitutions. By the heterodox they have been interpolated, and what is heretical mingled with them, for the ruin of the church; and this has contributed to darken the splendor of the divine doctrines. Therefore, said the fathers, we have, for the welfare of the church, cast them away.[3] Of the same import is the judgment of

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[1] Heresy lxx. 11. *Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ Αὐδιανοὶ παραφέρουσι τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων διάταξιν, οὖσαν μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ἀμφιλέκτῳ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδόκιμον· πᾶσα γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ κανονικὴ τάξις ἐμφέρεται, καὶ οὐδὲν παρακεχαραγμένον τῆς πίστεως, οὐδὲ τῆς ὁμολογίας, οὐδὲ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διοικήσεως*, &c. [But to this the same Audians perversely apply the Constitution of the Apostles, a work doubted by most, but not to be cast away; for in it every canonical arrangement is contained, and no adulteration of the faith, or of the profession, or of the ecclesiastical administration.]

[2] *Σύνοδος πενθέκτη*, concilium quinisextum.

[3] *Ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῇ ἁγίᾳ ταύτῃ συνόδῳ καλλιστά τε καὶ σπουδαιότατα, ὥστε μένειν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν βεβαίους, καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς πρὸς ψυχῶν θεραπείαν καὶ ἰατρείαν παθῶν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀποστόλων ὀγδοήκοντα πέντε κανόνας. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς κανόσιν ἐντέταλται δέχεσθαι ἡμᾶς τὰς τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος διατάξεις, αἷς τισι πάλαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, νόθα τινὰ καὶ ξένα τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρενετέθησαν, τὸ εὐπρεπὲς κάλλος τῶν θείων δογμάτων ἡμῖν ἀμαυρώσαντα, τὴν τῶν τοιούτων διατάξεων προσφόρως ἀποβολὴν πεποιήμεθα, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου ποιμνίου οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, οὐδαμῶς ἐγκρίνοντες τὰ τῆς αἱρετικῆς ψευδολογίας κυήματα, καὶ τῇ γνησίᾳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ὁλοκληρῷ διδαχῇ παρενείροντες.* [To this holy council it has seemed most suitable and most expressive of our watchful care, that the eighty-five canons, by the holy and glorious apostles who were before us, remain henceforth firm and infallible for the culture of souls and the remedy of passions; but, since in these canons it is commanded that ye receive the Constitutions of the same Holy Apostles by Clement, in which, long ago, certain things, spurious and unknown to the church, were, to its injury, inserted by the heterodox,

Photius [Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 858 —], who communicates to us several charges which were commonly brought against the Constitutions, and particularly attributes to them Arianism.[1] On the one hand, it is impossible to suspect the testimony of Epiphanius; and on the other, those of the second canon and of Photius. Hence it only remains to assume, that, during the period which elapsed between Epiphanius and the second canon [that is, between the time when he wrote his work against heresies, about A.D. 380, and the time when the Trullan Council assembled, A.D. 692], the Constitutions which Epiphanius had must have been altered; and that, most probably, they were still uncorrupted in his time, but were interpolated afterwards. In this way we may reconcile the praise bestowed by Epiphanius, with the condemnation pronounced by the second canon of that council, and by Photius.

How far this interpolation and corruption extended; whether it affected the whole work; whether pieces of considerable extent have been added; or whether the corruption and the heretical addition occur only in particular places, and by inserting expressions of no great length, is reserved for another examination, which we shall hereafter institute. Here we shall limit ourselves to a comparison of the passages from the Constitutions, that are found in the testimonies of Epiphanius, with the same

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darkening for us the becoming beauty of the divine doctrines, we have cast away such Constitutions advantageously for the edification and safety of the most Christian flock; for we would by no means sanction the products of heretical falsehood, and secretly connect them with the genuine and unmutilated instruction of the apostles.]

[1] Photius, Biblothec. cod. 112, 113. *Ἀνεγνώσθη Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ῥώμης τεύχη βιβλίων δύο· ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπιγράφεται διαταγαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ οἱ τῶν συνοδικῶν κανόνων τῷ ἀθροίσματι τῶν ἀποστόλων κανόνες ἐπιγραφόμενοι περιέχονται.* [There have been read of Clement of Rome two books; one of which is entitled Constitutions of the Apostles by Clement; in which also are contained the canons, which, in the collection of synodical canons, are entitled those *of the Apostles.*] And below: *Αἱ δὲγε διαταγαὶ τρισὶ μόνοις δοκοῦσιν ἐνέχεσθαι· κακοπλαστίᾳ, ἣν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀποσκευάσασθαι· καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῦ δευτερονομίου ὕβρις τίνας ἐπαφίησαν, ἃ καὶ ῥᾴστον διαλύσασθαι· καὶ ἔτι Ἀρειανισμῷ, ὅπερ ἄν τις καὶ βιαίως διακρούσαιτο. Ἡ μέντοιγε τῶν τοῦ Πέτρου πράξεων βίβλος τῷ τε λαμπρῷ καὶ τῇ σεμνότητι, καὶ ἔτι τῷ καθαρῷ καὶ συντόνῳ, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ πολυμαθείᾳ, τοσούτο ἔχει πρὸς τὰς διαταγὰς τὸ παραλλάττον, ὡς μηδὲ συγκρίσει τῇ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους πρὸς ἀλλήλας παραβάλλεσθαι τὰς βίβλους.* [But the Constitutions seem to be obnoxious only to three charges; — to that of being badly constructed, — which it is not difficult to repel; to that of admitting certain injurious remarks respecting the second law, — which it is easy to explain away; and, moreover, to that of Arianism, — a charge which any one must use violence to thrust aside. Indeed, the book of the Acts of Peter, both in splendor and gravity, and further in purity and strength, and in other qualities of good writing, and in erudition, has so much that excels the Constitutions, that, in respect to style, the two works are not to be compared with each other.]

passages of our Constitutions, as we have them at the present time; and thus the most striking proof may be deduced for the opinion which we have expressed, that the Constitutions were corrupted after the time of Epiphanius. For the passages adduced by him are indeed found in our Constitutions, but often very different in the words as well as in the sense.

Comparison of the Constitutions mentioned by Epiphanius, so far as we know them from his testimonies, with the Constitutions which we have.

There is in Epiphanius a very remarkable passage, which is borrowed from the Constitutions as they were in his time, but which stands in full contradiction to them as they are at the present time. It commands what our Constitutions forbid.[1] The apostles, Epiphanius relates, had, in the regulation respecting the celebration of the Passover [Easter], given the command not to dispute about it with one another, but to celebrate it when the brethren who were of the circumcision did, and to keep the feast in conjunction with them. Now it is ascertained that they who of the circumcision embraced Christianity celebrated the Passover at the same time with the Jews; that is, before the vernal equinox. Thus the Constitutions of Epiphanius permit the celebration of the Passover at the same time with the Jews; and Epiphanius adds that this decision was made by the apostles for the preservation of unity, as they testify, saying, that 'Even if they [who were Jews] err in their computation, let it not give you concern.' But how entirely different the command of our Constitutions! It is exactly the opposite of that which we find handed

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[1] Heresy lxx. 10. Τὸ δὲ ῥητὸν ἀφ' οὗ λαμβάνοντες περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα κακῶς παρερμηνέυουσιν οἱ προειρημένοι, καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες ἑτέρως ἀπολαμβάνουσιν. Ὁρίζουσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ διατάξει οἱ Ἀποστόλοι, ὅτι ὑμεις μὴ ψηφίζητε, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖτε ὅταν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς· μετ' αὐτῶν ἅμα ποιεῖτε. Καὶ οὐκ εἶπαν· ὅταν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν, οἱ ἐν περιτομῇ, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, ἵνα δείξωσι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς περιτομῆς εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν μετελθόντας, ἀρχηγοὺς εἶναι μετ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον· &c. Παρὰ τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις δὲ τὸ ῥητὸν δι' ὁμόνοιαν ἐμφέρεται, ὡς ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι, λέγοντες, ὅτι κἂν τε πλανηθῶσι, μηδὲ ὑμῖν μελέτω. [But the persons who have been mentioned interpret erroneously the passage from which they quote respecting the Passover; and they distort it through their ignorance. For the apostles, in the same Constitution, determine that ye should not yourselves compute, but keep it when your brethren do who are of the circumcision: keep it with them. And they did not say, When your brethren who are in the circumcision, but who are of the circumcision; that they might exhibit those who had come from the circumcision to the church, as leaders after that time, &c. But with the apostles the precept is introduced for the sake of concord; as they testify, saying, that even if they err in their computation, let it not give you concern.]

down in Epiphanius. Compare b. v. c. 17. The day of the Passover, it is there said, must be exactly and carefully celebrated *after the vernal equinox.* The old custom of keeping the feast at the same time with the Jews must be observed no more; for the Christians had no communion with them; but the vernal equinox must be exactly observed.[1] It is manifest at once, that this stands completely in contradiction to the Constitutions which Epiphanius used; and that they must necessarily have been corrupted at a later period, if we hold the book from which he took his citations to be the Constitutions which we now have. But, in the next place, all the external means of judging must render it in the highest degree probable that only the Constitutions which we have can be meant; and, finally, what is the most convincing proof, Epiphanius, in other places, gives us, from the Constitutions in question, several citations, which are found precisely the same in ours. Thus, for example, what is said on Heresy xlv. 5,[2] agrees entirely with the Constitutions, b. i. c. 1, at the beginning.[3] And on Heresy lxxx. 7,[4] though the same words do not occur, yet something similar is found in the Constitutions, b. i. c. 3.[5] Both places zealously oppose unnecessary and luxurious ornament, and the cutting of the beard.

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[1] Apostolical Constitutions, b. v. c. 17. *Δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοὶ, τοὺς τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τιμίῳ ἐξηγορασμένους αἵματι, τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ πάσχα ἀκριβῶς ποιεῖσθαι, μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας, μετὰ τροπὴν ἰσημερινήν· ὅπως μὴ δὶς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἑνὸς παθήματος μνείαν ποιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους τοῦ ἅπαξ ἀποθανόντος· μηκέτι δὲ παρατηρούμενοι μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἑορτάζειν· οὐδεμία γὰρ κοινωνία ὑμῖν νῦν πρὸς αὐτούς· πεπλάνηνται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ψῆφον, ἣν νομίζουσιν ἐπιτελεῖν· ὅπως πανταχόθεν ὦσι πεπλανημένοι, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπεσχοινισμένοι· ὑμεῖς δε φυλάσσεσθε ἀκριβῶς τὴν ἰσημέριον τροπὴν τῆς ἐαρινῆς ὥρας*, &c. [Therefore, brethren, ye, who are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, ought diligently to celebrate the days of the Passover, with all carefulness, after the equinox, that ye keep not the memorial of the one passion twice in a year, but once only in a year for him that died but once; no longer indeed scrupulously caring to celebrate the feast with the Jews; for with them we now have no fellowship. For they are deceived in respect to the computation itself, which they think to carry into effect; as on every side they are deceived, and are separated from the truth. But do ye regard attentively the vernal equinox.]

[2] *Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἀποστόλοι φασιν ἐν τῇ διατάξει τῇ καλουμένῃ, ὅτι φυτεία θεοῦ καὶ ἀμπελὼν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.* [But also the apostles, in what is called the Constitution, say that the catholic church is the plantation and vineyard of God.]

[3] *Θεοῦ φυτεία ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία καὶ ἀμπελὼν αὐτοῦ ἐκλεκτὸς.* [The catholic church is the plantation of God and his beloved vineyard.]

[4] *Καὶ περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ γενείου ἐν ταῖς διετάξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων φάσκει ὁ θεῖος λόγος καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία μὴ φθείρειν, τουτ' ἐστι μὴ τέμνειν τρίχας γενείου, μηδὲ ἑταιρισμῷ κατακοσμεῖσθαι.* — [And indeed concerning the chin, therefore, the divine word and teaching in the Constitutions of the Apostles, says: Do not mar, that is, do not cut, the hair of the chin, nor use meretricious ornament.]

[5] *Οὐκ ἔξεστι σοι τρέφειν τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ποιεῖν εἰς ἕν, ὁ ἔστι σπατάλιον· ἢ*

On Heresy lxxv. 6, Epiphanius mentions the Constitution of the Apostles concerning the fasts on the *fourth* and *sixth* days of the week, and respecting the eating of dry food in the great week.[1] These prescriptions we find very fully expressed also in several places of our Constitutions.[2]

The agreement of all these places clearly proves that Epiphanius has cited from our Constitutions, although after his time these have been subjected to many a change and interpolation.

ἀπόχυμα, ἢ μεμερισμένην τηρεῖν· οὐδε μὲν ὀγκοποιεῖν, ἢ διαξαίνοντα τε καὶ πλάσσοντα οὐλην διατιθεῖν, ἢ ξανθοποιεῖν αὐτήν. . . . . Χρὴ δὲ οὐδὲ γενείου τρίχα διαφθείρειν, καὶ τὴν μορφὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παρὰ φύσιν ἐξαλλάσσειν. Οὐκ ἀπομαδαρώσετε γὰρ, φησιν ὁ νόμος, τοὺς πώγωνας ὑμῶν. [It is not lawful for thee to nourish the hair of the head, and to bring it together so as to form a tuft, nor to keep it spread out or divided, nor to make it puff up, or by combing and platting dispose it to curl, nor to make it yellow. . . . . Nor is it right to destroy the hair of the chin, and change unnaturally the form of a man. For, saith the law, Ye shall not shave off your beards.]

[1] *Εἰ δὲ καὶ χρὴ τὸ τῆς διατάξεως τῶν ἀποστόλων λέγειν, πῶς ἐκεῖ ὡρίζοντο τετράδα καὶ προσάββατον νηστείαν διὰ παντὸς, χωρὶς πεντεκοστῆς· καὶ περὶ τῶν ἓξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ Πάσχα, πῶς παραγγέλλουσι μηδὲν ὅλως λαμβάνειν, ἢ ἄρτου καὶ ἅλος καὶ ὕδατος, ποίαν τε ἡμέραν ἄγειν, πῶς τε ἀπολύειν εἰς ἐπιφώσκουσαν κυριακὴν, φανερόν ἐστι.* And below: *Εἶτα δὲ εἰ μὴ περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως τετράδων καὶ προσαββάτων οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀποστόλοι ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἔλεγον, καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ πανταχόθεν εἴχομεν ἀποδείξαι· ὅμως περὶ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς γράφουσι.* [But if it be right to mention a passage in the Constitution of the Apostles, how they there determined the fast on the fourth and the sixth day of the week always, except Pentecost; and concerning the six days of the Passover, how they command to take nothing at all but bread, and salt, and water, what day to celebrate, and how to dismiss at the dawning of the Lord's day, is manifest. . . . . But then if the same apostles, in the Constitution, had not spoken concerning the same subject of the fourth and sixth-day fasts, we had been able from every side in other ways to prove the point; nevertheless concerning this they write diligently.]

[2] See book v. chap. 15: He therefore himself charged us to fast these six days, on account of the impiety and transgression of the Jews. But he commanded us to fast on the fourth and the sixth day of the week; the former on account of his being betrayed, and the latter on account of his passion. But he commanded that we break our fast on the seventh day, at the cock-crowing, but to fast during the Sabbath itself. Chap. 18: Do ye therefore fast on the days of the Passover, beginning from the second day of the week until the Preparation and the Sabbath, six days; making use of only bread, and salt, and herbs, and water for your drink. But abstain from wine and flesh on these days; for they are days of lamentation, and not of feasting. Do ye who are able fast the day of the Preparation and the Sabbath entirely, tasting nothing till the cock-crowing of the night. Chap. 19: Wherefore we exhort you to fast on those days till the evening, as we also fasted when he was taken away from us. But on the rest of the days, before the day of the Preparation, let every one eat at the ninth hour, or at the evening, or as every one is able. But on the Sabbath, extending the fast till the cock-crowing, discontinue it at the dawn of the first day of the week, which is the Lord's day, keeping awake from evening till the cock-crowing.

If we pursue the comparison further, we find in Epiphanius (Heresy lxx. 10) a precept quoted from the Constitutions, which we do not find in ours. There it is prescribed that the Christians keep a vigil in the midst of the time of unleavened bread.[1] On the contrary, our Constitutions (b. v. c. 19) appoint only that the vigil be held on the great Sabbath, from evening till cock-crowing.

The citation, too, which Epiphanius (Heresy lxx. 11[2]) adduces from his Constitutions, we attempt in vain to find in ours; and when he there adduces as a decision of the apostles, *He that afflicteth his own soul on the Lord's day is accursed of God*,[3] we cannot sufficiently wonder how Epiphanius could regard this decision (which we besides have not in our printed Constitutions) as coming from the apostles, since nothing is more contrary to the spirit of their doctrine, than that they from whom the annulling of all [such] external statutes proceeded, should have again instituted so external a command, and have decided in a manner so harsh and unlovely. The precept which Epiphanius cites (on Heresy lxx. 12[4]) is found for the most part in various chapters (13, 15, 18, 19) of the fifth book of our Constitutions.

If we look back upon the comparison through which we have gone, the unavoidable result seems to be, that the work which Epiphanius quotes is, for the most part, identical with our Constitutions; that the identity of the two, in view of the places which agree, cannot be denied; but that, on the other hand, this work after his time suffered interpolations and corruptions, which we can, with great probability, place in the period

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[1] Ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐκεῖσε εἰρημένων ῥητων ἡ ἀντίθησις ὀφθήσεται, φάσκουσι γὰρ τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν φέρειν, μεσαζόντων τῶν ἀζύμων. Οὐ δύναται δὲ τοῦτο πάντοτε γενέσθαι ἐν τῇ ψήφῳ τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ. [But from what is there said (in the Apostolical Constitutions), the opposite will appear. For they (the Audians) say that we must enter upon the vigil in the midst of the time of unleavened bread. Yet, according to the ecclesiastical reckoning, this cannot always be done.]

[2] Λέγουσι γὰρ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀποστόλοι, ὅτι ὅταν ἐκεῖνοι εὐωχῶνται, ὑμεῖς νηστεύοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πενθεῖτε, ὅτι ἐν τῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐσταύρωσαν· καὶ ὅταν αὐτοὶ πενθῶσι, τὰ ἄζυμα ἐσθίοντες ἐν πικρίσι, ὑμεῖς εὐωχεῖσθε. [For the same apostles say, When they (the Jews) are feasting, do ye fast, and lament over them; for on the day of the feast they crucified Christ; and when they are lamenting, and eating the unleavened bread with bitter herbs, do ye feast.]

[3] Αὖθις αὐτῶν ἀκούοντες ἐν τῃ διατάξει, ὅτι ὁ κακῶν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν κυριακῇ, ἐπικατάρατός ἐστι τῷ θεῷ. [Again hearing them (the apostles) in the Constitution: He that afflicteth his own soul on the Lord's day is accursed of God.]

[4] Παρατηρεῖται δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἄγειν τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Πάσχα, τουτ' ἐστι τὴν ἑβδομάδα τὴν ὡρισμένην καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ διατάξει, ἀπο δευτέρας σαββάτων, ὅπερ ἐστιν ἀγορασμὸς τοῦ προβάτου. [But the church observes to keep the feast of the Passover, that is, the seven days prescribed also by the same apostles in the Constitution, from the second day of the week, when the lamb is purchased.]

which elapsed between him and the Trullan Council, without being able to discover how far these interpolations and corruptions extend, or to conclude, with certainty, how extensive the Constitutions were which he used.

Concerning the Testimony of the Incomplete Work on Matthew, published among the writings of Chrysostom.

In the notes of an unknown writer on Matthew,[1] an explanation of the third verse of the sixth chapter is introduced; which, according to his statement, should be found in our Constitutions.[2] For although it might be doubted whether, by the phrase, *in the book of canons*, our Constitutions were intended; yet, on account of the additional words, *which is concerning bishops*, we cannot but refer this description to our Constitutions. Those additional words clearly show also that *the canons of the apostles* can by no means be meant; since the *canons* do not treat

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[1] These notes, known under the name of *The Incomplete Work on Matthew*, are given in fifty-four Homilies, although they are no Homilies, but rather a continuous commentary. The work was generally attributed to Chrysostom; and hence it is found in the editions of his works. [See tom. vi. p. 731–980, as printed at Paris, 1836.] Still its spuriousness is generally acknowledged, and it must not be confounded with the genuine commentary of Chrysostom on Matthew. It is very favorably judged by Erasmus (in an edition of Chrysostom, at Bâle, 1530, t. iii. p. 473): — 'In the first place, there is no doubt that this work is not Chrysostom's; but since it has hitherto been frequently printed under his name, we have been unwilling to omit it, especially as it is the production of a learned and eloquent man, who is so well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, that, in my judgment, he is not, in this respect, inferior to Chrysostom.' Most probably, the work belongs to the age of Chrysostom; or it appeared only a little later. Certainly, it does not belong to the sixth or seventh century, as some have supposed. Against this are, among others, many passages in the 10th, 13th, 20th, and 26th Homilies, from which it is evident that the heathen religion at that time still had many adherents. It is remarkable, also, that this 'Incomplete Work' is reproached with Arianism.

[2] Aliter certe, *sicut apostoli interpretantur in libro canonum, qui est de episcopis:* Dextra est populus Christianus, qui est ad dextram Christi; sinistra autem omnis populus, qui est ad sinistram. Hoc ergo dicit: Ne Christianum facientem eleemosynam, qui est dextra, infidelis aspiciat, qui est sinistra. Christianus autem si Christianum viderit eleemosynas facientem, non est contra Christi præceptum, quoniam ambo dextra sunt. [In another way, certainly, *as the apostles interpret in the book of canons which is concerning bishops:* The right hand is the Christian people, that are at the right hand of Christ; but the left hand is all the people that are at his left. This therefore he says: Let no unbeliever, who is the left hand, see a Christian, who is the right hand, doing an alms. But if a Christian see a Christian doing an alms, it is not against the precept of Christ; since both are the right hand.]

on any one single subject. Their form and contents, too, make it impossible that such a citation from Matthew, with this interpretation, should occur in them; and, accordingly, we find in them no trace of it at the present time. If, then, we would not assume that there was a distinct work entitled, *The Book of the Canons concerning Bishops*, of which, however, there is not preserved to us the slightest account or indication from the ancient authors, we must refer the description to our Constitutions; and for doing this there are very weighty reasons. In our Constitutions, the second book treats principally *of Bishops*, and hence we can well conjecture that the unknown author of the commentary had in mind this book of our Constitutions. But what incontestably proves that our Constitutions are intended and cited, is, that, in all probability, one of his citations is found to be indicated in our present Constitutions; and from his there using the expression, in *the eighth book of the canons* of the apostles, it is manifest that also in the other citation described as being in the book of canons, our Constitutions are meant.

In regard to the first citation from our Constitutions that is found in this writer, at Matt. 6: 3, we seek entirely in vain, throughout the whole second book of our Constitutions, for the interpretation of the passage, as he presents it to us. Elsewhere, too, there is no indication at all of such an explanation. This is the more remarkable, since we might suppose it altogether certain that we should find it in b. iii. c. 14 of the Constitutions. There, in the prescription respecting the manner of doing good, the passage, Matt. 6: 3, is adduced; and there, consequently, the explanation might well be expected.[1] Since, now, the citation is found no where else in our Constitutions, we may assume with certainty that, as the Constitutions of Epiphanius have suffered later additions and corruptions; so, after the time of the unknown author of the commentary on Matthew, the Constitutions must have suffered many a change by omission. Thus, in all probability, that passage on Matt. 6: 3 is omitted in the Constitutions, by later transcribers, just because it displeased them.

In regard to the second citation of the same writer on Matt. 25: 18, some might hesitate to admit that this is found in our Constitutions. In

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[1] Ἡ μέν τοι εὖ ποιοῦσα, ἀποκρυψάτω τὸ οἰκεῖον ὄνομα ὡς σοφή· μὴ σαλπίζουσα ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς· ἵνα γένηται ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐν κρυπτῷ· καθώς φησιν ὁ κύριος· ὅτι σοῦ δὲ ποιοῦντος ἐλεημοσύνην, μὴ γνώτω ἡ ἀριστερά σου, τί ποιεῖ ἡ δεξιά σου, ὅπως ᾖ ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ. [But let her that doeth a kindness conceal her own name, as a wise person, not sounding a trumpet before her, that her alms may be with God in secret; as the Lord saith, When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine alms may be in secret.]

the citation it is said, in a general way, that he who does not execute his office well is ordained, not of God, but of men; that before God he does not, properly speaking, hold his office at all.[1] Now, it is true, in the passage of the Constitutions from which this is probably quoted (b. viii. c. 2[2]), not entirely the same statement is found; at least, it is not expressed in the same words; but the sense of the passage agrees entirely with the citation adduced. Here also it is said, that a bad bishop bears a false name; that he is called, not of God, but of men; and then some pertinent examples are presented.

After the comparison which we have instituted, we may well view it as certain, that, if that unknown writer has not formally cited b. viii. c. 2, he has at least had in mind this place of the Constitutions, and intended to refer to it. This assumption will not be without importance in our subsequent discussion; since thereby, in the investigation respecting the origin and the age of the eighth book of our Constitutions, we gain a firm historical point for the existence of that book.

On the Testimony of Maximus.[3]

The apostle Paul is here named as the one who ordained Dionysius bishop of the Athenian church, as it stands written in the holy Constitutions. The passage in the Constitutions to which this testimony refers,

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[1] Qui ministerium suum bene consummaverit, apparet quia ex Deo fuerat ordinatus: qui autem ministerium suum non bene consummaverit, ex hominibus ordinatus est. Quomodo autem quidam sacerdotes ex hominibus ordinantur, manifeste in libro octavo Canonum Apostolorum dicitur. Qui autem ex hominibus ordinatus est, quantum ad Deum non est diaconus aut sacerdos. — [He who shall have performed his ministry well is proved to have been ordained of God; but he who shall have performed his ministry not well has been ordained of men. In what manner certain priests are ordained of men is manifestly stated in the eighth book of the Canons of the Apostles. But he who has been ordained of men is not, in respect to God, a deacon or a priest.]

[2] Οὔτε δὲ *βασιλεὺς δυσσεβὴς, ἔτι βασιλεὺς ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ τύραννος· οὔτε ἐπίσκοπος ἀγνοίᾳ ἢ κακονοίᾳ πεπιεσμένος ἐπίσκοπός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ψευδώνυμος, οὐ παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων προβληθείς.* [Nor is an impious king any longer a king, but a tyrant; nor is a bishop that is impelled by ignorance or an evil disposition a bishop, but is falsely so called, having been sent forth, not of God, but of men.]

[3] [This very learned abbot, who was so much distinguished for his zeal and sufferings in opposing the Monothelites, about the middle of the seventh century, and who died in prison A.D. 662, says,] in his preface to the works of Dionysius the Areopagite: *Καθίσταται κατὰ τὸ φερόμενον ἐν ἑβδόμῳ βιβλίῳ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν διαταγμάτων ὁ Διονύσιος ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ Παύλου τοῦ Χριστοφόρου τῶν ἐν Ἀθήνησι πιστευσάντων.* [According to the statement in the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions, Diony-

is b. viii. c. 46.[1] Here, it is true, it is not expressly said that Paul ordained Dionysius at Athens; for it is not absolutely necessary to connect the words, *But by Paul*, with the words, *Dionysius in Athens;* but the latter can be referred to any one of the apostles. At the same time, there is nothing against this assumption that Paul ordained Dionysius at Athens; and the words, as they stand in our Constitutions, afford a probability in its favor. For our investigation, in general, we gain nothing from the testimony of Maximus, except this: we perceive from it that in his time the Constitutions were used. The circumstance that the Constitutions are here named in full, — *in the holy Constitutions of the Apostles,* —gives to this testimony some value, since it proves that also, at this time, the name of Clement was not mentioned in connection with the Constitutions; and that consequently, among all the historical testimonies, the second Trullan canon first mentions him in that connection.

On the Testimony of Timotheus the Presbyter.[2]

The passage of our Constitutions adduced by Timotheus the Presbyter, seems to be found in b. vi. c. 16. The citation of it has some importance, since they who have asserted that the Constitutions were composed of various 'teachings' (*διδασκαλίαι*), and were only a collection of ecclesiastical laws, partly old and partly new, which had been established in the apostolical churches, have brought it forward in favor of their opinion.[3] They say that Timotheus indicates this, since he mentions them not as words of the apostles, but of apostolical men: *Hear the apostolical* (*ἄκουε τῶν ἀποστολικῶν*), — where, it is urged, the word to be supplied is *men* (*ἀνδρῶν*). Even if this now were really so, it could

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sius was ordained Bishop of the believers at Athens by Paul, the bearer of Christ.] — And on the eighth epistle of Dionysius, § 5: *Ἱεροθέτην δὲ καλεῖ τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον Παῦλον, ὡς χειροτονήσαντα αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, καθὼς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων γέγραπται διαταγαῖς.* [Moreover, he calls the holy apostle Paul a sacred institutor, as having appointed for him the high-priesthood of the church of Athens, as it is written in the holy Constitutions of the Apostles.]

[1] *Ὑπὸ δὲ Παύλου Λούκιος Κεγχρεῶν* (scil. *κεχειρότονηται*) *καὶ τῆς Κρήτης Τίτος· Διονύσιος δὲ ἐν Ἀθήναις*, &c. [But by Paul, Lucius was ordained bishop of Cenchrea; Titus, of Crete; Dionysius, in Athens; &c.]

[2] Tractatus de iis qui accedunt ad Ecclesiam, in Auctuario Bibliothecæ Patrum Combefisiano, tom. ii. p. 453, D: *Ἄκουε τῶν ἀποστολικῶν* &c. Treatise concerning those who come over to the Church, in Combefis' Augmentation of the Library of the Fathers, &c.

[3] So, among others, J. A. Starck, in his Geschichte der christlichen Kirche des ersten Jahrhunderts, History of the Christian Church in the First Century, vol. ii. p. 513.

never prove that the Constitutions were nothing more than a collection of apostolical traditions (ἀποστολικαὶ παραδώσεις). But such an interpretation of the testimony of Timotheus is arbitrary; for we cannot conceive why *commands* (διαταγμάτων), or *words* (ῥημάτων), could not as well be supplied after *apostolical* (ἀποστολικῶν). There is also no ground for the assumption that b. vi. c. 16, is the beginning of such a teaching (διδασκαλία). In our present Constitutions, the beginning of the passage adduced is, 'All these things we have sent to you' (Ταῦτα πάντα ἐπεστείλαμεν ὑμῖν); and is nothing more than a turn in the discourse, which is often found in our Constitutions.

On the Testimony of Nicetas Pectoratus, and of Cardinal Humbert.

Both of these men, it is well known, standing opposed to each other, took part in those contentions between the Greek church and the Latin, in consequence of which the entire separation of the two churches ensued. A series of variances had, long before, destroyed their harmony; and the jealousy between the episcopal thrones at Rome and Constantinople showed itself continually, in a manner more and more undisguised; and an open separation and a renouncing of one another would already have been made, had not the interest of the Greek emperors, in particular, required them to spare the Pope, and to prevent the full outbreak of an entire separation. But this was only a very external tie, from which a riddance had for a long time been desired. Since the time when Photius, by his circular to the oriental patriarchs,[1] had called the council at Constantinople (A.D. 867), and had assailed the orthodoxy of the Latin church with bitter reproaches, the mutual hatred became constantly more deeply rooted, and there was no hope of a cordial reconciliation. The long series of contests in which Photius was engaged, only increased the hatred; and, especially, the Greeks doubted more and more the orthodoxy of the Romish church. Then, in 1053, Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, came forth with a letter addressed to John, bishop of Trani, in Apulia, in which he enumerated, and endeavored to refute, the errors of the Latin church.[2] A few months later, Nicetas Pectoratus came forth with his work against the Romanists, in which he

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[1] Latin, in Baronius, ann. 863. No. 34, ss.; Greek, in edit. Montacutii, Ep. ii p. 47, ss.

[2] This letter is still extant, only according to Humbert's Latin translation, in Baronius ad ann. 1053, No. 22, and Canisii Lect. Ant. ed. Basnage, tom. iii. P. i. p. 281.

opposed the errors of the Latin church concerning *unleavened bread*, concerning *the Sabbath*, and concerning *the marriage of priests*.[1] Cardinal Humbert, who was sent to Constantinople by Leo IX. on account of these contests, refuted, in a style of much severity, the opposers of the Latin church; and, with the help of the emperor, Constantine Monomachus, he humbled Nicetas Pectoratus, who was obliged to anathematize his own work.

Nicetas zealously opposes fasting on the Sabbath; and, to prove what he asserts, he appeals to our Constitutions. There it is expressly said, that we should not fast on the Sabbath, except on the one corresponding to that during which Christ was under the earth. He adduces several passages where the same thing, in a similar manner, is commanded.[2]

But Humbert rejected this proof, expressly because it was derived from apocryphal books.[3] Now although Humbert does not explicitly

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[1] Nicetæ Presb. et Monachi Monasterii Studii Liber contra Latinos.

[2] Liber contra Latinos, tomo sexto Antiquæ Lectionis Henr. Canisii, et in Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. 4, part. 2, p. 235, 236; and in Baronius, Ann. tom. ii. in the Appendix.— Apostolorum vertices, in quinto quidem libro Ordinationum, qui de Martyribus inscribitur juxta Clementem: Quartam feriam et sextam præcepit nobis jejunare Dominus: unam quidem, propter traditionem, alteram propter passionem: ipsum autem Sabbatum non tradidit nobis jejunare, quoniam non oportet, præter illud solum, in quo Creator omnium sub terra fuit. Unde juxta calcem ejusdem libri, iterum sic loquitur: Omne quidem Sabbatum et omnem Dominicum celebrandum esse dicimus, Gaudere enim oportet in his et non lugere. Septimo quidem libro earum Constitutionum juxta vicesimum quartum caput, hoc inquiunt; Sabbatum namque et Dominicum celebramus, quia illud quidem divinæ operationis est memoria, hic vero resurrectionis. Unum vero tantum Sabbatum custodiendum est in toto anno, sepulturæ Domini, quo jejunare oportet. Quando enim Christus in sepulchro jacuit, discipuli potentiorem, circa eum, fletum habebant, quam gaudium ex memoria divinæ operationis. &c. [The chiefs of the apostles say, in the fifth book of the Decrees, which is inscribed concerning Martyrs, according to Clement: The Lord commanded us to fast the fourth and the sixth day of the week (Wednesday and Friday); the former on account of his being *betrayed;* the latter, on account of his *suffering.* But he did not tell us to fast on the Sabbath itself, because it is not suitable, except that Sabbath only on which the Creator of all was under the earth. Hence, at the end of the same book, it thus states again: We say that every Sabbath indeed and every Lord's day ought to be joyously celebrated. For it is suitable to rejoice on these days, and not to mourn. In the seventh book of those Constitutions, at the twenty-fourth chapter, they speak thus: We celebrate joyously the Sabbath and the Lord's day, because that is the memorial of the creation; but this, of the resurrection. Only one Sabbath, however, in the whole year is to be kept (as a fast), that of the burial of the Lord, on which it is suitable to fast. For when Christ lay in the sepulchre, the mourning of the disciples for him exceeded their joy at the remembrance of the creation, &c.]

[3] Humbertus Episcopus Sylvæ Candidæ, in Responsione ad Nicetæ librum, tom. iv. Bibl. Patr. part. 2, p. 243; and in Append. tom. ii. ann. Bar. Reprehendens enim nos,

name the Apostolical Constitutions, — and, indeed, would understand the book of Clement to be the Itinerary of Peter, — yet there can hardly be any doubt that the Itinerary of Peter is our Constitutions. Nicetas never introduces a passage from the so-called Itinerary of Peter, but only from the Apostolical Constitutions and the apostolical canons. The passages, too, quoted by Nicetas are found in our Constitutions, almost entirely with the same words. See b. v. c. 15 ; b. v. c. 20 ; and b. vii. c. 23.

Humbert, therefore, since he would refute these passages by his reply that they are from apocryphal writings, can only have had in mind the Constitutions, from which just these passages were borrowed. Ittig[1] thinks that Humbert here speaks, not of the Constitutions, but of the Recognitions; yet, at most, there could be here only an accidental exchange; for the passages quoted by Nicetas were manifestly taken from the Constitutions.

Daillé[2] and others think that Humbert also understood the decree of Gelasius [who was bishop of Rome from A.D. 492 to 496], as having reference, not to the Recognitions, but to the Constitutions. This decree, too, seems really to have referred to the Constitutions; at least the number of the books in the work which it mentions,[3] favors this assumption. For in one of its canons it is said, Also the Itinerary under the name of the apostle Peter, which is called the *eight* books of Clement, is apocryphal.[4] It must be admitted that the decree is very uncertain, and that its readings are often doubted and contested.

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cur jejunemus Sabbatis, dicis: 'Quarta et sexta feria jugiter jejunandum ; una propter traditionem, altera propter passionem Domini; Sabbato autem nunquam nisi uno.' *Et hoc asserere conaris ex apocryphis libris* et canonibus, pari sententia sanctorum patrum repudiatis. Nam Clementis liber, id est, Itinerarium Petri Apostoli et Canones Apostolorum numerantur inter Apocrypha, exceptis capitulis quinquaginta, quæ decreverunt regulis orthodoxis adjungenda. Unde nos quoque omne Apocryphon abjicientes, dedignantur audire eorum fabulosas traditiones, quia non sunt ut lex Domini. [For, reproaching us because we fast on the Sabbath, you say: 'Upon the fourth and the sixth day of the week we should always fast; — the one on account of our Lord's being betrayed; the other, on account of his suffering; but never upon a Sabbath, except one.' *And this you endeavor to assert from apocryphal books* and canons repudiated by the just sentence of the holy fathers. For the book of Clement, that is, the Itinerary of the apostle Peter and the canons of the apostles are numbered among the apocryphal writings, except the fifty sections which they have decreed to be adjoined to the orthodox regulations. Whence we also, rejecting every apocryphal work, disdain to hear fabulous traditions, because they are not as the law of the Lord.]

[1] Dissert. de Pseudepigraphis, &c. cap. xii. p. 197.

[2] In the work already cited, lib. i. c. i. p. 16.

[3] Syn. Rom. i. sub. Gelas. Notitia Libror. Apos. tom. iii. conc. p. 662, col. 2, E.

[4] Item Itinerarium nomine Petri apostoli, quod appellatur S. Clementis libri *Octo*, apocryphum.

Could the decree only be relied upon, we should have already, in the fifth century, a very important and interesting testimony concerning our Constitutions, that they were even then generally rejected in the Romish church. But since various opinions are advanced, as well respecting this decree as respecting this council itself; — since the very existence of this council is denied, and at least it remains uncertain whether Gelasius published such a decree, we exclude this decree from the historical external testimonies respecting the Constitutions.

Nicetas opposed also several other peculiarities of the Latins. He directed his attack particularly against their view of the marriage of the priests, and for proof availed himself here also of the Constitutions. The Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon, who have been once married, are to be ordained, whether their wives are now living or dead.[1] The passage is found also in our Constitutions, almost with the same words, b. vi. c. 17. Nicetas quotes another passage of the Constitutions,[2] which is found also in ours; — only he erroneously mentions b. vii. c. 16, instead of b. vi. c. 16.

From the testimonies of Nicetas and of Humbert, we have gained much. We perceive that, although the Greek church still continued to

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[1] In sexto libro Clementis ordinationum, quæ ab eo conscriptæ sunt, juxta septimum decimum caput, apostoli hæc dicunt: Episcopum et Presbyterum et Diaconum, dicimus, qui unam habent uxorem, ordinari, quamvis vivant eorum conjuges, quamvis defunctæ: non licet eos post manus impositionem innuptos esse, nec insuper ad nuptias ire; aut si nupserint alteras amplecti, sed sufficere, quas habent, cum ad ordinationem venerunt. [In the sixth book of Clement's Decrees (i.e.) which have been written by him, at the seventeenth chapter, the apostles say thus: We command that a Bishop, and Presbyter, and Deacon, who have one wife, be ordained, whether their wives be living, or be deceased: it is not lawful that they, after the imposition of hands, become unmarried, nor become married; or if they may have previously married (it is not lawful) that they ever become united to others, but let those suffice whom they may have had when they came to ordination.]

[2] Reliqui autem verticum in septimo libro Institutionum, juxta sextum decimum caput liquidius dixerunt: Scimus enim, inquit, quia hic qui circa Simonem et Cleobium et Judam conscripserunt libros in nomine Christi et discipulorum ejus, circumferunt ad seductionem vestram et eorum qui diligunt Christum et nos servos ipsius. Et in veteribus quidem conscripserunt libros apocryphos Moysi et Enoch et Adam, Esaiæ et David et Heliæ et trium patriarcharum, corruptiones facientes atque veritatis inimicos libros. [But the rest of the chiefs, in the seventh book of the Institutions, at the sixteenth chapter, have more clearly said: For we know, it says, that here Simon, and Cleobius, and Jude, and their followers, have composed books in the name of Christ and his disciples, and carry them about to seduce you and those who love Christ, and us his servants. And indeed among the ancients they have composed apocryphal books of Moses, and Enoch, and Adam, of Isaiah, and David, and Elias, and of the three patriarchs, making corruptions and books hostile to the truth.]

esteem our Constitutions highly, the Latin church rejected them as apocryphal. In the next place, the citations of Nicetas, which are all contained in our present Constitutions, give us assurance for the integrity of the Constitutions after the time of Photius. At least, it is highly probable that, after his time, they received no more interpolations.

On the Testimony of later Authors.

Some later Byzantine historians have mentioned the Constitutions; yet, from their testimonies, nothing can be gained that will be of importance in our investigation. George Cedrenus[1] quotes a passage which is found in our Constitutions, b. vi. c. 7, 8, 9. Several other citations coincide with b. vi. c. 22; b. v. c. 12; b. ii. c. 5, 37, 42, &c.[2]

The testimony of John Zonaras we have already adduced (see p. 307). It favors the opinion that the Instruction of the Apostles (*διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων*) is one and the same work with our Constitutions. Zonaras further confirms the statement that the Constitutions were corrupted by heretics, and afterwards rejected by the Trullan Council.[3] This, too, is the substance of the other testimonies, — that of Alexius Aristinus,[4] that of Theodore Balsamon,[5] and that of Matthew Blastares.[6] The last-mentioned author, in several passages, inculcates very strongly that, although the canons of the apostles were confirmed by the sixth council,

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[1] In his Compendium Historiarum, ed. Xylandri, p. 173, lin. 52. Editionis Regiæ tom. i. p. 211, A.

[2] The same. Edit. Basil. p. 195; and Reg. tom. i. p. 237, D, and p. 238; and Reg. tom. i. p. 289, B.

[3] Ad canonem Apostolorum sexagesimum. *Πολλὰ βιβλία παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐνοθέυθησαν εἰς βλάβην τῶν ἁπλουστέρων· ὥσπερ καὶ αἱ διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαι τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ἀποστολικαὶ διαταγαὶ, αἱ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνοδικῶς ἀπεβλήθησαν.* [Many books have been adulterated by the impious to the injury of the more simple; as also the Apostolical Institutes, written by the holy Clement to the Bishops, which on this account have been rejected even by the authority of a council.]

[4] In his Synopsis Canonum, ex Trullana Constantinopolitana Synodo, num. 7. Biblioth. Juris Canonici Veteris, tom. ii. p. 698, ex ejusdem Scriptoris MSS. Scholiis, ad Canonem Apostolorum ultimum, in Usher's Dissert. de Ignatio, c. 15.

[5] Ad canonem Apostolorum ultimum.

[6] In the beginning of his Collectio Canonum, per titulos, ordine alphabetico, where he treats De Canonibus Apostolorum, litt. *β*, c. 11; de Canone Apostolorum Sexagesimo, litt. *κ*, c. 5; and de Canone Trullano Secundo. — Constantinus Harmenopulus, too, in Epitome Canonum, sect. 2, lit. 4, tom. i. Juris Græco-Romani, adduces a passage which occurs in our Constitutions, b. viii. c. 28.

and their validity and their credit established, yet the same council, on the other hand, rejected the Constitutions, since they were interpolated by heretics, and consequently contained much that is false and heterodox.

On the Testimony of the last Apostolical Canon, and on the relation of the Apostolical Canons to the Apostolical Constitutions.

We have assigned to this investigation respecting the last apostolical canon, the last place in our discussion of the testimonies of the ancients, because the age of the apostolical canons is uncertain, and the investigations hitherto made have led to no generally received result; and because we wish, independently of the testimony of the last apostolical canon, to bring under a nearer view and to regard the relation of all the apostolical canons to our Constitutions. Here, indeed, it cannot be our object to institute a comprehensive investigation respecting all the canons; for this lies too far from our task, and would require a more extended treatment than is here possible. Yet, in going over the opinions of others, we cannot but establish, in general, a result respecting the age when the canons were prepared, partly that we may be satisfied respecting their relation to the last canon, and partly that we may obtain a connecting point for the comparison between the canons and the Constitutions.

Respecting the number of the canons, there have not only been various opinions, from the most ancient times, but the number which has been received in the eastern church has been different from that which has been received in the western. Among the Greeks, John, a presbyter at Antioch, received all the *eighty-five* canons into his collection of canonical writings, and into his *Nomocanon*. To the same number they were approved by the Trullan Council; and John of Damascus (on the Orthodox Faith, b. iv. c. 28) received them into the catalogue of the sacred writings. Several other councils followed in acknowledging the canons, as if they were derived from the apostles; and among the Greeks there was generally very little doubt of their apostolical origin. The Greeks have been agreed also respecting the extent of the canons; but they have not all divided them in the same manner. Some make them seventy-six; others, seventy-seven; and others, eighty, eighty-four, and eighty-five. But about the five hundredth year of the Christian era, Dionysius Exiguus, the first who introduced the using of this era, translated the first fifty canons of the eastern church from Greek into Latin; and it was only these that he introduced, under the name of the apostles,

to the Latin Church, either because he had a mutilated copy, or (since there remains for us no other conjecture) because he viewed the last thirty-five as having come in later. Gradually those canons acquired a very great respect. As early as in the sixth century, they were cited by the Popes, and adduced as decisive authorities. Still, it is always only those fifty to which reference is made. Gratian, too, in the year 1145, states their number quite definitely at fifty.[1]

We have already mentioned John of Antioch as the first who received the canons into his collection of ecclesiastical laws; but we can trace back the existence of these canons much farther. Here we can only exhibit briefly some of the principal citations. It ought to be mentioned that, most probably, the title, *Canons of the Apostles*, is not the most ancient and credible; for it first occurs in the acts of the Ephesian Council, A.D. 431; and even here it is uncertain, since, according to one reading, it is 'the canons of the *holy fathers*.' Such is the opinion which Spittler has expressed.[2] They occur far more frequently under the title, the Ancient Canons, the Apostolical Canons, or the Ecclesiastical Laws.[3] In this manner they are denominated in the canons of the council at Chalcedon, in 451. Besides, they are mentioned under this name by Nectarius, in the council at Constantinople, in the year 394; and the general council, in 381, had already used this designation.[4] Indeed, it seems capable of being shown that the Nicene Council were already acquainted with our canons, since, for example, in their directions concerning the circumcised, they refer to the ecclesiastical canons already known; and, in the collection of the canons of the apostles, the twentieth and the twenty-first treat on the subject. Many other cases also might be pointed out, where, in the Nicene ecclesiastical directions, regard seems to be had to our canons; but to make this clear would lead us to digress too far. It is in the highest degree probable also, that Athanasius, and Eusebius himself, were acquainted with many of these canons, since it is evident that, in their own concerns, they both used them as valid and convincing ecclesiastical laws; the one, in order to prove the unlawfulness of his being deposed, without being judged by a council of bishops (comp. canon lxxiv.); the other, in order, with the help of this canon (comp. canon xiv.), to be able to decline the election which had fallen on him, for bishop of Antioch.

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[1] Distinct. 16. Præf.

[2] Geschichte des canonischen Rechts bis auf die Zeiten des falschen Isidorus, S. 67.

[3] Οἱ *πάλαι κανόνες, ἀποστολικοὶ κανόνες, ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ θέσμοι.*

[4] See the passages extracted from the ancients by Beveridge, in his Codex Canonum, b. i. c. 3 (inserted in Cotelerius' Apostol. Fathers, tom. ii.).

It is now generally acknowledged that these canons proceeded neither from the apostles nor from Clement, although their apostolic origin was maintained by several learned men against the Magdeburg centuriators, and even still later.[1] Some have ascribed them to a very early age, and some to a very late one; and many conjectures on the subject have been brought forward. The investigation of Beveridge[2] is decidedly the most comprehensive and fundamental among those which have hitherto been instituted on the age of the canons. He is of the opinion that the canons arose in the second century, and were collected towards the end of that century, or in the beginning of the third. Already (on p. 276 and 277) we have, at considerable length, stated Beveridge's conjecture, which maintains that Clement of Alexandria, instead of Clement of Rome, was the collector of the canons and Constitutions. But as, in the place referred to, we have refuted this conjecture, so also we must oppose his opinion respecting the age of the canons. We think that they are regulations made as occasions presented themselves, in the apostolical churches, at different times during the second and third centuries; and that they, together with the eighth book of our Constitutions, and perhaps by the author of this last book, were collected towards the end of the fourth century. It cannot here be the object to point out the probable time of the origin of each canon, and, in respect to each, to mention the external circumstances of the times which occasioned it; but we shall endeavor briefly to adduce the proof for the above given result, especially since, in doing this, we discuss the relation of the canons to the Constitutions.

These canons received their name, *Canons of the Apostles*, not because they proceeded from the apostles, but because each regulation which was according to the apostolic teaching, although it was first given by later teachers, was called an apostolical canon. It is acknowledged that, in the first centuries, those churches which could boast of being founded by apostles had greater respect than the others, and, as it were, a more potent sway. If now a regulation proceeded from such an apostolical church, it was believed that it might the more rightfully be denominated an apostolical canon. This suggestion is greatly favored by the testimony of Jerome: *Each province may abound in its own sense, and*

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[1] On the history of the controversy concerning the respect due to the apostolical canons, see especially Cotta's Versuch einer ausführlichen Kirchenhistorie, Th. ii. S. 1173–1179; Ittig de Pseudepigraphis Apostol. &c. cap. xi. § 12, p. 169—; and Buddeus' Isagoge in Theol. Univ. pt. ii. cap. v. p. 746.

[2] In his Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ vindicatus et illustratus.

consider the precepts of ancestors apostolical laws.[1] There existed a multitude of such apostolical canons, out of which this collection of the canons arose. I have not, however, been able to convince myself that this testimony of Jerome must be referred also to our Constitutions, as some have asserted, especially in order to be able from this source also to prove that the Constitutions were composed of very many single parts. It is obvious that the Constitutions are a whole, or that at least their form is such that the passage in Jerome cannot have reference to them. Hence I have not hesitated to pass it over in silence, while considering the testimony respecting the Constitutions. But with so much the better right I may use it here, while treating on the origin of the canons.

We have seen that these canons were frequently adverted to in many councils of the Eastern church, and even in the Nicene Council itself. But the manner in which they are brought forward seems very much to sustain the opinion that they existed singly in the various churches, before they were collected together. They are never introduced collectively, but always singly. *An ancient law,*[2] *an ecclesiastical canon,*[3] *an apostolical canon,*[4] and other similar designations, are used. In the councils of the fourth century, no collection of apostolical canons is ever mentioned; and we have a right to infer that no such collection then existed. But the quotations which were made testify that single canons were already in use. Had these canons arisen at once, they would have had some connection with each other; or at least their want of connection would not have been as it is, so great that the canons belonging to one subject are never placed together.

In our Constitutions many directions are found which the canons contain. Indeed, a very large part of the canons is wrought into the Constitutions, — at least so far as the sense is concerned. But it may serve to explain this circumstance, if we bear in mind that the author of the Constitutions, who intended to lay down in them the constituent elements for his *ideal* of a hierarchical Catholic church, and therefore wished to give a general system of discipline for the whole church, must necessarily have been acquainted with the whole state, and especially with the usages and laws, of the church, as it was at that period. He could not have been ignorant of the many separate canons which had been established in the various churches, in the second century and the third, and which, for the reasons already mentioned, were denominated apos-

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[1] Una quæque provincia abundet in sensu suo, et præcepta majorum leges apostolicas arbitretur. Epist. 52 ad Lucinium.

[2] Πάλαιος νόμος. [3] Κάνων ἐκκλησιάστικος. [4] Κάνων ἀποστόλικος.

tolical canons. Hence he received into the Constitutions the canons which seemed to him suitable, and which could now and then also serve his leading object. In this way he could procure greater respect and influence for the Constitutions; for there would be contained in them rules already generally known, and regarded as apostolical.

The following are the principal points of agreement between the canons and the Constitutions:

In the first canon it is commanded that the Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops; the Presbyter, as well as the Deacon and the other clergy, by one Bishop.[1] The same direction, almost in the same words, is found in the Constitutions, b. iii. c. 20; only here a reason for this precept is added, namely, that the testimony of two or three is more sure, and not to be doubted.[2]

In the canons iii. iv. and v. directions concerning oblations are given to the clergy; and in canon v. it is commanded that the *first-fruits* (primitiæ) come to the Bishop and the Presbyters, and that these impart them to the inferior clergy.[3] So, in the Constitutions, b. ii. c. 25 treats quite circumstantially concerning the first-fruits and the tithes, how far these belong to the Bishop, and how he has to distribute them; only in this chapter the statement is very full and particular, and the expanded hierarchical principle presents itself to our view.[4]

Canon xiii. directs what must be done with those who had received an excluded clergyman or layman coming into another town without letters of commendation. Then follows, in canon xiv. the prohibition that no Bishop leave his parish, and leap into another, unless there be for it a cogent reason. The subsequent canons have no further reference to this subject (as they are all thrown together, without order), till canon xxxiv. In this it is commanded that no stranger, whether Bishop or Deacon, be received without letters of commendation.[5] If now we look at our Con-

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[1] Let a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops; a Presbyter by one Bishop, as also a Deacon, and the rest of the clergy.

[2] We command that a Bishop be ordained by three Bishops, or at least by two; but it is not lawful that he be set over you by one; for the testimony of two or three witnesses is more firm and secure. But a Presbyter and a Deacon, and the rest of the clergy, are to be ordained by one Bishop.

[3] But let all other fruits be sent to the house of the Bishop as first-fruits for him and for the Presbyters; but not to the altar. Now it is plain that the Bishop and the Presbyters are to divide them to the Deacons and to the rest of the clergy.

[4] Of first-fruits and tithes; and after what manner the Bishop is himself to partake of them, or to distribute them to others.

[5] Receive not any stranger, whether Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, without commendatory letters; and even when such are presented, let the strangers be examined.

stitutions, and search whether these directions are found also in them, we see that this subject is fully treated in b. ii. c. 58.[1] It is there said that, when a brother or a sister comes from another parish with such letters, the Deacon shall make examination. Then directions are there given concerning the reception of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, that are strangers. But all these directions are given entirely in the spirit and in the form of the Constitutions; and if the author of the Constitutions knew these separate canons, he may have used them, without copying them word for word.

Canon xvii. ordains that no one be made Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, who, after his baptism, lives in bigamy, or has a concubine; and canon xviii. ordains that no one can belong to the spiritual rank who marries a widow, or a woman divorced, or a prostitute, or a slave, or an actress.[2] Entirely the same ordinances are found in the Constitutions, b. vi. c. 17.[3] It is there strictly held that the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, are permitted to be married only once; and towards the end of the chapter there is added the prescription that it be permitted to no clergyman to marry a prostitute or a slave, a widow or a woman divorced. Here, then, is an entire agreement with canon xviii. except that the marriage with an actress is not here forbidden.

The command, in canon xx. to be surety for no one, is found also in the Constitutions, b. ii. c. 6, — incidentally, indeed, and without mentioning, as in canon xx. that the transgressor shall be deposed. In canon xl.[4] it is inculcated that the Presbyters and the Deacons execute nothing without the mind of the Bishop; for he it is to whom the people of the Lord is intrusted, and from whom he will require an account respecting their souls. This is found in the Constitutions, expressed in general terms, b. ii. c. 26 and 31.[5] Canon xli. argues on the subject in the same spirit.[6] It commands that the Bishop have power over the property of

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[1] If any one, a brother or a sister, come in from another parish, bringing a commendatory letter, let a deacon judge, &c.

[2] Ὁ χήραν λαβὼν, ἢ ἐκβεβλημένην, ἢ ἑταίραν, ἢ οἰκέτιν, ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς, οὐ δύναται εἶναι ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ.

[3] Ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πρεσβύτερον καὶ διάκονον εἴπομεν μονογάμους καθίστασθαι, κἂν ζῶσιν αὐτῶν αἱ γαμεταὶ, κἂν τεθνᾶσι. — Οὐδενὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ κελεύομεν ἢ ἑταίραν, ἢ χήραν, καὶ ἐκβεβλημένην λαμβάνειν, ὡς ὁ νόμος λέγει.

[4] Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν, &c.

[5] Const. b. ii. c. 31 (the caption). Ὅτι μὴ χρὴ τὸν διάκονον ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πράττειν.

[6] Προστάσσομεν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων· εἰ γὰρ τὰς τιμίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς αὐτῷ πιστευτέον, πολλῷ ἂν μᾶλλον δέοι ἐπὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐντέλλεσθαι, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν πάντα διοικεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις διὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, &c.

the church; for since to him the precious souls of men are to be intrusted, much more must he have the management of the money, so that by virtue of his commission the Presbyters and Deacons might impart to the needy. Thus, too, in the Constitutions, b. ii. c. 25,[1] the management of the property of the church, and the providing for the poor, are committed to the Bishops. In canon xlv. punishments are decreed for those who have communion with the heretics; and in the Constitutions, b. ii. c. 13, disapprobation of such communion or recognition is expressed.

The canons xlvi. and xlvii.[2] and also lxvi. speak very decidedly against the baptism which is administered by heretics, reject all second baptisms, and represent each baptism of this kind as a defilement. The Constitutions, b. vi. c. 15, speak more copiously, but in the same strain. The Christians ought to be content with one baptism only, which is done into the death of the Lord, — not one which is performed by miserable heretics, but by blameless clergymen, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,[3] &c. Canon lii. seems in general to be directed against the rigid view which would not permit the readmission of the penitents. Our Constitutions, which treat circumstantially on most of the disciplinary regulations of the church, declare themselves also copiously on this weighty point, which then threatened to divide the church, and oppose expressly the opinion that the penitents must not be received again, as an exceedingly pernicious error, inconsistent with the mildness and generous forbearing of the gospel. So b. ii. c. 12 and c. 14, and in many other places, which are brought into view in the examination on the Constitutions.

It appears that at the time of canon lx.[4] it was already customary for heretics to introduce books clandestinely, under a false name, in order thereby to sustain their heresies; for every one is threatened with being deposed, who circulates spurious writings of the heretics in the church, to the destruction of the people and the clergy. In the same manner our

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[1] Let him use those tenths and first-fruits which are given according to the command of God, as a man of God. Let him dispense in a right manner the free-will offerings, which are brought in on account of the poor, the orphans, the widows, the afflicted, and strangers in distress.

[2] Can. xlvi. Ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον, αἱρετικῶν δεξάμενον βάπτισμα ἢ θυσίαν, καθαιρεῖσθαι προστάττομεν. — Can. xlvii. Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἔχοντα βάπτισμα ἐὰν ἄνωθεν βαπτίσῃ, ἢ τὸν μεμολυσμένον παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐὰν βαπτίσῃ, καθαιρείσθω.

[3] Const. b. vi. c. 15 (the caption). Ὅτι οὐτε ἀναβαπτίζειν χρὴ, οὐτε μὴν παραδέχεσθαι τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν βάπτισμα δοθὲν, ὃ οὐκ ἐστὶ βάπτισμα, ἀλλὰ μόλυσμα.

[4] Εἴ τις τὰ ψευδεπίγραφα τῶν ἀσεβῶν βιβλία ὡς ἅγια ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δημοσιεύει. ἐπὶ λύμῃ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου, καθαιρείσθω.

Constitutions, b. vi. c. 16, treat concerning the spurious books (*περὶ τῶν ψευδεπιγράφων βιβλίων*). The apostles, who are there introduced as speaking, give warning against the reception of books which, they say, 'are corroborated by the impious through the use of our name.' [1]

Upon the fasts, also, there are found in the canons and in the Constitutions entirely similar regulations. Canon lxiv. forbids to fast on the Sabbath, except on one only;[2] canon lxix. on the contrary, commands the fasting in Lent (Quadragesima), on Wednesday (Quarta feria), and on Friday (Parasceve).[3] Our Constitutions enter very fully upon this subject, and also give the reasons why every Christian, at these times, should fast. See Constitutions, b. v. c. 15.

This comparison will have sufficiently shown, that, certainly in the Constitutions, there is found very much that is similar and analogous to what is found in the canons. But since these canons are by no means received, word for word, into the Constitutions, it can only be admitted that the author of the Constitutions knew these canons, — at that time still scattered here and there, and not yet brought into a collection, — and received them, in effect, into his Constitutions. Still, the whole form of these Constitutions, even of those which are analogous to the canons, shows that they were never regulations which had practical force; and the style of the Constitutions, which is often interrupted by long quotations from the Holy Scriptures, is distinguished throughout, even in the places analogous to the canons, from the style of the canons.

It now only remains for us to adduce, from our Constitutions, some reasons for the time, already fixed by us, of the collection of the canons.

In the Constitutions there is much that is analogous and similar to what is found in the canons; and this might lead many to the conjecture that the canons, perhaps, are a short extract in the form of categorical regulations, and indeed (what favors this conjecture) the very extract which Athanasius mentions. For otherwise we must admit that this is lost; since, by the testimony of Athanasius, it is made quite certain that such an extract from the Constitutions existed. Still the conjecture is

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[1] Const. b. vi. c. 16. *Ταῦτα πάντα ἐπεστείλαμεν ὑμῖν, ἵνα εἰδέναι ἔχοιτε τὴν ἡμετέραν γνώμην οἵα τίς ἐστι, καὶ τὰ ἐπ' ὀνόματι ἡμῶν παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβρῶν κρατνθέντα βιβλία μὴ παραδέχεσθαι.*

[2] If any one of the clergy be found to fast on the Lord's day, or on the Sabbath-day, except one only, let him be deposed; but if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

[3] If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, or Reader, or Singer, do not fast the Fast of Forty Days, or the Fourth day of the week, or the day of the Preparation, let him be deposed, unless he be hindered by weakness of body; but if he be one of the laity, let him be suspended.

inadmissible; for there is too much evidence against it. To make it at all tenable, we must say that this extract was made arbitrarily, and written in other words. Yet this assumption is no way established by the testimony of Athanasius. (See the investigation respecting it, p. 303—.) And on the other side, even by this assumption, the fact cannot be explained, that there is found in the canons so much of which there is no trace extant in the Constitutions. This hypothesis must hence be rejected, especially since by it the complete confusion which prevails in the canons is not explained; and our opinion, above stated, that they are canons which arose, one by one, in the apostolical churches, will certainly prove itself the more correct one.

In the collection of the canons there is one, especially, which leads to a later age; and, by a comparison with the Constitutions, gives a very interesting result. It is canon viii.[1] where each Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon, is threatened with being deposed, who may have celebrated the holy day of the Passover before the vernal equinox, with the Jews. In perfect agreement with this canon, it is said in Const. b. v. c. 17, 'Therefore, brethren, ye, who have been redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, ought diligently to celebrate the days of the Passover, with all carefulness, after the equinox; . . . no longer observing to keep the feast with the Jews.' If, now, we recollect that the original Constitutions, as we have seen by comparing the Constitutions which Epiphanius had with those which we have (see p. 313—), did not contain this regulation, but the contrary, and commanded to celebrate the feast with the Jews before the vernal equinox; and if we consider that this regulation, as we read it in our present Constitutions, arose first after the time of Epiphanius, and is interpolated, then it will, from these considerations, become probable that canon viii. arose first after the time of Epiphanius, about the end of the fourth century.

In respect, now, to our conjecture that the canons were brought into a collection, towards the end of the fourth century, at the same time with the eighth book of our Constitutions, probably by the author of this book, — it is founded especially on the last of these canons. This seems to have originated with the collector of the canons, and clearly betrays its age. The canon gives a catalogue of the sacred books. It first enumerates the writings of the Old Covenant, and then proceeds, — 'But our writings, that is, of the New Covenant, are the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the fourteen epistles of Paul, the two

[1] If any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, shall celebrate the holy day of the Passover, before the vernal equinox, with the Jews, let him be deposed.

epistles of Peter, three epistles of John, one epistle of James, one epistle of Jude, two epistles of Clement, and the Constitutions, which, by me Clement, have been made known to you, the Bishops, in eight books, which must not be imparted to all, on account of the mysteries in them, and the Acts of us the Apostles.'[1] If now we consider, first, this catalogue of the books of the New Testament, it is evident that the canon is of a comparatively late period, and belongs, at the earliest, to the end of the fourth century. It presents, as worthy of reverence and holy, and therefore as canonical, several books, respecting whose authenticity a very different opinion was entertained in the fourth century. They were then opposed and reckoned among the *antilegomema*, the spoken against. If we compare the New Testament canon of Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. b. iii. c. 25), we find that he reckons among the spoken against, the epistle of James, the epistle of Jude, the second epistle of Peter, and the second and third epistles of John. At a later period the prevalent opinion became more favorable to these epistles, and in the time of Jerome they were received into the canon of the Greek church.

Certainly this is a cogent proof that our canon lxxxv. had its origin at the end of the fourth century. But the manner in which the author commends our Constitutions, as a work proceeding from the apostles, and delivered by Clement, proves sufficiently that the Constitutions were not unknown to him, and that his object was to procure for them respect and influence.

We are obliged also to oppose the view of Beveridge, who, from the expression, 'by me Clement' (*δι' ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος*), since the words 'two epistles of Clement' (*Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολαὶ δύο*) preceded, would infer that this second Clement is not Clement of Rome, but Clement of Alexandria. While the pronoun ought to have been in the phrase, 'two epistles of Clement' it appears that the author of the last canon added the clause, 'by me Clement,' without adverting to the preceding words, and so has not maintained, throughout, his assumed position. Since now this canon arose towards the end of the fourth century, and its author seeks in all possible ways to exalt the Constitutions fraudulently, we are naturally conducted to the supposition that he has had a part in the authorship of the Constitutions. As it will appear from our subsequent investigation, that the first seven books of the Constitutions form a whole, and

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[1] Can. lxxxv. ... *Ἡμέτερα δὲ, τουτ' ἐστι, τῆς καίνης διαθήκης, εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα, Ματθαίου, Μάρκου, Λουκᾶ, Ἰωάννου· Παύλου ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες· Πέτρου ἐπιστολαὶ δύο· Ἰωάννου, τρεῖς· Ἰακώβου, μία· Ἰούδα, μία· Κλήμεντος ἐπιστόλαι δύο καὶ αἱ διαταγαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις δι' ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν ὀκτὼ βιβλίοις προσπεφωνημέναι, ἃς οὐ χρὴ δημοσιεύειν ἐπὶ πάντων, διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μαστικά· καὶ αἱ πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.*

arose towards the end of the third century; and that the eighth book, on the contrary, was added later, — probably towards the end of the fourth century; — so must it become probable to us, that the author of the last canon is also the author of the eighth book of our Constitutions, or at least has put it together, as he put together the canons. In favor of this, some other considerations might be urged.

If we assume this, then it is explained how the author of the last canon commanded to communicate the Constitutions not to all, on account of their mysterious contents. This could not so well be said of the seven books as of the eighth, to which it was the more applicable, because it contains directions respecting the ordination of Bishops, and a multitude of liturgical precepts, which are not exactly suitable to be communicated to every one, and specially concern the Bishops. In the absence of all external testimony, it is, to be sure, impossible to prove this absolutely; but I am constrained to think that the reasons drawn from canon viii. and especially from canon lxxxv. give to the foregoing views the highest probability. Besides these two canons, hardly any other can have originated with the collector of the canons; and no further comparison can be instituted between the canons and the Constitutions. Only there is one circumstance which may speak in favor of our view: — In the manuscripts the canons are an integral part of our Constitutions, and are added to the eighth book as the forty-seventh chapter. Could this be merely accidental? Certainly, if this were the only reason, we might explain it as an accident; but, when the other reasons are taken into consideration, we can well infer, without being arbitrary, that the author of the eighth book of the Constitutions collected the single canons, extant long before him, and made the last canon for the purpose of commending the Constitutions, and then subjoined the canons to the eighth book, as the concluding chapter.[1]

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[1] This circumstance explains, too, how the canons also have been attributed to Clement; while otherwise there was no ground for this, either in external testimony, or in the canons themselves.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE APOSTLES AS AUTHORS OF THE CONSTITUTIONS, AND ON CLEMENT OF ROME AS COLLECTOR OF THEM.

On the Apostles as Authors of the Constitutions.

The historical survey of opinions on the Constitutions will have shown sufficiently, that, with the exception of some few authors, who were led by special interests, the learned have always maintained that this work does not, even the most remotely, come from the apostles. Every one, also, who is unprejudiced, will, in a moment, convince himself of its not having an apostolical origin; and, besides, Daillé (see p. 287—) has carried the proof, in this case, even to a superfluity. So therefore the question here will not be whether the apostles are actually the originators and authors of the work, but how far, in the Constitutions themselves, they are set forth in this character. For several cases may be supposed: — That either only the title of the writing, and the external testimonies respecting it, declare and affirm its apostolical origin; or that only in single places, here and there, the apostles are named as the authors; or, lastly, that the representation, *the apostles are the authors of the Constitutions,* is an integral part of the writing itself; and that with the writing itself it is most closely connected and united. Among these cases, the last is the one which obtains here; for the pretence of the apostolical origin is not at all loosely connected, but, on the contrary, it is kept up throughout the whole writing, and is interwoven with it. The apostles are introduced as speaking, and throughout the whole book the precepts are uttered by them; or rather, we might say, the apostles introduce themselves as speaking; for in the whole book there is no intimation that Clement, or any other person, had been commissioned by them to prepare this work, to make known in it their precepts and regulations, and for this purpose to introduce them as speaking. Book i. c. 1 begins with the apostolical salutation and address, altogether like those which we find in the epistles of Paul.[1] Then follow admonitions, precepts, and regulations, which make the far greater part of the book. These are imparted in the name

[1] The apostles and elders to all those who from among the Gentiles have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ: Grace and peace from the Almighty God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you in the acknowledgment of him.

of all the apostles; as also these regulations are almost all given in the plural. This plural, and thereby at the same time the reference to the apostles, goes through all the books of the Constitutions. Compare b. i. c. 7; ii. 1, 24, 51; iii. 11, 12, 20; iv. 5, 12, 14; v. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 19, 20; vi. 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17; vii. 22; and almost throughout each chapter of the eighth book, about which we will treat further in the investigation respecting that book. In all these places the apostles themselves speak, and give the precepts together in common; and this manner of speaking through the imperative is only occasionally interrupted. Indeed, sometimes they introduce it even expressly, that they are the twelve apostles, who, now assembled, impart this or that precept, as in b. vi. c. 11 and 12, and in many other places already mentioned above. Nay, in c. 12 they mention also the choice of Matthias in the place of the betrayer: — 'We the Twelve assembled together at Jerusalem, for *Matthias* was chosen to be an apostle with us, instead of the betrayer, and took the lot of Judas, as it is said, *His bishopric let another take.*'

We select here some other of the most remarkable passages, whence the manner in which the apostles are introduced in the Constitutions will sufficiently appear; and we shall very clearly perceive, that the design to father the Constitutions upon the apostles, or, at all events, to represent them as proceeding from the apostles, is kept in view throughout the whole book.

After it is mentioned in b. ii. c. 38, that the church received no heathen or publican into her communion, before they had repented of and forsaken their former impiety and immoral conduct, there are given, in c. 39, several examples of such repentance. Immediately in the beginning of the chapter, Matthew is also introduced speaking: — He also, at an earlier period, was a publican, but has now, through his faith, obtained forgiveness; since he has repented of his earlier deeds, and is accounted worthy to be an apostle and preacher of the gospel.[1] The clause, *of those twelve who speak to you in this doctrine* (τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ λαλούντων ὑμῖν), is not to be overlooked. It inculcates abundantly that the apostles speak in this doctrine. B. ii. c. 63 is zealous against slothfulness; and industry is commanded through the example of the apostles; for they also were fishermen, tent-makers, and husbandmen.[2]

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[1] For I, *Matthew*, one of those twelve who speak to you in this doctrine, am an apostle, having even myself been a publican formerly, but now have obtained mercy through believing, and have repented, &c.

[2] For we ourselves, besides our attention to the word of the gospel, do not neglect our other employments: for some of us are fishermen; some, tent-makers; some, husbandmen, that so we may never be idle.

B. iii. c. 6 treats of women's right (or rather want of right) to exercise the teacher's office. It forbids the women to teach; for while Jesus sent '*us the twelve*' to teach the people, he nowhere appointed women for the preaching of the gospel. If it had been suitable for women to teach, add the apostles, Christ would certainly have commanded this to his mother and his sisters, and to Mary Magdalen, Martha, and others, who were with us.[1] In the command, b. v. c. 2, to extend help to the brethren who, for the sake of the gospel, suffer persecution, and languish in prison or in exile, they set themselves forth as examples; — they had often, for the sake of Christ, been beaten by order of Caiaphas, Alexander, and Annas.[2] As, now, in very many places of the Constitutions, great zeal is shown against the heretics, and all fellowship with them is forbidden; so, especially in b. vi. c. 13, the apostles give warning against the false Christs, false prophets, and false apostles, who come forth in sheep's clothing, and conceal the wolf. In close connection with this, is added the following chapter, where it is said that against these teachers of error, they, all assembled, had written this general rule of doctrine, to strengthen and confirm the minds of Christians. Here the matter is carried so far, that all the twelve are introduced by name; at which we must the more wonder, as this single instance occurs in the midst of the book.[3] But since all is closely connected with what precedes, and also all the twelve are often introduced in the midst of a book or a chapter, though not by name, no special inference can here be drawn; and it can serve only to make it specially manifest that the Constitutions themselves take great pains to inculcate, and to recall to

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[1] For our Master and Lord Jesus himself, when he sent us the twelve to make disciples of the people and of the nations, did nowhere send out women to preach, although he did not want such, for there were with us the mother of our Lord and his sisters; also Mary Magdalen, and Mary the mother of James, and Martha and Mary, the sisters of Lazarus, Salome, and certain others. For had it been necessary for women to teach, he himself would have first commanded these also to instruct the people with us.

[2] For we ourselves also, when we often received stripes from Caiaphas, and Alexander, and Annas, went out rejoicing that we were counted worthy to suffer such things for our Saviour.

[3] B. vi. c. 14. On whose account also we who are now assembled in one place, Peter and Andrew, James and John, the sons of Zebedee, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, James the son of Alpheus, and Lebbeus who is surnamed Thaddeus, Simon the Cananite, and Matthias who, instead of Judas, was numbered with us, James the brother of the Lord, and Bishop of Jerusalem, and Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, the chosen vessel, all being present, have written to you this catholic doctrine for the confirmation of you who have been intrusted with the oversight of the church universal.

the memory, that they are from the apostles. But one of the most important passages is b. vi. c. 18; and this for several reasons. First, it appears as if the apostles here themselves spoke out respecting the object of the Constitutions, which they denominate the General Teaching or Catholic Doctrine (τήνδε τὴν καθολικὴν διδασκαλίαν); and, secondly, the apostles here mention Clement, which is the more important, since in no other place of the Constitutions is there any mention of him;[1] that is, in reference to our Constitutions; for in a very different way he is mentioned in b. vii. c. 46. Opposition against the heretics, whose communion all others must avoid, extends itself through all the preceding part of the chapter. The apostles have gone through all lands, to maintain and establish the pure doctrine. This they had done everywhere, from city to city; and now they left to the bishops and the other clergy, this general canon of doctrine (τήνδε τὴν καθολικὴν διδασκαλίαν) for a confirmatory memorial to those who believed in God. But it is very remarkable that it is added: — 'We have sent it by our fellow-minister, Clement, our most faithful and intimate son in the Lord.' In vain do we seek elsewhere for a place in the Constitutions, where the apostles have mentioned their relation to Clement, so far as it specially concerns our Constitutions. From this place, taken exactly, it does not appear at all that Clement had participated in the preparation of the Constitutions, unless one is disposed to urge the expression 'fellow-minister' (συλλειτουργὸς); but rather that the apostles alone were authors of the Constitutions, and that Clement only handed them over to the bishops, and promoted their circulation.

The only other passage which we bring forward here is b. vii. c. 46, which is very characteristic, and shows how the apostles, as such, make their appearance in the Constitutions, and, without any limitation, guide and govern the internal as well as the external affairs of the church. The chapter begins with the address: — Now concerning those bishops

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[1] For we ourselves, as we passed through the nations, and confirmed the churches, curing some with much admonition and many healing words, we brought them back again when they were ready to perish in error. But those that were incurable we cast out of the flock, that they might not infect with their scabby disease the lambs that were sound, but that these might continue before the Lord God pure and undefiled, sound and unspotted. And this we did in every city, everywhere, through the whole world, and have left to you, the bishops, and to the rest of the priests, this the catholic doctrine worthily and righteously, for a memorial of confirmation to those who have believed in God; and we have sent it by our fellow-minister Clement, our most faithful and intimate son in the Lord, together with Barnabas, and Timothy, our most dearly beloved son, and the genuine Mark; with whom also we commend to you Titus and Luke, &c.

who have been ordained by us in our lifetime, we inform you that they are the following.[1] Then the first bishops of Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, Ephesus, Smyrna, and several other places, are enumerated. These now, it is then said in the end of the chapter, are they who have been intrusted by us with the parishes in the Lord; whose doctrine keep ye always in mind, and observe our words.[2] Each apostle enumerates here, personally, those whom he has ordained. But the citation shows how inconsiderately the author introduces the apostles as speaking. For, manifestly, the beginning of the chapter sounds as if the apostles had written this immediately after their death, or, at least, near their death; so that, in any case, they could ordain no more bishops. This, no doubt, is an inconsiderateness of the author; and there occur several other instances like it. This place can also be used to show that, even in the Constitutions as we have them, Clement is nowhere introduced as their collector, or standing in any such relation to them. In the catalogue of bishops it is said, 'The first bishop of the church at Rome, Linus, the son of Claudia' (probably the female who is mentioned at the same time with him in the salutation, 2 Tim. 4: 21), 'was ordained by Paul; but the second, Clement, by me Peter, after the death of Linus.'[3] Still it would be natural to expect here, upon the mention of Clement, some additional clause indicating that this is the Clement through whom these Constitutions have been written down and delivered. On the contrary, Clement, just like the other bishops, is here enumerated simply as bishop of Rome. This silence, to be sure, and this want of a nearer indication, is only a negative proof; but still it is one of some significance. Not as if it were thus to be proved that Clement could not be their author or collector; for, from other considerations, this is sufficiently established; but thereby it is to be only negatively proved that the interpolator may not have taken any special pains to palm the writing upon Clement; and that, from the want of evidence indicating that he did, we might rather conclude the author or authors had no design of attributing it to Clement. On the appearing of the apostles in the eighth book, and on the manner in which they appear there, we will treat more particularly in the investigation respecting that book.

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[1] Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑφ' ἡμων χειροτονηθέντων ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ, γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἰσὶν οὗτοι· —

[2] Οὗτοι οἱ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐμπιστευθέντες τὰς ἐν κυρίῳ παροικίας· ὧν τῆς διδασκαλίας μνημονεύοντες πάντοτε παραφυλάσσεσθε τοὺς ἡμετέρους λόγους, &c.

[3] B. vii. 46. Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Λῖνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας πρῶτος, ὑπὸ Παύλου, Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν Λίνου θάνατον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου, δεύτερος κεχειροτόνηται.

On the meaning of the name Clement, in the Apostolical Constitutions.

That Clement is not the author of the Constitutions, stands fast already, in and for itself; and, as the historical representation has shown, it is proved sufficiently, and is now pretty generally acknowledged. Yet, even to the present time, the question has occasionally been started, but much more seldom discussed, how it happens that the Constitutions were ascribed to Clement, and under his name have come down to us. In quoting the most important passages in which the apostles present themselves as speaking, we have also considered particularly the passages in which Clement is mentioned by the apostles. We have seen that these few passages do not fully give us the right to think that the author and interpolator wished to have them viewed as a work of Clement; for if he had, it would be inconceivable how the forger should not have carried out his design more completely, and have made the apostles say that Clement is the composer and recorder of those precepts which they had imparted to him. Instead of this, the relation of Clement is mentioned only in one place, b. vi. c. 18, from which it only follows that Clement was the bearer of the Constitutions to the bishops and other clergy. If now we turn to the external testimonies, we find in those of the first centuries not the slightest trace that the Constitutions were attributed to Clement, but they were introduced only under the name of the apostles; for as to the testimony of the last apostolical canon, our preceding investigation respecting it has shown, that, on the one hand, it cannot be viewed at all as a testimony from the first centuries; and that it was fabricated by the hand of a more recent interpolator, probably also in favor of our Constitutions. The first certain external witnesses that mention Clement are, as we have already seen, the second Trullan canon, and Photius. Although even their testimonies do not expressly say that Clement was the author of the Constitutions, yet in this canon of the Council supplementary to the fifth (Quinisextum), the expression, 'the Constitutions of the same Holy Apostles by Clement' (*τὰς τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλημέντος διατάξεις*), seems to point to the opinion that they were written down by Clement; unless, perhaps, the expression, *by Clement* (*διὰ Κλημέντος*), be taken from b. vi. c. 18, and should indicate only that Clement was the person who circulated them. But Photius already seems more to attribute the Constitutions to Clement as his work. 'Two books of Clement of Rome,' he says, 'are read; one of which is inscribed, Constitutions of the Apostles by Clement.' (*Ἀνεγνώσθε Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ῥώμης τεύχη βιβλίων δύο· ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐπιγράφεται διαταγαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος.*)

We can therefore at least draw the conclusion, that, first after the time of Epiphanius, the Constitutions were ascribed to Clement, or this renowned bishop of Rome was thought of as standing in a special relation to them.

It still remains for us to solve the question, how it could occur that these Constitutions were ascribed to Clement of Rome; and whether in history there are circumstances from which not only this can be explained, but from which also it arises that the name of Clement is no way without significancy for our investigation.

On the Historical Clement.[1]

Clement of Rome, or the Roman Clement, is probably the same who, in the Epistle to the Philippians, 4: 3, is numbered by Paul among his fellow-laborers in making known the gospel. There can be given only few historical facts from the life of Clement, since we find only few data in the later church historians, from whose statements what is historical must be put together with caution.[2] But it is no way possible to give a full account of his life, entering into particulars, unless, with entire misapprehension of the apostolic age, and with entire neglect of criticism, we will draw from fountains which, upon unprejudiced examination, must appear quite unworthy of being used. Kestner, indeed (in the work mentioned on p. 299), attempts to set forth a complete history of the Roman Clement; but it only shows how a preconceived opinion leads to a misapprehension of all that is truly historical; and that, while its whole argumentation rests on sources which are altogether spurious, or very much interpolated, as we have already been reminded, this has necessarily given occasion to much that is absurd.

Clement, by the holiness of his life, soon acquired very great respect; so that Peter ordained him bishop of the church at Rome, where, in the beginning of the second century, he seems to have died. But the accounts are very different in respect to the time when, and the order of succession in which, Clement was made bishop at Rome. Hence we seek so to discuss as to determine this *with reference to our Constitutions.*

Our Constitutions relate, in b. vii. c. 46, that the first Roman bishop

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[1] Compare J. A. Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca, lib. iv. c. 5, p. 175, and lib. v. c. 1, § 12. vol. v. p. 31; G. Cave, Hist. Lit. Scriptor. Eccles. tom. i. p. 28; and Hamberger's Nachrichten von den vornehmsten Schriftstellern, Theil. ii. S. 186.

[2] Jerome, De Viris Illustribus, c. 15, mentions that he died in the third year of the reign of the emperor Trajan, without relating that he suffered martyrdom.

was Linus, and that he was ordained by Paul; but the second, Clement, who, after the death of Linus, was ordained by Peter. But this account departs entirely from the commonly received one in regard to the order of succession and the time of the Roman bishops. Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, b. iii. c. 2, who seems to have followed Irenæus (against Heresies, b. iii. c. 3), names Linus as the first bishop of Rome. He quotes also, in his Ecclesiastical History, b. v. c. 6, the passage of Irenæus, which he also approves.[1] According to these authors, therefore, Anacletus, or Anencletus, had succeeded Linus; and Clement had succeeded Anencletus. To these accounts Jerome also assents, in his work on Illustrious Men.[2] According to these, therefore, Linus, *after the death of the two apostles*,[3] governed the church in Rome, about twelve years; that is, to about the year 79 or 80. Anencletus followed him during another twelve years; so that, according to these accounts, our Clement must have been made bishop about the year 91 or 92. See also Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, b. iii. c. 4 and 15. The first discrepancy with our Constitutions lies in this, that these designate Paul as the person who ordained Linus; but, on the contrary, all the more ancient and modern writers agree in representing that Peter did this. Only Irenæus ascribes this to both the apostles. Still the statement of Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. b. iii. c. 2, contradicts the statement of our Constitutions, that Linus died before Peter, although this latter is asserted by several. Epiphanius also (Heresy xxvii. 6) relates that Clement was not willing to enter on his office as bishop, till after the death of Linus and Anacletus (or Anencletus, or Cletus, which, according to the opinion of most learned men, are rightly held to be one and the same person). All these testimonies are opposed by our Constitutions, by which the successor of Linus is represented to be Clement, who also was ordained by Peter. In this latter statement, to be sure, in common,

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[1] Irenæus adv. Hæres. iii. 3, p. 202, ed. Grabe. Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. b. v. c. 5) says: 'This writer has inserted the succession of the bishops in his third book against the heresies;' and then proceeds in the sixth chapter to insert the passage: 'The blessed apostles, having founded and established the church, transmitted the office of the episcopate to Linus. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in his epistles to Timothy. He was succeeded by Anencletus; and, after him, Clement held the episcopate, the third from the apostles; who, as he had seen the blessed apostles, and had been connected with them, might be said to have the doctrine of the apostles still sounding in his ears, and what they delivered before his eyes.'

[2] Hieronym. De Viris Illustribus, c. 15.

[3] As this appears from Eusebius, Eccles. Hist., b. iii. c. 2:—'After the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first that received the episcopate of the church of the Romans.'

all agree; and respecting it Tertullian also has left us a well-known testimony.[1] Here now arises the great difficulty of bringing into harmony these various accounts, if we will not admit a downright contradiction. Still there are some writers who corroborate the opinion of our Constitutions; as Augustine (Epist. cxxxv.) and Optatus (lib. ii.).

Yet others, as Tertullian, in the place cited; Nicephorus, in his Hist. ii. 35; Rufin, De Adulteratione Librorum Origenis; Eucherius, in his Epistola Perænetica; Bede, in his Hist. b. ii. c. 4, and others, state that Clement was the first successor of Peter, and, after him, the second bishop. With this account, Cotelerius, in his Annotations on b. vii. c. 46, has endeavored to unite the opinion of our Constitutions. With the Constitutions it would be harmonized, if we assume that, while Linus is viewed also as preceding, he still died in the lifetime of Peter; and with the view of Irenæus, if, according to the opinion of Epiphanius, we assume that Clement, ordained by Peter, gave up the episcopate to Linus; and further, that Anacletus succeeded Linus, and Clement succeeded Anacletus, as he again undertook the episcopate. Accordingly, Cotelerius arranges the succession of the bishops in the following manner: — Peter, Linus, Clement (by the author of our Constitutions this place is assigned him, on account of his ordination; but by Irenæus he is here passed over on account of his abdication of the episcopate), Anacletus, and again Clement. It cannot here be the place to enter upon the many conjectures and assertions which have been adventured respecting the history of the first bishops of Rome.[2] It is enough for us here to have placed the statement of the Constitutions by the side of the other testimonies.

At all events, it stands historically certain that Clement, after the year 91, was at the head of the Roman church. About the year 96, there arose, in the church at Corinth, great dissensions and divisions. Several restless members set themselves in opposition to the teachers and elders, so that the church was greatly injured and almost destroyed. Clement now, in the name of his church, directed to the Corinthians a writing, in which he, in the mildest and most impressive manner, urged them to unity, meekness, and conciliation. Although the difference between Clement's manner of writing and that of the apostles is very great, and we cannot mistake the sudden transition and change from the style and spirit of the apostolical writings, yet there prevails in the whole letter a genuine Christian spirit; and the manner of introducing the

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[1] De Præscript. Hæret. c. 38.

[2] See Pearson and H. Dodwell, De Successione Primorum Romæ Episcoporum; and J. Phil. Baratier, De Success. Antiquiss. Episc. Rom.

New Testament writings, as well as the whole contents of the letter, testifies for its high antiquity. According to Eusebius (Eccles. History, b. iii. c. 16), it stood in so high esteem that in most churches it was publicly read, in connection with the divine service. In modern times the genuineness of this first epistle, as a whole, has generally been acknowledged. Still we cannot pronounce it free from considerable interpolations. Thus, for example, it can escape no one that the mention of Danæ and Dirce (Epist. i. to the Corinthians, c. 6) does not at all suit the connection; at least, it would be passing strange if Clement, for the purpose of introducing an example of constancy in the faith, should wish to make use of these heathen narrations. It seems to be equally unworthy of Clement, and of the whole apostolical simplicity of his letter, if he, from the fable of the bird Phœnix (Epist. to the Corinthians, c. 25 and c. 26), should wish to illustrate the possibility of the resurrection from the dead. Much rather can we hold this narrative to be an interpolation which belongs to a later age, in which the Christian consciousness had receded, and men were pleased with such argumentations. The conjecture also might not be too adventurous to place these and similar interpolations in the age of our Constitutions. At least, the same account of the bird Phœnix is found also in our Constitutions; and if there is a difference in the account, it is not an essential one. In the epistle to the Corinthians, Clement relates that this bird dies in Arabia; but our Constitutions, b. v. c. 7, that it builds itself a funeral pile in Egypt, and consumes itself by fire. On the contrary, the agreement in the cited passage of the Constitutions is very essential, since the account of the bird Phœnix is also here mentioned as presenting a case analogous to the resurrection of men, and as being an account from which also the heathen had argued. Once more: The passage in c. 40 is very much to be suspected, because it transfers the whole Jewish priesthood into the Christian church; while, in the other parts of the letter, the simple relations of the apostolic age prevail, and Clement sets Bishops and Presbyters or Elders on a level, and uses these titles interchangeably (see c. 42 and 44). Here also the same interpolator could have been busy, who composed the Constitutions, and transferred into them the whole Levitical system of priests. This first epistle to the Corinthians might, as for the rest, be the only genuine document which has come to us from the *historical* Clement. For the so-called second epistle to the Corinthians, which, it is manifest, is only a fragment of a homily, cannot be regarded as a writing of the historical Clement; and this opinion prevailed already in the ancient church; as also Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. b. iii. c. 38) states that the epistle was not received in the ancient church, and that her teachers had not used it as an authority.

From the circle of multifarious writings which, besides these, we possess under the name of Clement, or which have been ascribed to him by tradition, no other one has yet been acknowledged as genuine, and actually belonging to Clement. We lose here entirely the historical territory, while the richest territory of tradition opens itself to us. And this is by no means a territory which could not afford interesting results and elucidations in aid of historical investigation. For, like our Constitutions, there are, in the multitude of pseudo-Clementine writings, many which supply characteristic contributions for the history of the church and its doctrines. The question becomes the more natural and interesting, how it happens that all these writings bear the name of Clement; and whether a cause is to be found for the fact, or what meaning the name of Clement has in this connection.

Clement, a collective name, denoting a circle of the traditions of the first three centuries.

The first writing which presents itself to us is the so-called Recognitions (ἀναγνωρισμοὶ) of Clement, which relates the history of Clement himself. It is a kind of philosophical, theological romance, in which probably the author has painted the history of his own inner life. Perhaps also the author wished to interweave what he himself had experienced, into the life of a man generally known and honored; or, what to me, at least, is the more probable, he used only a slight historical basis, and sent forth the whole as a fiction, having, from the life of Clement, taken some facts into his writing for the purpose of increasing its circulation and influence. Profoundness and inner life cannot, in general, be denied to this pseudo-Clementine writing, while there is also found in it much that is perverse and tasteless. Clement is represented as an eminent Roman, who, amidst the corruption of the then vicious Rome, had preserved purity of morals and a soul longing after the more elevated. He sought and wished to obtain explanation on the great questions which agitated his whole soul. Tossed by anxious doubts concerning God and the world, and concerning himself in respect to these, and concerning immortality, he sought information and disclosures in the schools of the philosophers. But nowhere did he find satisfaction and rest; nowhere was the longing of the soul quieted; and already he was wishing to seek explanation in the mysteries and magic of Egypt, when he first heard the announcement of the gospel, as Barnabas came to Rome. Then, relate the Recognitions, Clement journeyed

to Cæsarea, where he found Peter, and by him was fully converted. There are then related the travels of the apostle Peter in Palestine and Syria; his oral contests with Simon Magus, and many of his miracles. Still the Recognitions pursue the history of Clement; he finds again his mother Matthidia, who for some long years had disappeared (b. vii. c. 23). There follows also the recognition of his father Faustinian, who, by various events, had been removed from them (b. ix. c. 36 and 37). Hence also the name *Recognitions*. The writing consists of ten books, and has come down to us only in the Latin translation by Rufin. Unquestionably these Recognitions are spurious, and belong perhaps to the end of the second or beginning of the third century; but certainly to no later time. The testimonies, too, of the ancients reject them as not coming from Clement, and as interpolated. See Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, b. iii. c. 3, where the Acts of Peter appear to be identical with the Recognitions of Clement; and b. iii. c. 38, where the Dialogues of Peter and Apion also seem to be the same with the Recognitions. Again and again the Recognitions occur under various names. They are especially assailed and rejected by Epiphanius (Heresy xxx. 15), and by Jerome (in Catalog. Scrip. Eccles. c. 1, and lib. i. adv. Jovinianum, c. 14). It is hardly possible, without an extended investigation, to give a definite judgment; especially since, in the quoted places, this writing of Clement coincides, in great part, with those which pertain to the history and preaching of Peter. The whole becomes still more difficult from the fact that, in the testimonies of the ancients, we have not a single indication respecting the rise of these apocryphal writings, and respecting their relation to one another, and their various recensions.

The pseudo-Clementine Homilies are very nearly related to these Recognitions, in respect to contents; but in respect to the language, no comparison can be instituted, since we have only the Latin translation of the Recognitions, while we have the Greek original of the Homilies, the *Clementina*, the other work ascribed to Clement. There are nineteen of them, in which almost the same matter is brought forward as in the Recognitions; so that it seems as if both works were only different recensions or editions of one and the same work. Probably the object of these Clementine homilies is to set forth the apostle Peter as a defender of the Judaizing Christianity. According to the judgment of a distinguished church-historian, the Clementine Homilies come near the view of the Nazarenes; while in them the complete observance of the ceremonial law is held necessary for the Jews only, not for the heathen.[1]

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[1] A. Neander on the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, a contribution to the history of

At the same time, according to that author, there are in them some things also which oppose the view of the Nazarenes.

The rise of the Clementine homilies may be placed, most probably, at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century; where the Greek philosophy and speculative knowledge (γνῶσις) began the contest with Christianity; so that the work may have been occasioned by the need of setting forth the collisions and dissensions of the time. It cannot be the object here to enter into the development of the ideas contained in them; and in respect to them we can only refer to Neander's excellent treatise.

Respecting the early interpolation of writings which bear the name of Clement, there is testimony, especially in the two epistles which are preserved under his name in the Syrian church; and which Wetstein, in the second part of his New Testament, first published from a Syriac manuscript. In them there is found neither salutation nor subscription, whereby we might come to know the author. Only the transcriber had prefixed, 'Moreover, the first epistle of blessed Clement, the disciple of the apostle Peter' (Porro, epistola prior beati Clementis, discipuli Petri apostoli.)[1] These epistles, which bear the impress of simplicity, and in which is still found the whole church life of the apostolic time, appear to have arisen in the second century. A strong indication of this is the fact, that in them there is no trace of the idea of the Levitical priesthood, which in the writings of later times is carried out in so many ways; but while, before the fourth century, they are not mentioned at all in any testimony of the ancients, this may well be alleged against their early introduction. They could not, however, have been forged later than the beginning of the third century.

Another writing, which belongs to this circle of traditions, the first epistle of Clement to James, is certainly spurious; and came as little from Clement, if we may now consider this epistle as it is found in the edition of the pseudo-Isidore, or as it is still extant in the old translation by Rufin. Some have been disposed to assert its authenticity according to this translation; but Constant has already suggested, that

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the Ebionites, as a supplement to his Genetischen Entwickelung der vornehmsten gnostischen Systeme. Berlin, 1818; S. 361.

[1] Besides being in Wetstein, the epistles are found also in Mansi (Sacror. Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio. Florent. et Venet. 1759); in Mansi's Collection, Epistola vi. et vii. tom. i. p. 144–156. Nathaniel Lardner, in his 'Dissertation upon the two Epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome, lately published by Mr. Wetstein,' has assigned many reasons for not ascribing them to Clement.

James was martyred long before the death of Peter.[1] Against this, to be sure, there has been suggested again the uncertainty of the time of this historical fact. Still that Clement is not the author is fully certain; and while we cannot here bring the proof from the contents of the epistle (the reader can easily consult them himself), we add merely that the testimonies of the ancients prove negatively that Clement is not the author. Rufin, in his preface to the Recognitions, thinks that the epistle was written after the Recognitions; and Photius (Cod. 112 and 113), that it is a dedication of the work which embraced the Acts of Peter, the Disputations with Simon, and the Recognition of Clement and his family. However this may be, it hence appears, indirectly, that they also did not regard the epistle as really belonging to Clement. The second so-called Clementine epistle to James, of which Rufin yet knew nothing, is manifestly spurious.

Besides these most generally known epistles of Clement, there are still several which have been less generally known; but, nevertheless, all have been falsely introduced under the name of Clement.[2]

Moreover, under the name of Clement, there has come to us an abstract from the Clementine homilies, from the Recognitions, from the first epistle of Clement to James, from the Martyrdom of Clement, and from the Narrative of Ephraim, in which all that is superfluous and hurtful seems to be designedly either omitted or amended.[3]

The Martyrdom of Clement, which is full of the most tasteless superstition, belongs unquestionably to a very late time, as it is mentioned by no ancient writer; and Rufin (De Adulteratione Librorum Origenis) is

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[1] Epistolæ Rom. Pontiff. ed. Petri Const. tom. i. in the Appendix, p. 3, 4. Par. 1721, fol. Sed et inde certa et explicata est epistolæ hujus falsitas, quod eam Clemens post passionem Petri ad Jacobum scribere fingitur, quem ante Petrum obiisse indubitatis monumentis notum habetur. Nam Jacobum anno Christi 62, a Judæis occisum esse convenit: Petrum autem aliqui anno 65, plures anno 66, alii aut 67 aut 68, nulli sane ante 65 passum existimant.

[2] They are found in Mansi Coll. Ampliss. Concil. Epistola III. IV. V. tom. i. p. 130–144. Besides, Mansi has preserved from a very ancient manuscript at Lucca, six pretended short Decrees of Clement, of which the last four contain nothing that speaks positively against their spuriousness. Ibid. tom. i. p. 158. Blondell, in Pseudo-Isodoro et Turriano Vapulantibus, Genev. 1628, is of the opinion that Isidore has forged these also. Still, Mansi has received also into his collection the Præcepta S. Petri de Sacramentis Conservandis; the contents of which, however, coincide, in great part, with the contents of the second epistle of Clement to James. Ibid.

[3] Κλήμεντος ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης, περὶ τῶν πράξεων, ἐπιδημιῶν τε, καὶ κήρυγματων τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου ἐπιτομὴ ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ αὐτοῦ συμπεριείληπται βίος, πρὸς Ἰάκωβον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων.

the very first who mentioned Clement as a martyr. See what we have said above, page 343.[1]

We have here given a survey of the principal pseudo-Clementine writings; but, besides these, there are ascribed to Clement many others, which we cannot here mention further.[2] As now the question in general, how so great a multitude of spurious writings could have arisen, and where the origin of them is to be sought, is not without importance; so it is, too, with the question, how Clement became the representative of a whole circle of spurious writings. On this question in general, an investigation has already been instituted by Mosheim; and the result to which he has come is, that the cause of this phenomenon is to be sought especially in the multitude of heretical parties of the first centuries, who, in the conviction that a pious fraud was permitted for the support and extensive spread of their views, invented writings and brought them into circulation.[3] Certainly we must concede to Mosheim, that, after the influence of the new Platonic philosophy, the number of the spurious writings increased, and these bore on them a peculiar Gnostic character; but, nevertheless, these spurious writings are found in very great number, before the New Platonics. It is certain that the endeavors to make entrance for many regulations and institutions of each successive age, by the authority of distinguished men, were very considerable causes of these interpolations. In the fabrication, for example, of the pseudo-Clementine writings, both causes, the dogmatic interest and the hierarchal, have found place. Their author belongs manifestly to the class

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[1] It has already been mentioned, that the collection of the canons also has been ascribed to Clement; another indication that this name was considered as a collective and very comprehensive one.

[2] Periodi Petri, Disputatio Petri et Apionis, Sermones de providentia et justo judicio Dei, libri x.: de vero Propheta, de proprietate intelligentiæ Legis, de principio, de Deo, de duobus cœlis, de firmamento invisibili, de malo et bono, de verbis Domini, quæ sibi videntur esse contraria, sed non sunt, de generatione per Baptismum, Apocalypsis Petri sive Revelationes beati Petri apostoli, &c. Compare Cotelerius, SS. Patr. temp. Apost. Opp. I. p. 818. Clement, too, as is well known, has been thought to be the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. This conjecture is founded on the great similarity of this epistle to the first epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. Here it may well be replied, that it can hardly be supposed that this author would have copied himself; that therefore this circumstance much more favors the opinion that Clement used and imitated the epistle to the Hebrews. See more on this subject in F. Bleeck, Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in den Brief an die Hebräer. Berlin, 1828; S. 410.

[3] Dissertatio de causis suppositorum Librorum inter Christianos. Sæc. I. et II. in Diss. ad Hist. Eccles. pertinent, vol. i. p. 217—; et Diss. de turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesia, ib. p. 85.

of the Judaizing Christians, although he holds the observance of the ceremonial law to be obligatory only for the Jews, not for the Gentiles, that have become Christians. See Neander, in the reference already made. Hence it must necessarily have had for the author of those writings a high dogmatic interest, if Peter was actually a defender of the Judaizing Christianity; and, since he had no doubt of this, he would not hesitate to represent him thus in a fictitious work.

If, now, Clement was held to be the author of the work, this would have the more influence and respect, since he had been an immediate disciple of Peter and Paul, and associated with both. The fabricator, therefore, had no scruple to ascribe them to Clement; and he did this the more readily, as, respecting the life of Clement himself, only few certain facts were known, and these very well permitted the belief that he had stood in a close connection with Peter. It comports with the character of the circle of the pseudo-Clementine traditional writings, that, for the most part, all these writings had their origin in the East, and thence were spread abroad. Perhaps the reason why so many writings bear the name of Clement may be sought in this, that they arose in the East, where the less the historical Clement was known, the more easily a tradition respecting him might be constructed.

We see, therefore, how already, at the end of the second century, on account of dogmatic interest, pseudo-Clementine writings were clandestinely introduced. Later, the hierarchal interest prevailed in the fabrication of Clementine writings. More and more appear under this name; so that, in the end, the name of Clement becomes a collective and standing name for apocryphal writings. This we perceive also in the fact that the name of Clement is ascribed to our Constitutions. In the Constitutions themselves no cause for it was found; since, as we have seen, only in one single place is there mention of the relation of Clement as the bearer of the Constitutions; which place, on that very account, might be called in question. The investigation also of the testimonies respecting the Constitutions has shown that first after the times of Epiphanius, when alteration and corruption had already been at work upon the Constitutions, the name of Clement occurs in them. But hence it may well be conjectured, that also first after the times of Epiphanius, the Constitutions were viewed as Clementine; and this, not so much because they were believed to have come from Clement, as because they belonged to the great circle of pseudo-Clementine writings. In the preparing of the Constitutions, there prevails, doubtless, the hierarchal interest. To promote this, the name of Clement must certainly have rendered good service, while it served directly to denote traditional writings which had come down from age to age, and found the

best application in the Constitutions which instituted regulations for the whole sphere of the church and of the life. As these regulations now were given under the false name of the apostles, and this fraud was easily perceived, so it happened as it were of itself, without its being necessary to suppose a definite object, that the Constitutions were ascribed to Clement, that is, were reckoned in the circle of extant pseudo-Clementine writings.

CHAPTER IV.

DETERMINATION OF THE AGE OF THE CONSTITUTIONS, AND INQUIRY RESPECTING THE FIRST SEVEN BOOKS.

On the opinion that the Constitutions are composed of parts which were once distinct works.

In the historical representation of the opinions respecting the Constitutions, we have several times mentioned this opinion, and have endeavored to refute the arguments which were brought for its support. Here, therefore, we need only exhibit some arguments which perhaps could still be adduced to sustain it; examine them more closely; and set over against them the arguments which speak for the unity of the Constitutions, and can be pointed out, aside from the matters connected with that discussion.

It has been asserted by some, that the ancient Constitutions were only a work of very small compass; and there has been an effort to prove this by the testimony of Eusebius and Athanasius, and especially by the testimony of the librarian Anastasius. At a comparatively late period, it is said, our present Constitutions, which are of considerable compass, may have been formed by the melting down of the Instructions (διδαχαί) mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius with the Constitution (διάταξις) used by Epiphanius, and perhaps also with the work which Anastasius quotes. But — to pass over the fact that this view denies in the outset, without proof, the identity of the Constitutions of Eusebius and Athanasius with those of Epiphanius — we see not on what the assumption rests,

that the Instructions of Eusebius and Athanasius were only of small compass. In the testimony itself, as our foregoing discussion must have shown (see p. 303), there is no ground for it; and hence it seems arbitrary. Nor can the testimony of Anastasius speak for this view, as we have already shown (p. 306). Here we only add, that the testimony of Anastasius, in view of the *Incomplete Work on Matthew*, and of the Trullan canon, falls to the ground. The testimony of the *Incomplete Work on Matthew* has shown us, that, according to the highest probability, the eighth book of the Constitutions was then known; that therefore the work must have had a considerable compass, if we bear in mind that the testimony of Epiphanius vouches for the existence of several other books of the Constitutions. It seems, too, as if the canon of the Trullan council would not have passed its decision on a little, insignificant work. Should it be said that it is still difficult to explain how Anastasius could adduce an *Instruction of the Apostles* (διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων) of so small compass, we request attention to our explanation of the reading of Anastasius, and think it probable that he could still have known that abstract which Athanasius mentions, although it was lost at a later period, and has not come down to us.

Perhaps some, however, might use a circumstance from the testimony of Epiphanius, in order to establish that view; and hence we will in anticipation consider it more closely. Since Epiphanius quotes only from the first and the fifth book of the Constitutions, it might safely be inferred that only these two books had been known to him; and since they were of no very great compass, this speaks in favor of the assertion, that the earlier Constitutions did not embrace much, and, first at a later period, were increased to the present extent by the addition of other Instructions. It is certainly true that Epiphanius quotes only from the first and the fifth book of the Constitutions. (The passages adduced by him are found b. i. c. 1 and 3; b. v. c. 17 and 19; b. v. c. 15; b. v. c. 20; b. v. c. 13, 15, 18, and 19.) But surely this is only an accidental circumstance, which can easily be explained from the fact that the fifth book, which treats *concerning martyrs* (περὶ μαρτύρων), contains more than the others that is appropriate to the use of Epiphanius. From the circumstance that a writer quotes only this or that book, but does not mention others, it would surely be unsafe to infer immediately that these other books were not extant in his time and known to him. But if we only consider the matter more exactly, we need not repel that general assertion by so general a counter-argument, which otherwise would here be in its place.

It is certain, therefore, that Epiphanius was acquainted with the first and the fifth book of the Constitutions. Now, the first book treats of the

laity, and contains general moral precepts. The fifth book, on the contrary, treats of the martyrs; and then connects with these a copious enumeration of the Christian festivals, and states why and how they are observed. But does this naturally cohere in any way with the first book? It is hardly conceivable that there was a work which embraced only two books of such contents, where between the books there was no relationship at all, no connection, no point of transition. And how came together two matters so heterogeneous, without the least perceptible connection? But if we consider all the seven books as they stand together, we see their connection, as well in the general arrangement, as also in the particular parts which will be discussed in our subsequent investigations. The development of the plan of the Constitutions will show how it lay in the author's design to set up an authoritative standard for the whole ecclesiastical life: He wished to impart precepts for all the members of the church, for laymen and clergy; he wished to determine more closely all ecclesiastical relations, the position and the relation of the clergy to one another, in the control and management of the church; he wished further to settle more exactly the ecclesiastical usages, explain their meaning, and promote their more strict observance.

After presenting, in the *first* book, some precepts for the laity, the author, in the *second* book, treats very copiously respecting the position and the duties of the bishops and the lower clergy. The *third* book determines the duties of the widows who then made a part of the clerical or spiritual community, fixes their ecclesiastical employments, and the duties of some of the lower clergy. The *fourth* book, which bears the general superscription 'concerning orphans,' defines their relation to the bishops, and then imparts precepts respecting oblations and other matters, which are very suitably followed by what is contained in the *fifth* book. All coheres well; and throughout we perceive a definite object, a judicious plan to give precepts and ordinances for the most multifarious ramifications of ecclesiastical life. The *sixth* book, which is superscribed 'concerning schisms' (*περὶ σχισμάτων*), speaks copiously on the multiplied separations and heresies in the church, and on the evils thence arising; warns and admonishes, and gives directions respecting the heretics. And, finally, the *seventh* book embraces a multitude of directions, which, for the most part, have reference more to the inner ecclesiastical life.

To all this it must be added, that Epiphanius most probably quotes a passage from the *seventh* book of our Constitutions, or, at least, had it in mind. We have, indeed, in presenting his testimony, passed over this citation, since in our Constitutions it is not found in so many words,

but in very general terms. Epiphanius (Heres. lxxv. 6[1]) mentions a precept of the Constitutions on the time of fasting, which is found nearly the same in our Constitutions, b. vii. c. 23.[2] In both places, fasting, on the fourth day (quarta feria) and on the sixth (the Preparation, παρασκευή) is commanded. But while, in the passages of the fifth book, already presented (p. 314), the same directions in regard to fasting are given, we cannot well view the passage in b. vii. c. 23, as having been taken from Epiphanius. Certainly Epiphanius can have had this passage also in his eye; and then, if this were the case, it would be another evidence that the Constitutions known to Epiphanius were a work of no small extent.

But what speaks most decidedly against the opinion that the Constitutions were only made up of many isolated pieces, is the whole form and style of the work. The canons have a form adapted to the notion of a law; but it is not so with the Constitutions. These do not express their views briefly, decidedly, and categorically, in respect to practical life, even when they would pass for ordinances; but they have more the form of a treatise. They move very heavily, and are overburdened with quotations from the Holy Scriptures. This, in respect to the style of the Constitutions, is essentially characteristic, and distinguishes it from the style of the canons, in which, on account of their brevity, this can have no place, as their whole nature would forbid their entering upon dogmatic proofs. The citing of the Holy Scriptures goes so far in the Constitutions, that not only long passages are quoted word for word, but even extended explanations of those passages are sometimes given, and an application of them made to the subject under consideration. This circumstance, which in respect to the Constitutions is so characteristic, points essentially also to the unity of the whole work. Constituent parts from various sources would most probably exhibit variety in their manner, and would depart widely from each other in their form and style, and especially in the qualities of the latter; so that these departures and varieties could not but be seen. If any one say

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[1] Εἰ δὲ καὶ χρὴ τὸ τῆς διατάξεως τῶν ἀποστόλων λέγειν, πῶς ἐκεῖ ὡρίζοντο τετράδα καὶ προσάββατον νηστείαν διὰ παντὸς, χωρὶς πεντεκοστῆς. If, moreover, it is also necessary to mention that of the Constitution of the Apostles, how they there appointed the fourth day of the week (Wednesday) and the day before the Sabbath (Friday) a fast always, except Pentecost.

[2] Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖα ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτῃ· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἢ τὰς πέντε νηστεύσατε ἡμέρας, ἢ τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. But let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second and the fifth day of the week. But do ye fast either the five days, or the fourth and the Preparation.

that the compiler has, in respect to contents, form, and style, so melted down the Constitutions, that the work has become a whole, then the assertion that they consisted of parts from various sources would fall to ruin of itself, and become quite another, and be about equivalent to saying that their author has used and had in view much that was more ancient. This may be cheerfully conceded; as, by this concession, the unity of the Constitutions runs no more hazard than every writing in which what is more ancient is circumspectly regarded.

If the former assertion were true, there would be traces of the putting together and arrangement. Varieties in the style must have shown themselves, and the form could not well have been one and the same throughout. Then, too, it would need to be explained why not a single testimony of the ancients has descended to us, confirming the assumption of various distinct pieces; and not only will this explanation be difficult, if not altogether impossible to give, but we shall be obliged, besides, to venture the assertion that all these distinct writings and parts, from which the Constitutions must be put together, have, in their original form, been entirely lost, and that no account of them whatever has come down to us.

Besides these general remarks on the unity of the work, we will further point out the connection in detail, where it shall be necessary.

Determination of the Age of the Constitutions.

We have pointed out how the name of the apostles in the Constitutions is to be considered; have discussed what meaning the name *Clement* has in the same production; and have shown that the name, in either case, does not by any means denote the relation of the author to his work. But now the question could be started, Who, then, is the author of the Constitutions? and we might believe that, as in other cases, here also historical criticism would give us the means of deciding. Yet the external and the internal conditions of the writing are of such a kind that this cannot be our task, and that we can scarcely make an attempt at it, if we do not wish to lose ourselves in an endless multitude of conjectures, without ever reaching solid ground, and finding confirmation for the conjecture which we might propose. Beveridge's attempt, which we have mentioned (p. 276), is the only one which is hazarded respecting the author of the Constitutions. This, however, since it rests

on a very isolated ground, and takes only a partial view, must of necessity fall out unhappily. So, too, must every other attempt have the greatest difficulty, since it can attach itself to nothing that is firmly established. We have, for instance, not the slightest intimation in the testimonies of the ancients respecting the true author of the Constitutions; for all the testimonies respecting that work name only the apostles and Clement. To argue from internal evidence is doubly difficult in a writing which wishes to represent a false age, and in whose plan it lies to substitute artfully a false author instead of the true one.

From the external testimonies respecting the Constitutions, and from the internal evidence, it will, on the contrary, be possible for us to point out their age in the most exact and careful manner. Yes, we will endeavor to determine the age of the Constitutions, at least approximately, up to the difference of a few years, and point out their origin as necessarily falling in this or that time. This, however difficult it may be, will be a possible task of criticism; while, on the contrary, in the attempt to determine who the author was, there is no historical and positive basis. Besides, the Constitutions can also have had an entirely unknown author, who, moreover, as it is usually done in a forged work, applied the greatest care to conceal the fraud (which otherwise might be well intended), and to attain his object. What is the most important of all, in this matter, is to settle firmly the age of the Constitutions, and exhibit the proper evidence.

While, however, it is our wish to determine the age of the Constitutions, we separate the first seven books, which, by themselves, make out a whole, from the eighth book, which, according to the highest probability, arose later, and then was added to the first seven. In the eighth book, much is copiously repeated, which had already been handled in the preceding books. The form of the Constitutions, and their style in the eighth book, are entirely different from what is found in the seven. It is manifest that the greatest part of the eighth book consists of liturgical formularies, and that all the objects occurring in it point to a later age. We now assume in the way of anticipation, that the age of the seven books is different from that of the eighth; and, in the investigation respecting the eighth, we will furnish ample proof that it is different.

We enter now upon the following course: — We state briefly in the outset the result of our inquiry; and then point it out, step by step, and endeavor to vindicate it amply, in the investigations respecting each individual book.

Our discussion of the external testimonies respecting the Constitutions has shown that Eusebius, Athanasius, and Epiphanius, can be admitted

as vouchers, that already during the whole fourth century the Constitutions had been extant and known. This is, therefore, for us a fixed historical point, and we shall be obliged to seek the age of the Constitutions before that time. Indeed their first seven books contain nothing which we might be obliged to consider as belonging to a later time, if we except a few interpolations, which were made after the time of Epiphanius, and which we will point out in an investigation devoted to that subject. As these are not very considerable and extensive, we pass over them here. They can have no influence upon the determination of the age. The external testimonies constrain us, therefore, to seek for the origin of the work before the fourth century; and with this all the internal evidences agree. Now, in reference to the contents, the Constitutions bear on themselves the clearest impress that they must have arisen *towards the end of the third century.* Their whole contents testify to this most strikingly. The form of their public divine service; their whole ritual and disciplinary institution, which they bring before us; the state of their teachers and servants of the church; finally, the whole plan and object for which the Constitutions seem to have arisen, are so many proofs in favor of our assertion. The whole internal and external form of the church, as it presents itself in these writings, we find again in the third century; and the agreement is so great, that it can be pointed out even in the most inconsiderable things. But there is another circumstance which very much facilitates the determining of the age of the Constitutions. They evidently bear, in a high degree, *the impress of the age of Cyprian*, and have proceeded entirely from the spirit and aim which Cyprian had. The idea of the unity of the church, the notion of the excessive regard for bishops, is also the basis of our Constitutions. We shall be able to follow the agreement with the ideas and views of Cyprian, even in the minutest parts of the government of the church. It will also not be difficult for us to exhibit the agreement of our Constitutions with some few writers who flourished in the middle and towards the end of the third century. But, since Cyprian was not acquainted with them, and no writer of that age mentions them, we must assume, that in the time of Cyprian, the Constitutions were not extant. For had they been extant, it cannot be supposed that they would not have been used in the numerous contentions, for example, respecting the reception of those who had fallen away (the *lapsi*), and on many other occasions. This permits us to conclude, that they arose not long after Cyprian, towards the end of the third century, in some oriental church; and that they proceeded from an author who had adopted the principles and ideas of Cyprian, and wished to transmit them perpetually to the oriental church. As we have now established

the end of the third century for the age of the first seven books; so, for the age of the eighth book, we name the end of the fourth, or, at the most, the beginning of the fifth century, in favor of which speaks the external testimony of the *Incomplete Work on Matthew*, which, however, we will prove chiefly by a thorough comparison with Chrysostom.

Investigation on the First Book of the Constitutions.

It is superscribed *concerning the laity* (περὶ λαϊκῶν); and, among all the eight books of the Constitutions, it is of the smallest extent. It contains ten chapters, which, for the most part, are occupied in giving moral precepts, and often refer to passages of Scripture. Since these moral and disciplinary rules are quite commonly held, only a little can be brought from this book indicating the age of the Constitutions. Still it contains one thing, from which perhaps we might argue.

After warning has been given against covetousness, revenge, and love of pomp, and Christians have been exhorted to industry and to the reading of the Scriptures, the reading of all heathen books is forbidden, (c. 6): — 'Abstain from all heathen books. For what hast thou to do with such foreign discourses, or laws, or false prophets, that turn aside the unstable from the faith?' 'If a man wishes to read historical books, he has,' thinks the author of the Constitutions, 'the books of the Kings; or poetic, he has the Prophets, Job, and the Proverbs; or lyric, he has the Psalms.' Hence, it is concluded, he must abstain entirely from the reading of all heathen books.[1] The Constitutions express themselves still more strongly in b. ii. c. 61: — 'But why wilt thou be a partaker of heathen oracles, which are nothing but dead men, declaring, by the inspiration of the devil, deadly things, and such as are subversive of the faith, and draw away to polytheism those that attend to them?'

From this perhaps we might borrow an argument, though not with full assurance, as, in the outset, we ought cheerfully to concede. At an earlier period, to be sure, the question had been discussed among the Christians, whether a man may venture to read the writings of the heathen; yet the contest had never been carried on more zealously than about the middle of the third century. Clement of Alexandria (lib. i. Operis varie contexti), Tertullian (De Idololatria, c. 10), and Origen

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[1] Compare Rosenmüller, Historia Interpretationis Librorum Sacrorum, lib. i. c. ii. p. 121.

(Philocalia, c. 13), had declared themselves in favor of reading heathen authors. Origen especially prosecuted the study of heathen literature very zealously; and even heathen writers acknowledged that he was highly distinguished in these studies.[1] But this predilection for Greek science was offensive to not a few; and Origen found it necessary to defend himself in a letter against those who disapproved studies of this kind. Hence it is possible that the author of the Constitutions had respect to these contentions, and declared himself with so much decision against the reading of heathen books, especially because the most influential men stood on the side of the other opinion. Towards the end of the sixth chapter and in the whole of the ninth, the Constitutions are zealous against the shameful custom of men and women's bathing themselves together, and using the same bathing-tub.[2] The custom seems to have been pretty general and prevalent. In the same manner, Clement of Alexandria (Pædagogus, lib. iii. c. 5) censures it most earnestly, and points out the great moral corruption which must necessarily arise from it; and, in c. 9, he states the causes on account of which only, bathing could be permitted. How very much that custom, however, prevailed in the middle of the third century, is evident from the censure and the admonitions which are found also in several passages of Cyprian.[3] Hence we make no false conclusion, if we say that, since the author of the Constitutions also felt the necessity of contending against the same indecorum, he probably wrote either in the same time or in one only somewhat later.

In b. i. c. 8, and b. ii. c. 57, the Constitutions enjoin it on female Christians to cover the head, when in the street, and by a veil to conceal themselves from the inquisitive. Now if the account were to be relied on, which George Cedrenus relates to us, that the emperor De-

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[1] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. b. vi. c. 18: Whence also he considered the studies of political and philosophical matters particularly necessary for himself. And c. xix.: Let these, therefore, suffice to evince both the calumnies of the false accuser, and also the great proficiency of Origen in the branches of Grecian literature. Respecting which, defending himself against some who censured him for devoting so much study to those pursuits, he writes thus in a certain epistle.

[2] C. 6: Moreover, when thou walkest abroad, and hast a mind to bathe, make use of that bath which is appropriated to men. C. 9: Of a woman's not bathing with men: — Avoid also that disorderly practice of bathing in the same place with men; for many are the nets of the evil one.

[3] De Disciplina et Habitu Virginum, near the end. Quid vero, quæ promiscuas balneas adeant, quæ oculis ad libidinem curiosis, pudori ac pudicitiæ corpora dicata prostituunt, quæ quum viros, atque a viris nudæ, videant turpiter, ac videntur, nonne ipsæ illecebram vitiis præstant? Nonne ad corruptelam et injuriam suam desideria præsentium sollicitant et invitant?

cius [A.D. 249] by an edict forbade Christian women to cover the head; we might from this infer that the Constitutions bring to remembrance anew the command of the apostle Paul (1 Cor. 11); just because, at the time of their being written, this custom was, through the edict of Decius, in danger of being entirely done away. On the relation of this book to the other books of the Constitutions, and whence it comes that hardly any criterion is found in this book for determining the age of the Constitutions, we shall present some considerations in a subsequent part of our discussion.

Investigation on the Second Book of the Constitutions.

There are two ideas and views, in particular, which are found in this book, and from which especially we can borrow proofs for the opinion already stated respecting the time when the Constitutions came into existence. The first view consists in this, that extraordinary authority, exalting itself over every thing, is ascribed to the bishops; that the salvation of the church depends on this high position of the bishops; and that, without the bishops as such, we can have no conception of a church. As the carrying-out of this idea lay in the plan of the Constitutions, so, further on, when we unfold it more, we shall also point to the middle and the end of the third century as the time when it acquired in the church peculiar power.

The second view, which is expressed in many chapters of this book, is the milder opinion in respect to receiving again into church-fellowship the penitents, and such as had fallen away. Here all bears the impress, that these regulations were written towards the end of the third century. They themselves suppose oppositions and different opinions, and seek to combat these by arguments and examples from the Holy Scriptures. We see clearly that the spread of this view lies at the heart of the writer. He treats the theme very copiously, even so as to become quite prolix, and returns to it again and again.

Admonitions and commands are directed especially to the Bishops, not to make themselves unworthy of their high office by unchristian rigor. This subject is presented particularly in c. 12, 14, 16, 24, 38, 41, and 55; and more or less in c. 13, 15, 19, 21, 22, and 23. It is certain that all these precepts are directed against the rigor which at the time when the Constitutions were made, was exercised towards the penitents, and such as had fallen away. Thus it is said in c. 14: 'Receive there-

fore him that repenteth, without any doubting. Be not hindered by those who unmercifully say that we must not be defiled with such, nor so much as speak to them; for such advice is from men that are unacquainted with God and his providence, but are unreasonable judges and unmerciful beasts; for they are ignorant that we ought to avoid society with offenders, not in discourse, but in actions.' 'We ought not therefore to hearken to those who are constantly inclined to kill, and hate mankind, and love accusations, and, under fair pretences, bring men to death.' From these and similar pas ages, we must infer that the violence of the controversy respecting the manner in which the discipline of the church ought to be administered had risen to the highest; and the strong and everywhere purposely inserted polemics on this point warrant the inference, that this controversy had already become general. In this matter, too, the Constitutions express entirely Cyprian's view, which, soon after the Novatian controversies, became the general one. Here, of course, only Cyprian's later opinion on this subject can be meant; for it is well known, that, after he had made many a painful and bitter experiment, a great change occurred in his principles. The Constitutions now represent entirely that milder opinion which he embraced at the later period. But the polemics which are directed against that dark, lowering view, lead us to conclude that all these regulations which make a large part of this second book, and in themselves are all connected together, were given in reference to the Novatian controversies, which at that time exerted considerable influence on the whole Christian church, even that of the East. We will, in a short sketch, bring before ourselves that time, so that we may the better understand how it corresponds with our Constitutions.

Down to that time there were no firmly established rules on the matter of penance in its ecclesiastical relations; and there was no canon acknowledged by the church generally, as having authority, so as to restrain the arbitrary administration of church discipline. At first, Cyprian was attached to the stricter view in respect to the discipline of penitents; and this arose from his education, and the manner in which he contemplated ecclesiastical life. By the zealous study of Tertullian,[1] whose influence had been great in the formation of his character, Cyprian had adopted many a Montanist view; and it was very natural that

[1] It might be objected that these clashing opinions were in the church at a much earlier day; that, especially, the Montanist heresy called forth these contests; and that Tertullian was very severe with the penitents. But still, even Tertullian would not have them excluded for ever; and, at all events, there were not in his time such violent collisions and contests as those which we must infer from the Constitutions.

the man who acknowledged no salvation out of the church, and even out of the external church, must also have held the falling away from that church to be a crime for which it would be difficult to make expiation.[1] Still the many external and internal sufferings which came upon him in consequence of the schism of Felicissimus, and his own deep-feeling heart, paternally disposed towards the penitent, induced him to accede to the milder view, and to receive again into church-fellowship those who had manifested true repentance. Our Constitutions, however, may have in view, not so much these controversies, as the Novatian; for, while the schism in the North African church proceeded from the laxer party, the Novatian controversies were excited by the stricter party, against which our Constitutions speak. These controversies, too, were more violent than those in the North African church; and they extended themselves wider, and exerted their influence everywhere. Still the milder party was the most numerous, and finally gained the victory by the firm union of Cyprian and the Roman bishop Cornelius.

In the penance-discipline, now, our Constitutions laid down, in the outset, the principle, that he who exercises true repentance ought to be received again into church-fellowship. Thus it is said in c. 13: 'In the first place, therefore, condemn the guilty person with authority; afterwards try to bring him home with mercy and compassion, and readiness to receive him, promising him salvation, if he will change his course of life, and come to repentance; and when he is penitent, do thou, with thoughtfulness and solemnity, receive him, remembering the Lord who hath said that *there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.*'[2] Cyprian also judged in the same manner. The 15th and 16th chapters express the same; where, however, caution in receiving persons a second time is commended.[3] Still nothing is said in favor

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[1] De Testimoniis, lib. iii. c. 28. Non posse in ecclesia remitti ei, qui in Deum deliquerit, in Evangelio κατὰ Matthæum: Qui dixerit verbum adversus filium hominis, remittatur illi; qui autem dixerit adversus Spiritum Sanctum, non remittetur illi neque in isto sæculo, neque in futuro. Item κατὰ Marcum: Omnia peccata remittentur filiis hominum et blasphemiæ: qui autem blasphemaverit in Spiritum Sanctum, non remittatur illi, sed reus erit æterni peccati. De hoc ipso in Βασιλείων primo: Si delinquendo peccet vir adversus virum, orabunt pro eo dominum, si autum in Deum peccet homo, quis orabit pro eo?

[2] Cyprian, Epist. 53. Quos utique ad pœnitentiam Dominus non hortaretur, nisi quia pœnitentibus indulgentiam pollicetur. Et in Evangelio: Dico, inquit, vobis, sic erit gaudium in cœlo super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente quam super nonaginta novem justis, quibus non est opus pœnitentiæ, &c.

[3] And if upon examination thou findest that he is penitent and fit to be received fully into the church, when thou hast afflicted him his days of fasting, according to

of that laxity which would receive every one.[1] A mode of arguing precisely similar to that in the Constitutions, c. 20, is found in Cyprian. The following admonition in c. 20 is given to the bishop: — 'Seek that which is wanting, as the Lord God our gracious Father hath sent his own Son, the good Shepherd and Savior, our Master Jesus, and hath commanded him to *leave the ninety and nine upon the mountains, and go in search after that which was lost, and, when he found it, to take it upon his shoulders, and to carry it into the flock, rejoicing that he had found that which was lost.* In like manner, do thou, O bishop, be obedient, seeking that which is lost, setting right that which hath wandered, bringing back that which is gone astray.' In the day of judgment, says Cyprian, it will be laid to our charge that we have not cared for the diseased sheep.[2] It is indeed true, that in these passages the verbal similarity rests only on the using of the Scripture expressions in Matt. 18 and Luke 15: still there certainly prevails in the whole fifty-second epistle which Cyprian wrote to Antonian respecting Cornelius and Novatian, the same mild view of ecclesiastical discipline in regard to the penitents. In like manner as Cyprian, the Constitutions, to establish the correctness of their view, adduce the consideration that those who are thrust from the church would betake themselves, in despair, to the heathen, or become entangled in heresies, or entirely estranged from the church and from hope in God.[3] Then, in c. 22, examples from the Old Testament are presented, how God also, upon true repentance, has forgiven; but, on the other hand, in c. 23, Amon is mentioned as a terrifying example. With all mildness in the view respecting the penance-discipline, there still prevails a very strict moral spirit, which, in case of necessity, does not omit to apply even the most

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the degree of his offence, two, three, five, or seven weeks; so set him at liberty, speaking such things to him as are suitable to be said in way of reproof, instruction, and exhortation to a sinner for his reformation.

[1] C. 17. So one scabby sheep, if not separated from those that are whole, infecteth the rest with the same distemper; and a man infected by the plague is to be avoided by all men, and a mad dog is dangerous to every one that he toucheth. If, therefore, we neglect to separate the transgressor from the church of God, we shall make the *Lord's house a den of thieves.*

[2] Cypriani Epist. 52. Adscribetur nobis in die judicii, nec ovem sauciam curasse, et propter unam sauciam multas integras perdidisse. Et cum Dominus relictis nonaginta novem sanis unam errantem et lassam quæsierit, et juventam humeris suis ipse portaverit, &c.

[3] Cypriani Epist. 52. Quorum si pœnitentiam respuamus habentium aliquam fiduciam tolerabilis conscientiæ, statim cum uxore, cum liberis, quos incolumes reservaverant, in hæresin vel schisma diabolo invitante rapiuntur. Compare Constitut. b. ii. c. 21. He also who is separated unjustly by thy want of care in judging, &c.

rigorous means. Thus, in c. 41, it is said: 'But if thou seest any one past repentance, and he hath become insensible, then, with sorrow and lamentation, cut off from the church the incurable.'

It could be said, that in all these regulations, there is no specific reference to the Novatian controversies, nor any mention of them by name. In judging of this circumstance, however, we must not forget that the author of the Constitutions wished to feign the apostolic time; that hence he was obliged to avoid carefully every thing definite, and treat the matter in a general way. Besides, it has not been asserted at all, that these regulations had their origin exactly at the time of the Novatian controversies; but what has been asserted is only, that, in the regulations, these controversies seem to have been borne in mind. They can rather have arisen soon after the Novatian controversies, when the view respecting ecclesiastical penance-discipline began to become generally more mild. Besides, in order to oppose, in the way of anticipation, an objection which may possibly arise, we remark that these different views found place in the whole church, and these oppositions had come to be spoken of also in the East. There was generally in the East an attachment to the milder view; and this fact speaks in favor of our opinion in reference to the Constitutions. That this view prevailed in the East, we see, among other evidences, from an epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria, which he, when Novatian sought to win him over to his party, wrote to Dionysius of Rome. With good reason, says he, we abhor Novatian, since he divides the church, and draws away some of the brethren to ungodliness and blasphemy, since he advances a malicious doctrine concerning God, and calumniates the most gracious Lord Jesus Christ as being destitute of compassion.[1]

Generally speaking, all the subordinate conditions which the Constitutions establish for the reception of the penitents, and all the formal usages which according to the Constitutions ought to be employed on such an occasion, are found also in Cyprian and those who followed the milder view. To the bishop is ascribed the right to receive the penitents into communion, while the whole church prays for them.[2] Cyprian also mentions the same thing.[3] The act of reädmission is performed chiefly by the laying on of hands (manuum impositio). Thus in the

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[1] Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. b. vii. c. 8.

[2] Const. b. ii. c. 18. And when with tears the offender beggeth reädmission, receive him, the whole church praying for him; and when, by imposition of thy hand, thou hast admitted him, give him leave to abide afterwards in the flock.

[3] Epist. 55 ad Cornelium. O si posses, frater carissime, istic interesse nobiscum, cum pravi isti et perversi de schismata revertuntur, &c.

Constitutions, b. ii. c. 18, 41, and 43. Bingham mentions this also among the ceremonies in the reception of the penitents, and adduces for proof the 15th canon of the council at Agatha;[1] yet this rite is much more ancient, and is found expressly in Cyprian.[2]

We here pass over the development of the Jewish theocratic ideas which are found especially in c. 25, since we shall, further on, show the remarkable agreement of the Constitutions with Cyprian also in this respect. Altogether conformably to the Jewish theocracy, referring to it, and setting it up as an example, they assert here that to the priesthood belong the first-fruits and the tithes; and then they discuss the question copiously in what manner the bishop may be able to make appropriations from these to himself, as well as to distribute to others.[3] The whole argumentation is brought from the Old Testament, and especially from the idea of the Levitical priesthood. Then the bishop is commanded to distribute aright the revenues of the church to the widows and the needy. The right is briefly conceded to the bishop to divide the revenues of the church, according to his judgment, to all who have need. Here it is natural to recollect that it was exactly the exercise of this right that occasioned the controversies and schisms between Cyprian and Felicissimus. Cyprian had in view a church visitation, and wished to support the poor of his church from the church treasury. But the party of the presbyters opposed itself to this design, and denied that the right devolved on Cyprian as bishop, all alone, to distribute the revenues of the church. Before Cyprian we see no bishop, alone and without limitation, exercise this right. He, on the contrary, states definitely, that the bishop has to distribute the revenues of the church.[4] This also coincides exactly with the other views of Cyprian, who wished to recognize only in the bishop, and in no other, the true representation of the church.

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[1] Concil. Agath. (A.D. 506) Can. xv. Pœnitentes tempore, quo pœnitentiam petunt, impositionem manuum et cilicium super caput a sacerdote consequantur.

[2] Epist. 9. Nam cum in minoribus peccatis agent peccatores pœnitentiam justo tempore et secundum disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, et per manus impositionem episcopi et cleri jus communicationis accipiant; nunc crudo tempore, persecutione adhuc perseverante, nondum restituta ecclesiæ ipsius pace, ad communicationem admittentur et offertur nomen eorum, et nondum pœnitentia acta, nondum exomologesi facta, *nondum manu eis ab episcopo et clero imposita*, Eucharistia illis datur.

[3] The superscription of c. 25 is, Concerning first-fruits and tithes, and how the bishop ought either himself to partake of them, or to distribute to others. Compare b. ii. c. 26, 34, and 35.

[4] Cypriani Epist. 38. Ut cum ecclesia matre remanerent, et *stipendia ejus episcopo dispensante perciperent.*

Should any one think it right here to object, that all this is mere conjecture, which has no firm support in the Constitutions themselves, it may be cheerfully conceded that all this consists of details which indeed often seem somewhat adventurously combined; but, on the other side, it ought to be considered that, while a multitude of such details are found here, they mutually sustain themselves, and strengthen each otherwise isolated argument. If many indications and arguments in a writing speak in favor of an age, each small trace must be carefully considered, in order, where it is possible, to set forth for our inspection the picture of an age as existing in such a writing. In favor of our conjecture thus carried out, there is still another very essential circumstance: In the same chapter there are named expressly the inferior ranks of those who participated in the clerical character (minores ordines); and among these *the readers* (οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες, lectores), *the singers* (οἱ ᾠδοί, cantores), and *the door-keepers* (οἱ πυλωροί, ostiarii), are mentioned. They all occur again in b. iii. c. 11,[1] where, besides, mention is made of *players on stringed instruments* (ψάλται, psaltes). Among these classes of persons, that of the readers, it is probable, was the most ancient. Tertullian (De Præscript. Hæret. c. 41) is the first who mentions it. All the other offices which are here named occur *about the middle of the third century;* and, indeed, first of all in an epistle of the Roman bishop Cornelius (A.D. 252) to Fabius, bishop of Antioch. This, in part, is preserved by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, b. vi. c. 43, where also *acolytes* (ἀκόλουθοι) and *exorcists* (ἐξορκισταί) are mentioned. The former are not found in the Constitutions, but the latter in b. viii. c. 26. The mention of these *minor orders*, as these offices were designated at a late period, speaks therefore, it is manifest, in favor of the time which we have assigned to the Constitutions; while there is found no testimony respecting them earlier than that of Cornelius. If the opinion of Cotelerius[2] is well founded, which assumes that, in the adduced passages of the Constitutions, subdeacons are to be understood as intended by the term *ministers* (ὑπηρέταις, b. iii. c. 11), it ought here to be specially remarked, that, out of our Constitutions, the *subdeacons* occur first in Cyprian.[3]

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[1] 'Nay, further, we do not permit to the rest of the clergy to baptize; as, for instance, either to Readers, or Singers, or Porters, or Ministers, but only to the Bishops and Presbyters, yet so that the Deacons are to minister to them therein.' They are mentioned also in b. ii. c. 28 and 57, and in b. vi. c. 17, and in several places of b. viii. See c. 8, 19, 21, 22, and 28.

[2] Ad lib. ii. c. 28, n. 6.

[3] Epist. 24, 28, 78, 79, and 80.

We proceed now to connect with the proof already exhibited some additional considerations to establish our conjecture; for c. 31 and c. 32 afford us the means. These two chapters discuss more particularly the relation in which the deacon stands to his bishop in the distribution of the church-money for the support of the poor and needy. Chapter 31 commands, 'Let him not do any thing at all without his bishop, nor give any thing without his consent. For if he give to any one as to a person in distress, without the bishop's knowledge, he will give it so that it must tend to the reproach of the bishop, and will accuse him as careless of the distressed.' (See also b. iii. c. 19.) From this, and from what is said in the following chapter, we are authorized to conclude that the deacon must have had under himself a part at least of the church funds; for, otherwise, it could not be possible for him to support members without the previous knowledge of the bishop. But now it is evident from the controversies of Cyprian and Felicissimus, that the deacons *then* actually managed a part of the church money,[1] as then these very controversies were waged precisely on the point that the deacon, without the bishop, wished to provide for the wants of the poor belonging to his church. The Constitutions decide in favor of the bishop, and inculcate on the deacon never to do any thing without the consent of the bishop. Besides, when it is now manifest from c. 32, that the deacon might not do this, lest he should awaken against the bishop some murmuring and uneasiness,[2] should we not be justified in finding in this, a reference to those controversies, or to others of that kind, which certainly were not infrequent, as the relation of the deacon to the bishop began at that time to be formed?

Their mild view respecting the penance-discipline the Constitutions set forth clearly in this also, that they would have the penitents, by the reädmission, return entirely to their former relations. The imposition of hands by which the penitents are reädmitted into the communion of the believing, they consider as a second baptism.[3] The Constitutions

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[1] Cypriani Epist. 49. Nicostratum vero diacono sanctæ administrationis amisso, ecclesiasticis pecuniis sacrilega fraude subtractis, viduarum ac pupillorum depositis negatis, non tam in Africam venire voluisse quam conscientia rapinarum ac criminum nefandorum illinc ab urbe fugisse.

[2] If, therefore, O deacon, thou knowest any one to be in distress, put the bishop in mind, and so give; but do nothing in a clandestine way, to his reproach, lest thou raise a murmur against him. For the murmur will not be against him, but against the Lord God.

[3] C. 41. Do thou, therefore, O bishop, act in the same manner; and as thou receivest a heathen, after thou hast instructed and baptized him, so do thou let all join in prayers for this man, and restore him by imposition of hands to his ancient place

argue that God not only forgives the penitents, but receives them again into their former state. As a proof of this assertion, they adduce David after the offence committed against Uriah. The same view is expressed by Cyprian; that those who through higher virtue with the help of the Lord had done away and obliterated their former misconduct, should also return into their former relations.[1]

Some have wished to prove from c. 47, that the Constitutions could not have arisen before the times of the Christian emperors. There a standing tribunal, as it were, is ascribed to the bishop.[2] Now from this, it may seem that all controversies must have been adjusted before the tribunal and court of the bishop; and since a definite day is established for the administration of justice, all this may point to the regular judicial proceeding ordained under the Christian emperors. But this proof is quite untenable. It is ascertained that the Christians, from the earliest times (in accordance with the urgent exhortation in 1 Cor. 6), decided their controversies among themselves, and did not resort to the tribunals of the unbelievers. Bishops and presbyters, at an early period, exercised the customary right of settling controversies; and it cannot be denied, that the bishops, already before the time of the Christian emperors, with the assistance of the other clergy, exercised a certain regulated administration of justice. A man needs only look back to c. 45 and 46, in order to perceive that this explanation is the more correct one.[3] In both chapters the Christians are emphatically admonished not to have recourse to the tribunals of the heathen for the decision of dissensions. Besides, Christians might not use the testimony of the unbelievers against one another, and forsake the decision of their prelates.

Here we will not neglect to mention that, in c. 55, James, the brother

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among the flock, as one purified by repentance: and that imposition of hands shall be to him instead of baptism.

[1] Cypriani Epist. 19 ad Caldonium. Cum ergo abluerint omne delictum, jacere ultra sub diabolo quasi prostrati non debent; qui extorres facti et bonis suis omnibus spoliati erexerunt se, et cum Christo stare cœperunt. Atque utinam sic et cæteri post lapsum pœnitentes in pristinum statum reformantur.

[2] Let your judicatures be held on the second day of the week, that if any controversy arise about your sentence, having an interval till the Sabbath, you may be able to set the controversy right, and, against the Lord's day, bring those to peace who are at variance with each other. Let also the deacons and presbyters be present at your judicatures, &c.

[3] B. ii. c. 45. And let it not come before a heathen tribunal. Nay, indeed, ye are not to permit that the rulers of this world should pass sentence against our people. C. 46 (in the caption): That the believers ought not to go to law before the unbelievers, nor to call any one of them to bear testimony against Christians.

of our Lord, and first bishop of Jerusalem, is not reckoned as one of the apostles. It is there said, 'We therefore who have been accounted worthy to be witnesses of his appearance, together with James the brother of the Lord, and the seventy-two other disciples, and his seven deacons.' The apostles, therefore, exclude from themselves James, the Lord's brother; for he is not included in the pronoun *we*. The Constitutions now enumerate three Jameses, two apostles (the son of Zebedee and the son of Alpheus), and, besides these, the brother of the Lord. The Latins acknowledge only two, the son of Zebedee and the son of Alpheus, which latter person they hold to be one and the same with James the Lord's brother, who perhaps was a kinsman of the Lord. Also in modern times some have begun, with the sacrifice of the accounts in Gal. 1: 19, and c. 2: 9; Matt. 13: 55, and Mark 6: 3, to admit only two Jameses; — still, as I believe, without sufficient ground. All antiquity is against it. The more ancient Greeks distinguished James the brother of the Lord from James the son of Alpheus. Thus Clement of Alexandria, in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, b. ii. c. 1;[1] and Hegesippus, in the same History, b. ii. c. 23.[2] Also in the Ethiopian church, which holds our Constitutions to be holy, the opinion of these writers prevailed. These oriental churches universally ascribed to the Constitutions a special value; and it is certainly very remarkable that there is an Arabic and a Syriac translation of the Constitutions.[3]

From the circumstance that, in c. 57 and 59, church edifices of the Christians are mentioned, some have inferred that we could not place the Constitutions in the end of the third century, since Christian church-edifices were built first in the time of Constantine. But this argument is quite false; for it is a point established that there had already been many Christian church-edifices at an earlier period. They occur under the name *places of prayer* (προσευκτήρια), *Lord's house* (κυριακόν, dominicum), *house of the church* (οἶκος ἐκκλησίας), and *church* (ἐκκλησία). The first Christian house of worship we find at Edessa, in the beginning

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[1] Clement, in the sixth book of his Institutions, represents it thus: Peter, and James, and John, after the ascension of our Saviour, though they had been preferred by our Lord, did not contend for the honor, but chose James the Just as bishop of Jerusalem.

[2] But James, the brother of the Lord, who was named the Just by all, from the days of our Lord until now, received the government of the church with the apostles.

[3] Respecting this, J. E. Grabe has treated in his work entitled, An Essay upon two Arabic MSS. in the Bodleian Library (comp. also Acta Erudit. ann. 1712, p. 204–207). Still he has not been able to establish any thing definite respecting the age and the use of these translations.

of the third century. According to the chronicle of Edessa, it was destroyed by an inundation in the year 202.[1] Especially was the number of Christian church-edifices very much increased already in the middle of the third century; as we may see particularly from the fact that, in the Decian persecution, a great multitude of them were destroyed.[2]

As we have referred to this proof, we cannot but add that we regard c. 57 and 59 as a later interpolation. Both chapters are entirely unsuitable to the connection. By their heterogeneousness they suddenly interrupt the whole; and by their contents, which agree altogether with the contents of some passages in the eighth book, and point quite clearly to the end of the fourth century, they show that both chapters emanated from the author of the eighth book. We pass over the evidence at present, but will furnish it copiously in the statement of the interpolations.

Here we only invite our readers to observe the connection of the interpolated parts with what precedes and with what follows. Chapter 56 contains general instructions that it is the will of God that all men be like-minded in respect to piety. In the end of the chapter, the laity are addressed, and exhorted to live in peace with one another, and endeavor to promote the welfare of the church. With this, now, the beginning of c. 57 is quite suitably connected. Here the bishop is exhorted to walk unblamably and irreproachably. 'When,' it is added, — 'when thou callest an assembly of the church, as one that is the commander of a great ship, appoint the assemblies to be made with all possible skill; charging the deacons, as mariners, to prepare places for the brethren, as for passengers, with all due care and decorum.' And now follows suddenly, by a slight form of connection, *and first indeed* (*καὶ πρῶτον μὲν*), a description how the edifice of the church must be constructed, what form it must have, and how it must be built.[3] Then the seats for the bishop, the presbyters, the deacons, and the laity, are very carefully designated; and then follows a description of the external divine worship, even to very minute matters. It is seen at once that this whole description does not fit in, at all, to the connection; and that it

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[1] In Asseman's Orient. Biblioth. An abstract from A. F. Pfeiffer. Erlang. 1776, p. 129. Compare Boyer, Historia Osrhœna et Edessena; Petrop. 1734.

[2] See Cyprian's Epist. 33 and 55; and Eusebius, Ecclesiast. Hist. b. vii. c. 13, and b. viii. c. 13.

[3] And first indeed let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its vestries on both sides at the east end; and so it will be like a ship. In the middle, let the bishop's throne be placed; and on each side of him let the presbytery sit down; and let the deacons stand near at hand, in close and small girt garments; for they are like the mariners and managers of the ship, &c.

does not, we will point out more particularly, when we prove the agreement with the eighth book, and the later age of these interpolations. The interpolator has, it is true, been obliged to connect the parts apparently; but still the artificial and forced connection is manifest. It does not appear how c. 57 coheres with c. 58. After, in the end of the fifty-seventh chapter, direction is given in what manner the bishop should bless the people and pray for them, the fifty-eighth chapter treats of the manner in which brethren who come from other parishes, and bring with them letters of commendation (litteræ commendaticiæ, *σύστασιν ἐπικομιζόμενοι*), should be received, after due examination. To this now c. 59 is added with as little natural connection; for it contains some precepts in respect to morning and evening prayers; and the way in which these precepts are brought in and employed, is altogether analogous to what is found in c. 57. It might perhaps be objected, that it would be not less difficult to prove the connection of c. 58[1] with the *beginning* of c. 57. The connection, indeed, is not very obvious; but still it would not fail altogether. We have seen that the beginning of c. 57 directs that the bishop, through the deacons, take care that places be shown to the believers. Chapter 58 commands now, in connection with this, that also to brethren from abroad, after examination has been had, whether they were also entitled, a place should be shown, to each according to his dignity. See, besides, the investigation in a subsequent part of this essay.

Especially about the middle of the third century, during the time of the persecutions, there arose the custom, that, when the Christians wished to visit parishes where they were strangers, they received letters of commendation (*ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαὶ, ἐπιστολαὶ κοινωνικαί*, litteræ formatæ, litteræ commendaticiæ, litteræ communicatoriæ). These letters are not to be confounded with the certificates (libelli) which the confessors gave to those who had fallen away (lapsi), in order that they might be received again into the fellowship of the church. The first council at Arelate, in Gaul, against the Donatists, A.D. 314, canon ix. and the council at Illiberis in Spain, A.D. 305, canon xxv. contain limiting regulations, that such letters might not be given by all clergymen. Now our Constitutions also mention, in c. 58, this custom, and direct such letters to be carefully examined, in order to ascertain whether the brethren are believers, or whether they belong to a heretical party, and

[1] The caption of c. 58: Of commendatory letters in favor of strangers, lay persons, clergymen, and bishops; and that those who come into the church assemblies are to be received without regard to their quality.

to what parish. Even so early as before the end of the third century, we find limiting prohibitions, that it should not be permitted to every clergyman, but only to the bishop, to give those letters. Thus, canon viii. of the council at Antioch against Paul of Somosata, A.D. 270.

Investigation on the Third Book of the Constitutions.

The third book bears the superscription, *concerning widows* (περὶ χηρῶν). Under this general designation are found also many other precepts which cannot be included under this designation; for example, concerning baptism. But if any one should be inclined to infer from this circumstance that materials from different sources were placed together, it is difficult to conceive why it should be believed that the compiler has strung all together without any mutual connection. The writing itself gives no occasion for this opinion. And especially it is incredible that the compiler should have been so inconsiderate as to select a title or a superscription by which his compilation could easily be detected. The most simple explanation is, that this superscription was added at a later period; and that it was chosen, because, for the most part, it includes under itself the contents of the book. [And why may it not, for the same reason, have been chosen at first by the author?]

In the ancient church the widows constituted a peculiar order (τὸ χηρικὸν), from which the deaconesses were usually elected. On this account, Tertullian already calls the deaconesses *widows* (viduæ), and their office *widowhood* (viduatus.)[1] In our Constitutions, however, the widows seem no way to be identical with the deaconesses; for in b. vi. c. 18, it is commanded that the deaconesses should be elected from among the virgins; but when this could not be, they must be at least widows.[2] A special proof in point is the passage in b. iii. c. 7, where it is said, the widows therefore ought to be grave, obedient to the bishops, and the presbyters, and the deacons, and, moreover, to the deaconesses, with piety, reverence, and fear. Hence it undeniably appears that deaconesses and widows were not identical, although the

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[1] Lib. i. ad Uxor. c. 7. Quantum detrahant fidei, quantum obstrepant sanctitati nuptiæ secundæ, disciplina ecclesiæ et præscriptio apostoli declarat, cum digamos non sinit præsidere, cum viduam adlegi in ordinem, nisi univiram, non concedit.

[2] Διακόνισσα γινέσθω παρθένος ἁγνή, εἰδὲ μήγε, κ'ἂν χήρα μονογάμος, πιστὴ καὶ τιμία.

latter, according to our Constitutions, must have constituted a peculiar clerical order. The relations and duties of widows are treated copiously in a series of chapters. From the whole it is evident, that, when the Constitutions were written, virginity, and celibacy after the first marriage, stood in high esteem. Great value, especially, seems to be ascribed to a widow's remaining in an unmarried state. Thus it is said in b. iii. c. 1: — 'But if any younger woman, who hath lived a short time with her husband, and hath lost him by death or some other occasion, remain by herself, having the gift of widowhood, she will be found to be blessed.' Still the Constitutions by no means enjoin celibacy and widowhood, but leave this rather to the judgment of each. They only give a caution not too soon and hastily to make a vow, but cautiously and considerately; for it is better not to vow than to vow and not to pay. This view was altogether the prevalent one also in the age which we have assigned for the origin of the Constitutions. There was, as yet, no such dark view, nor so extravagant an asceticism, that the value of married life was not acknowledged. Cyprian, also, in several places expresses himself altogether in the spirit of our Constitutions. He also holds the continuance in virginity to be very meritorious, but leaves it to each one's own discretion.[1]

In the following chapters, the Constitutions exhibit precepts on the moral deportment of the widows. As these precepts are of a more general nature, we can pass over them here. Only we here present in addition a very remarkable view given us in the Constitutions, which is expressed also in Cyprian. The fourth chapter begins with an exhortation, if there are no widows, to bestow benefits on other needy persons. It seems that there were many at that time, who distributed in secret their favors to the poor, according to the direction of our Lord in Matt. 6: 2. On the contrary, our Constitutions urge and command, 'Tell now the poor who it is that hath done them kindnesses, that they may pray for him by name.'[2] There seems to lie at the foundation of the view here presented, another command of our Lord, Matt. 5: 16, which, however, was misunderstood. Unless we assume this, it is difficult to explain how the author of the Constitutions and Cyprian could come to such a view. The latter says expressly in Epist. 60,[3] that

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[1] Cypriani Epist. 62. Quod si virgines ex fide se Christo dicaverunt, pudicæ et castæ sine ulla fabula perseverent, et ita fortes et stabiles præmium virginitatis expectent. Si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est, ut nubant quam in ignem delictis suis cadant. Certe nullum fratribus aut sororibus scandalum faciant.

[2] *Λέγε δὲ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τις ὁ δεδωκὼς, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προσεύχωνται.*

[3] Cypriani Epist. 60. Ut autem fratres nostros ac sorores, qui ad hoc opus tam

he has collected the names of the individuals who had shown themselves beneficent, so that mention might be made of them in the prayers and supplications. We can explain this from the similar aim in the Constitutions and in Cyprian: It is to commend all that is external in religion. In saying this, we certainly do not wish to speak disrespectfully of Cyprian, whose deep inner life, and whose true reception of Christianity, is well entitled to a decided acknowledgment; but it arose from his whole manner of viewing things, that he looked too much to external means, although he constantly wished thereby to pursue a more profound internal object.

In the last parts of the third book, precepts are given concerning baptism, and indeed in c. 9—11, that neither women nor lay persons may venture to baptize; 'for if we,' say the apostles, 'do not intrust to women the office of teaching, how shall any one allow to them, against their nature, the work of the priesthood?' But here not only laymen, but also the lower clergy, are forbidden to baptize; and baptism is allowed only to the bishops and presbyters, with the assistance of the deacons.[1] Every priestly act was forbidden to lay persons.[2] Among other things specified for the sake of illustration, is the laying-on of hands. This, most probably, is here mentioned, because the rite of laying-on of hands (χειροθεσία, סְמִיכָה), a sign borrowed from the Jews, formed the concluding act of baptism. It was intended thereby to indicate symbolically, that the blessing of the Lord is called down upon the person baptized. This, too, was at the basis of the custom already mentioned by us, of admitting the penitents into the fellowship of the church by the imposition of hands.

Above all, however, we must examine more closely one rite connected with baptism, from which we may draw an inference in respect to the age of our Constitutions, namely, the rite of *anointing*. In c. 16, it is said, 'Thou, therefore, O bishop, according to that type, shalt anoint

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necessarium prompte ac libenter operati sunt, ut semper operentur, in mentem habeatis in orationibus vestris, et eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis et precibus repræsentetis, subdidi nomina singulorum, sed et collegarum quoque et consacerdotum nostrorum, qui et ipsi cum præsentes essent, et suo, et plebis suæ nomine quædam pro viribus contulerunt, nomina addidi; et præter quantitatem propriam nostram, eorum quoque summulas significavi et misi: quorum omnium, secundum quod fides et caritas exigunt, in orationibus et precibus vestris meminisse debetis.

[1] Copious extracts on the rite of baptism in the Constitutions and in later writers, are found in Augusti. Th. iv. S. 86.

[2] B. iii. c. 10. Nor do we permit the laity to perform any of the offices belongig to the priesthood; as, for instance, the sacrifice, or baptism, or the laying-on of hands, or the blessing, whether the smaller or the greater.

the head of those who are to be baptized, whether they be men or women, with the holy oil, for a type of the spiritual baptism. Then, either thou, O bishop, or a presbyter that is under thee, shall pronounce over them the sacred name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and shall baptize them in the water; and let a deacon receive the man, and a deaconess the woman, that so the imparting of the inviolable seal may be done with becoming decency. And, after this, let the bishop anoint those who are baptized, with ointment.' From this passage we perceive already, that, in the anointing, two essential acts are distinguished. In the beginning of the baptism, the forehead of the person to be baptized is besmeared with *oil* (ἔλαιον, oleum); and, in the end, the baptism is concluded with the *ointment* (μύρον, unguentum, usually called also chrism (χρῖσμα). That they are intended as two distinct ceremonies with distinct symbolical meanings, is corroborated by c. 17, where these symbols are explained. It is there said: The oil (τὸ ἔλαιον) is instead of the Holy Spirit; the ointment (τὸ μύρον) is the confirmation of the confession.[1]

If now we ask, to what time this rite belongs, we shall find it affording evidence in favor of our opinion respecting the time of the Constitutions. The origin of this rite we have to seek in the Old Testament, and indeed in the idea of the Levitical priesthood, — a priesthood which, in the time of our Constitutions, and especially also through them, was supposed to be transferred to Christianity. An analogy was easily found, since the New Testament so decidedly holds fast the idea of the spiritual priesthood of all Christians. As, now, in the Old Testament, the anointing consecrated priests to this office, so, under the Christian dispensation, the anointing should also prepare for the spiritual priesthood. We find this custom first in Tertullian,[2] in whose time it was not yet regarded as altogether essential; for in other passages, where he introduces the usages connected with baptism, he does not mention *anointing*. Thus, De Corona Milit. c. 3. On the contrary, in Cyprian, the anointing appears already as an integral part of the baptismal ceremony.[3] Daillé,[4] it is true, has called attention to the fact that Tertul-

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[1] B. iii. c. 17. Καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ἀντι πνεύματος ἁγίου·—τὸ μύρον, βεβαίωσις τῆς ὁμολογίας.

[2] De Baptismo, c. 7. Egressi de lavacro perungimur benedicta unctione de pristina disciplina, qua ungui oleo de cornu in sacerdotium solebant. Adv. Marcion. lib. i. c. 14. De Res. Carn. c. 8.

[3] Cypriani Epist. 70. Ungi quoque necesse est eum, qui baptizatus sit, ut accepto chrismate esset unctus Dei, et habere in se gratiam Christi possit. Porro autem eucharistia et unde baptizati unguntur oleo in altari sanctificato.

[4] De Confirmat. lib. ii. c. 11, p. 181. Sunt apud hunc (Constitutionum auctorem)

lian, who certainly mentions the rite of anointing (unctio) in baptism, speaks of an anointing which is performed after baptism, not before it. And Bingham agrees with him in this view.[1] Now the remark, that in Tertullian there is mention only of the second anointing, could be applied also to our passage in Cyprian. Still the evidence here amounts chiefly to this: — it shows that, in the time of Cyprian and towards the end of the third century, anointing existed as an integral part of baptism. For as to the first anointing, which our Constitutions are the first to mention, Cyprian, who did not describe the rite of baptism circumstantially, might pass over this, and comprise it in the general mention of anointing. This 70th epistle of Cyprian, which he in the name of a council directed to Januarius and to the other Numidian bishops, shows manifestly, that the custom of anointing was already general at that time; and therefore it proves again the agreement of the Constitutions with the customs and usages of that age.

As we have already seen, from c. 16, that the deaconesses participated in the baptismal ceremony, so, in c. 15, this participation is still more particularly specified. After the deacon has anointed the forehead of the women, the deaconess must complete the anointing.[2] Epiphanius is the first who reckons this as belonging to the office of the deaconesses, although it is very probable that the regulation was introduced at an earlier period.[3]

Finally, we proceed to the consideration of the 20th chapter of the third book; where the precept is given, that a bishop be ordained by three bishops, or, at least, by two. That this, instances of which, it is true, occurred at an earlier day, was customary towards the end of the third century, can be proved in several ways. Soon after this time, however, the custom changed in respect to the observance of the rite; and, in the course of time, various decrees on this part of ordination were published by many councils. The first council of Arelate, in Gaul, against the Donatists, A.D. 314, in canon xx. required, whenever it

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quæ nusquam in superiorum temporum monumentis deprehendimus, nonnulla; quale illud est, quod baptizandi oleo unguntur, antequam tingantur; quoque tincti non oleo, sed μύρῳ, id est, unguento, chrismantur.

[1] Orig. iv. p. 303. Quanquam enim Tertullianus de unctione quadam inter baptismi cæremonias loquitur, tamen, non fuit hæc unctio baptismum antegressa, sed unctio cum consecuta in confirmatione et manuum impositioni juncta, &c.

[2] B. iii. c. 15. We stand in need of a woman, a deaconess, for many occasions; and first, in the baptism of women, the deacon shall anoint their forehead with holy oil, and after him the deaconess shall anoint them [that is, complete the anointing of their persons]; for there is no necessity that the women should be seen by the men.

[3] Epiphan. Expos. Fid. c. 21.

might be possible, eight bishops, who should perform the ordination; and canon xxxix. of the third council at Carthage, under Aurelius, A.D. 397, expresses even the opinion that the ordination could be accomplished only by twelve bishops. Still it seems that all these decrees, in the course of time, ceased to be valid, and that there was a return to the old custom of letting the ordination be performed by three bishops, although there had never been a universal departure from it.

Already in the Constitutions, b. viii. c. 27, the same precept as in b. iii. c. 20, respecting the ordination of bishops, is repeated: — 'Let a bishop be ordained by three or two bishops.' This repetition, by the way, indicates the later composition of the book. The second council of Arelate, also, which was held A.D. 451, expressly says, in canon v. that no metropolitan bishop may presume to ordain a bishop without three other bishops of his province.[1]

The custom of a bishop's being ordained by three bishops, is unquestionably more ancient than our Constitutions; but we must never forget that the author has adopted the most important arrangements which existed at his time, and many from antiquity, in order to prevent his work from appearing as one altogether new, and to promote its reception. Already in the time of the Constitutions it had begun to be customary that the bishops of the neighboring province should come together to the choice and ordination of a bishop. Cyprian states this as a common custom;[2] and with him Eusebius fully agrees.[3] But particularly the fourth canon of the council at Nice expresses itself on the subject: It is certainly the most suitable that a bishop be constituted by all those who are in his province; but when this is difficult, on account of urgent necessity, or distance, or other causes, three, at all events, should come together for this object, and the ordination be performed, after the absent also have expressed their consent by writing.[4] Till

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[1] Nec episcopus metropolitanus sine tribus episcopis comprovincialibus præsumat episcopum ordinare.

[2] Epist. 68. Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione observandum est et tenendum. Quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, &c.

[3] Eccles. Hist. b. vi. c. 11. It made known, that, by going forth beyond the gates, they should receive the bishop pointed out to them by God. Having done this, with the common consent of the bishops of the neighboring churches, they constrain him to stay among them.

[4] Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῃ ἐπαρχία καθιστᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο, ... ἐξ ἅπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμψήφων

about the end of the third century, however, the ordination by three bishops was the most usual. This we perceive also very clearly from the controversies of Novatian and Cornelius. Scarcely had Novatus arrived at Rome, when, through his intrigues and secret artifices, the schism became greatly aggravated. The mild and gentle Novatian had been far from striving for the dignity of bishop; but after Novatus put himself at the head of his party, he who was so unaspiring was compelled, against his will, to assume the episcopal dignity. But how was his ordination accomplished? Cornelius had been regularly chosen and acknowledged as bishop; and hence it must have been doubly difficult to set up and regularly ordain a rival bishop. The party of Novatian now persuaded three bishops of some small Italian cities, who came to Rome, and consecrated him as a bishop. This is, therefore, a proof that ordination was usually performed by three; for although Novatian afterwards, especially through the efforts of Cyprian, failed almost universally of being acknowledged as bishop of Rome, yet the cause was not the irregular form of his ordination; for nowhere in the many passages which speak against him, particularly in Cyprian, do we find the regularity of the form of his ordination called in question.

Investigation on the Fourth Book of the Constitutions.

The fourth book also, like the first, will afford us but few materials for making a judgment in respect to the age of the Constitutions, and will contribute only a little to justify and support the opinion which we have advanced. The reason here, as in the first book, is that this book contains only general moral precepts, which belong to every time, and therefore could have been given at any time. The book is superscribed, *concerning orphans* (*περὶ ὀρφανῶν*), and, in the first chapters, treats altogether concerning them, concerning their relation to the bishop, how they are to be supported, and so forth; but then follow some moral precepts, additional instructions respecting the admissibility of oblations, and finally again some moral precepts in regard to several relations of life. That the superscriptions of the books of the Constitutions do not present the whole contents, or that the contents are not minutely stated in these superscriptions, has already been mentioned and explained. It might perhaps be objected against the unity of the first

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γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι.

seven books, that this fourth book testifies against it most decidedly; for it is not to be conceived why the author did not incorporate in the first book the general moral precepts which are contained in the fourth. But let us consider that the author of the Constitutions was neither able nor desirous to construct a work of art, that he could not already beforehand have so complete a view of his pretty extensive writing, and in contemplation arrange it with so much skill as to exclude the possibility of his saying any thing towards the end of the fourth book, which he might not as well have said in the first book. Besides, it was natural that the author, not accustomed to strict divisions and logical arrangements, should write his precepts as the subjects presented themselves to him, and as he was led to them, as it were, of himself.

If any one should say that c. 4, *concerning love of money* (*περὶ φιλαργυρίας*), only repeats, though in other words, what is said in b. i. c. 1, *concerning covetousness* (*περὶ πλεονεξίας*), this objection is easily removed. In the first place, the superscriptions of the chapters are unessential, and probably are of later origin. However, irrespectively of this, all turns on the inquiry, whether the connection is preserved; and this can easily be pointed out. In the second chapter it is explained, *how the bishop ought to provide for the orphans;* and c. 3 answers the question, who they are that ought to be supported. In the end of the chapter it is remarked that it is wrong for one to receive from others, if he has ability to support himself. Thus there most naturally follows what is stated in c. 4, where he is zealously condemned who has money, and yet does not bestow it upon others, nor use it himself. Certainly nothing can cohere better; and the only occasion here for framing an argument unfavorable to the unity of the first seven books must be the similar superscriptions in b. i. c. 1, and b. iv. c. 4.

The connection between the subsequent chapters is equally good. Chapter 5 has for its contents, 'With what reverence it is proper to partake of the Lord's oblations;' and c. 6 contains a copious statement 'who they are whose contributions must be received or rejected.' The following chapters only carry out this subject more fully. It is somewhat more difficult to show the connection in regard to c. 11, 12, 13, and 14, in which precepts are given concerning the relation of parents and children, servants and masters, Christian subjects and worldly rulers, and concerning virgins. But if we consider that the author of the Constitutions had said several things concerning the relation of orphans and their support, we shall not think it strange, if, with a simple transition, *But ye fathers* (*οἱ μέν τοι πατέρες*), he proceeds to give moral precepts concerning those general relations which we have just mentioned. [The transition to c. 14 (the only one here that seems to require any special

remark) not a little resembles that of the apostle Paul in 1 Cor. 7 : 25 ; where, after speaking in relation to servants, he proceeds to discourse concerning virgins.]

From b. vi. c. 24, the contents of which are, 'That it pleased the Lord that the law of righteousness should be manifested also by Romans' (*ὅτι καὶ διὰ Ῥωμαίων εὐδόκησεν ὁ κύριος τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης νόμον ἐπιδείκνυσθαι*), some have been disposed to conclude that the origin of the Constitutions falls in the times of the Christian emperors. For it is expressly said, that Romans, *having believed on the Lord, departed from polytheism and injustice.*[1] But from this we need infer only, that at the time when the Constitutions were written, many Romans had become Christians,[2] but not at all that the Christian religion had become the religion of the empire. Besides, from several passages of the Constitutions the most striking proof of the contrary can be brought: for example, from b. iv. c. 9. There it is commanded to sustain and to set free those who, for the name of Christ, have been condemned, by the sentence of tyrants, to single combat and to death. This points manifestly to the time when the Christian church still suffered persecutions. But there are several other passages which sustain this opinion, and place it beyond all doubt that the Constitutions must have been written during or soon after a very severe persecution. In b. v. c. 1 and 3, it is most definitely commanded, even though it may be attended with danger, to extend a helping hand to those who, for the sake of Christ, are persecuted by unbelievers.[3] All points to the violence of persecution, and indicates that the Christians at that time had had to suffer the most cruel inflictions. Thus it is said in b. v. c. 1, 'If any Christian, on account of the name of Christ, and love and faith towards God, be condemned by the ungodly to the games, or to the beasts, or to the mines, do not ye overlook him.' And in c. 4, he is declared to be miserable, wretched, and abominable, who denies that he is a Christian, and loves his own life more than he does the Lord. In the persecution which the Constitutions had in view, death seems to

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[1] Const. b. vi. c. 24. *Καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι πιστεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, καὶ πολυθείας ἀπέστησαν καὶ ἀδικίας.*

[2] Already in Tertullian's time, this was the case. Apologet. c. 1. Christiani implevérant urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum, c. 37 — erantque pars pæne major civitatis.

[3] B. v. c. 1. (The caption:) That it is reasonable for the faithful, according to the Constitution of the Lord, to supply the wants of those who, for the sake of Christ, are afflicted by the unbelievers. C. 3. (The caption:) That we ought to afford a helping hand to such as are spoiled for the sake of Christ, although we should incur danger ourselves

have been the penalty of being a Christian. Reference cannot have been made to one of the earlier persecutions. For that, the number of the Christians, as intimated in other passages of the Constitutions, is too great and considerable. But this circumstance also agrees with the age fixed by us for the Constitutions. About the middle and towards the end of the third century, the Christians endured severe persecutions. The terrible persecution under the emperor Decius (A.D. 249–251) was scarcely over, when it was renewed under Gallus (A.D. 251–253)[1]. Our Constitutions, it is most probable, have in view the persecution under Valerian, in which Cyprian was put to death. Several circumstances give weight to this conjecture. After Valerian (from A.D. 254 —) had shown himself favorable to the Christians, the persecution began suddenly in the year 257. At first it was not bloody; but in the year 258, the well-known edict of the emperor appeared, which made the persecution one of the bloodiest.[2] 'The bishops, presbyters, and deacons, shall be executed immediately; senators and distinguished men shall lose their dignities and possessions; and if, after the loss of these, they continue to be Christians, they also shall be punished with death.' All this harmonizes with what is indicated on the subject in our Constitutions. To refer it to a later persecution, as, for instance, to the one under Diocletian, would contradict the other contents of the Constitutions. Besides, the persecution under Diocletian, surely, was not so violent as the one which occurred under Valerian. At least, in the edict of Diocletian,[3] the punishment of death is not threatened against all Christians, — a fact which would not well harmonize with our Constitutions. On the contrary, we find it mentioned in Cyprian, Epist. 77, that, at the time of the persecutions under Valerian, many Christians, who were not put to death, were sent to the mines, which also our Constitutions mention.

Finally, from c. 14, which treats concerning virgins (*περὶ παρθένων*),

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[1] See Dionysius of Alexandria, in Euseb. Eccles. Hist. b. vii. c. 1. Cyprian's Epist. 57 and 58, and his Liber ad Demetrianum, a work in defence of the Christians against the reproaches of Demetrian. A destructive pestilence, drought, and famine, had excited the rage of the people against the Christians.

[2] Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. Eccles. Hist. b. vii. c. 10 and 11. The edict of the emperor is found in Cyprian, Epist. 82 ad Successum. Ut episcopi et presbyteri, et diacones in continenti animadvertantur; senatores vero et egregii viri, dignitate amissa, etiam bonis spolientur, et si, ademptis facultatibus, Christiani esse perseveraverint, capite quoque muletentur; matronæ vero, ademptis bonis, in exsilium relegentur; Cæsariani autem quicunque vel prius confessi fuerant, vel nunc confessi fuerint, confiscentur, et vincti in Cæsarianas possessiones descripti mittantur.

[3] Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, b. viii. c. 2.

we can also draw some inferences and proofs. It seems that, at the time of the Constitutions, there was a distinct order of virgins, which, as such, was in a close ecclesiastical connection, and was considered almost as a spiritual order. But here we must by no means think of the monastic life, which came into vogue at a later period. Long before monachism arose, there was in Christendom an ascetic tendency, which, it is true, bore in itself the germ of the later monachism, but still had a different character; and, so long as this ascetic tendency did not go to an extreme, it formed a very salutary opposition to the mere worldly life.[1] In the beginning of the chapter, the apostles say that they had received no precepts in reference to virginity, but that they leave it, as a vow, to the power of those who are thus inclined. Only they advise not to make the solemn promise too hastily and inconsiderately.[2] This points, not to a promise given merely to one's self, a private resolution, but to a public relation, into which the virgins entered by the promise of virginity. And when it is further said, that she who has made the promise ought to do such works as are suitable to her promise, it seems to be implied that it was a public act, which, though not absolutely, was yet relatively binding.[3] It was thought that in this promise there was something meritorious; and if the person who made it, did not condemn marriage, it was thought that there was in the vow of virginity something morally elevated that merited recognition. Were the discourse in this chapter only in general of virgins, and not of this distinct spiritual order, we cannot see why the subject is treated in the Constitutions. The purpose of virginity could, without any ecclesiastical regulation, arise in the minds of individuals, and be carried out; but the expressions, *the female who hath promised* or vowed (*τὴν ἐπαγγειλαμένην*), and *the solemn promise* (*ἐπαγγελία* and *ἐπάγγελμα*), and the emphatic manner in which they are used, point preëminently to some act that is public, and connected with the church.

If, now, we look around to ascertain whether there is any analogous

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[1 The incidental remark with which this sentence closes, is not a link in the author's argument; and it may well be doubted whether the ascetic tendency, so prevalent in the second and the third century, and found also, to some extent, in these so-called Apostolical Constitutions, was altogether right and salutary in itself; and whether that which bore in itself the germ of the later monasticism was the proper and purely Christian corrective of the mere worldly life.]

[2] B. iv. c. 14. *Περὶ δὲ παρθενίας ἐντολὴν οὐκ ἐλάβομεν, τῇ δὲ τῶν βουλομένων ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦτο ἐπιτρέπομεν, ὡς εὐχήν· ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς παραινοῦντες, μὴ προχείρως τι ἐπαγγείλασθαι.*

[3] *Λεῖ γὰρ τὴν ἐπαγγειλαμένην, ἄξια τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἔργα διαπρασσομένην. δεικνύειν τὸ ἐπάγγελμα αὐτῆς, ὅτι ἐστιν ἀληθὲς, καὶ διὰ σχολὴν εὐσεβείας, οὐ κατὰ διαβολὴν γάμου γενομένην.*

relation in the development of ecclesiastical life, we shall see that, exactly in the third century, there was in the church just such a relation as that which the Constitutions represent the virgins as sustaining. These were called *ecclesiastical* virgins (virgines ecclesiasticæ), and were altogether distinct from the *monastic* virgins (virgines monasticæ). The ecclesiastical virgins remained, after the promise of virginity, in their former relations, and never lived, as the later monastic virgins, in separate habitations. There can be a very broad line of distinction drawn between the ascetic and the monastic life. In Cyprian we find these virgins several times mentioned. See his Epist. 62. In all the passages, however, it is not clear, whether the vow of virginity was merely a solemn, private act, or a public vow. But in no case was it binding; for Cyprian, as well as the author of the Constitutions, leaves it to the judgment of the individuals to fulfil the vow or not: only both call attention to the fact, that it is better not to vow than not to perform the promise. From the later Christian writer Socrates, who, in his Ecclesiastical History, b. viii. c. 23, also mentions the ecclesiastical virgins (*παρθένων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν*), we perceive that they were so called, especially on account of their having been received into the catalogue of spiritual persons. A prominent passage in point occurs in the same work, b. i. c. 17.[1] On this account these virgins were sometimes also called *canonical* virgins (virgines canonicæ). But at a later period the discipline of the church, in respect to those virgins who broke their vow and married, seems to have become more rigid. The council at Ancyra in Galatia, A.D. 314, decreed for such a season of penance.[2]

Investigation on the Fifth Book of the Constitutions.

In our investigation on the fourth book, we have already mentioned the first chapter of the fifth, in which there is a reference to a violent persecution of the Christians. Now, b. v. c. 6, copiously develops the thought that the believer must, in respect to his safety, be neither careless nor unmanfully timid; but that he must prudently flee; yet, if he fall into the hands of the persecutors, he must not fear to

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[1] Καὶ τὰς παρθένους τὰς ἀναγεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κανόνι, ἐπὶ ἑστίασιν προτρεπομένη, &c.

[2] Concil. Ancyr. can. xix. Ὅσοι παρθενίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν· τὸν τῶν διγάμων ὅρον ἐκπληρούτωσαν.

acknowledge his faith, in view of the martyr's crown.[1] The same view prevailed among the Christians during the persecutions under Decius and Valerian. It was not considered disreputable to save themselves by flight or by prudent ingenuity, so long as this was not a denial of Christ; but it was required, when the time for acknowledgment was come, to acknowledge the Lord with confidence and courage. Altogether in this spirit, our Constitutions enjoin, 'Wherefore, neither let us be rash and hasty to thrust ourselves into dangers; nor let us, when we do fall into them, be, through cowardice, ashamed of our profession.'[2] But does not this agree, almost word for word, with the principles of Cyprian? Do we not see that in his time the Christians followed these principles? Indeed, did not Cyprian act entirely in this spirit? We need only call to mind the well-known fact that he withdrew himself a long time from the persecutions. With much beauty, and in perfect accordance with our Constitutions, he expresses himself on this subject in his last epistle to the clergy and people of his charge: 'But ye, my dearest brethren, preserve quietness, conformably to the precept which ye have often received from me, according to the doctrine of our Lord. Let no one of you bring the brethren into trouble, nor spontaneously offer himself to the heathen. For it is he who is apprehended and delivered up that ought to speak; if indeed the Lord within us, at that hour, may speak, who would have us confess rather than profess.'[3]

In the same chapter our Constitutions mention the martyrdom of the catechumens, and assert that martyrdom is a valid substitute for baptism: 'But let him who is counted worthy of martyrdom, rejoice with joy in the Lord, as obtaining so great a crown, and departing out of this life by his confession. And although he be but a catechumen, let him depart without sorrow; for his suffering for Christ will be to him a more genuine baptism; since he indeed dies with the Lord really, but the rest figuratively.'[4] So early as in Tertullian, we find martyrdom

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[1] B. v. c. 6. (Caption:) *Ὅτι χρὴ τὸν πιστὸν μήτε ῥιψοκίνδυνον εἶναι δι' ἀσφάλειαν, μήτε περιδεῆ δι' ἀνανδρίαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ φεύγειν δι' εὐλάβειαν, καὶ ἐμπεσόντα, ἀγωνίζεσθαι διὰ τὸν ἀποκείμενον στέφανον.*

[2] B. v. c. 6. *Διὸ μήτε πρόχειροι ὦμεν καὶ ῥιψοκίνδυνοι. . . . . μηδὲ μὴν ἐμπεσόντες, δειλίᾳ καταισχύνωμεν τὴν ὁμολογίαν.*

[3] Epist. 83, ad clerum et plebem de suo secessu paulo ante passionem. Vos autem, fratres carissimi, pro disciplina quam de mandatis dominicis a me semper accepistis, et secundum quod me tractante sæpissime didicistis, quietem et tranquillitatem tenete: nequisquam vestrum aliquem tumultum de fratribus moveat, aut ultro se gentilibus offerat: apprehensus enim et traditus loqui debet; si quidem in nobis Dominus positus illa hora loquatur, qui nos confiteri magis voluit quam profiteri.

[4] B. v. c. 6. *Ὁ δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς μαρτυρίου, χαιρέτω, τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ χαρὰν, ὡς τηλικούτου*

designated by the name of a *second baptism*, and a *baptism of blood*.[1] Still, in his works, it is not stated in so many words, that martyrdom is equivalent to baptism. It is known how strictly the ancient church maintained the necessity of baptism. But so early as in Cyprian, we find the opinion — for it is avowed by him — that martyrdom, or the baptism of blood, is a substitute, and indeed a fully satisfactory one, for baptism. What transgression cannot be washed away by the baptism of blood! — what crime cannot be expiated by martyrdom! — is the sentiment frequently expressed by Cyprian. Every one could thereby become righteous: he excludes only the heretics. They are to be cast off, even though they be put to death for acknowledging the Saviour's name.[2] For how can he be qualified for martyrdom who is not armed for the conflict by the church?[3] On the contrary, Cyprian gives great prominence to the idea that those catechumens were not deprived of baptism, who were baptized by the illustrious and exalted baptism of blood.[4] This view accords entirely with that of our Constitutions, which we find expressed also in the later writers, Chrysostom, Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil, and others.

To what is contained in the sixth chapter there are now added, in the seventh, several statements concerning the resurrection, to which the author is led by the mention of the death of martyrs. In the beginning of the chapter, it is said that 'the Almighty God himself will raise us up through our Lord Jesus Christ.' It is then added, in effect, that he has promised the resurrection, not only to the martyrs, but to *all* men, the righteous and the unrighteous; and that he will raise us

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ἐπιτυχὼν στεφάνου, καὶ δι' ὁμολογίας ποιούμενος τὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ βίου. Κἂν κατηχούμενος ᾖ᾽ ἄλυπος ἀπίτω· τὸ γὰρ πάθος τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, ἔσται αὐτῷ γνησιώτερον βάπτισμα· ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν πείρᾳ συναποθνήσκει τῷ κυρίῳ, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ, τύπῳ.

[1] Tertull. De Baptismo, c. 16. Est quidem nobis etiam secundum lavacrum unum et ipsum, sanguinis scilicet; de quo Dominus, habeo, inquit, baptismo tingui, quum jam tinctus fuisset. — Hic est baptismus, qui lavacrum et non acceptum repræsentat et perditum reddit.

[2] Cyprian, De Unitate Ecclesiæ.

[3] Epist. 54. Primo idoneus esse non potest ad martyrium, qui ab ecclesia non armatur ad prœlium.

[4] Epist. 73. Sciant igitur hujusmodi homines suffragatores et fautores hæreticorum, catechumenos illos primo integram fidem et ecclesiæ unitatem, tenere, et ad debellandum diabolum de divinis castris cum plena et sincera Dei Patris et Christi et Spiritus Sancti cognitione procedere; deinde nec privari baptismi sacramento, utpote qui baptizentur gloriosissimo et maximo sanguinis baptismo, de quo et Dominus dicebat, habere se aliud baptisma baptizari sanguine autem suo baptizatos et passione sanctificatos consummari, et divinæ pollicitationis gratiam consequi, declarat in evangelio idem Dominus, &c.

up — such as we now are in our present form, without any defect or corruption.[1] . . . The whole accords very much with representations found in the fathers of the first centuries.

But now, after the author of the Constitutions has proved the truth of the resurrection from the Holy Scriptures, he passes suddenly to the proofs which had been adduced for it by the heathen. Although the heathen or Greeks had no belief in the sacred writings of the Christians, yet even their prophetess Sibyl testifies to the truth of the doctrine.[2] In these Sibylline verses adduced by the author of the Constitutions, the hope is expressed that God will, one day, hold a judgment, will punish the wicked, and bury them for ever, but that the pious shall again continue to live.[3] Then the Constitutions proceed to the heathen account of the Phœnix, and find in it an analogy and a proof for the resurrection. This we have already mentioned in connection with the first epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (p. 346).

Here, in passing, we must mention that some have been stumbled at the proposition, 'We know that he did not want matter, but by his will alone brought into being those things which Christ was commanded to make;'[4] and in this have found a trace of Arian heresy; for (they suppose) a command cannot have been given to the Son before his becoming incarnate. Still we doubt our being authorized to regard this expression as a later Arian interpolation; for similar expressions and forms of speech occur very frequently in the earlier Christian writers.

The *eighth* and *ninth* chapters contain several precepts concerning the

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[1] . . . θεὸς — ἀναστήσει ἡμᾶς — τοιούτους, ὁποιοι ὑπάρχομεν ἐν τῇ νῦν μορφῇ, μηδὲν ἐλλειπὲς ἔχοντας, ἢ τὴν φθοράν.

[2] Formerly, some endeavored to prove the genuineness of the Sibylline books from the fact that Hermas and Clement of Rome appear to have known them; indeed, that the apostle Paul himself (according to Clement of Alexandria) referred the heathen to the books of the Sibyl; and that Josephus alludes to a passage in them. But when, among the citations of the Sibylline books in Clement of Rome at an early day, this passage of our Constitutions also is adduced, we see how little this can be admitted as having been cited by him, and therefore also how little this speaks for the genuineness and the early origin of the Sibylline books. See, for further remarks, *F. Bleek* on the rise and compilation of the collection of Sibylline oracles preserved to us in eight books; a Dissertation in Schleiermacher's, De Wette's, and Lücke's *Theologischen Zeitschrift*, erstes Heft, S. 126 —.

[3] . . . . . Ὅσοι δ' ὑπὸ δυσσεβίῃσιν
Ἥμαρτον θνητοί, τοὺς δ' αὖ πάλι γαῖα καλύψει.
Ὅσσοι δ' εὐσεβέουσι, πάλιν ζήσοντ' ἐνὶ κόσμῳ
Πνεῦμα θεοῦ δόντος. . . . . .

[4] C. 7. Γινώσκομεν ὅτι οὐχ ὕλης ἦν ἐνδεὴς, ἀλλὰ βουλήσει μόνῃ ἃ προσετάγη Χριστὸς, ταῦτα καὶ παρηγαγε.

martyrs; and then the *tenth*, *eleventh*, and *twelfth* chapters prohibit every kind of participation in the idolatry of the heathen. The believer must sing no heathen hymns; he must not swear by an idol, nor do any thing unworthy of a Christian. But now, between c. 12 and c. 13 there is no connection. In the end of the *twelfth* chapter, it is said that the Christian's *yea* must be yea; and in general terms much zeal is expressed against every false oath. Suddenly, without any connection, and without any form of transition, it is said, in c. 13: 'Brethren, observe the festival days, and, first, the birthday of our Lord.' As the want of connection indicates that this chapter was not written originally with the rest of the book, so still more do its contents, which manifestly correspond with those of the *eighth* book, and belong also to the same age. When we come to point out the interpolations, we will take into view the contents of this chapter. Here we call attention only to the fact, that it is manifestly distinguished in its style; for while all the other chapters, even the smallest, contain citations out of the Holy Scriptures, and are often overladen with them, this chapter contains none at all.

We admit, there is some difficulty in pointing out the connection of c. 14 and c. 12; for, obviously, the clause, 'For they began to hold a council against the Lord on the second day of the week,' refers to c. 13; and the *for* (γάρ) in c. 14 connects itself with the clause, 'Begin the holy week of the Passover.' We may, however, well conjecture, that as the interpolator introduced a whole chapter, so he could also alter the first words of the succeeding chapter, and bring them into an apparent connection; but that he could not so conveniently construct a tie with c. 12, lay in the nature of the subject. In the preceding chapters there was nothing which he could bring into connection with the celebration of the birthday of our Lord. He must therefore select the very general form of transition, 'Brethren, observe the festival days.' The Christmas festival arose after the time in which the Constitutions were written; and the interpolator held it suitable to add a precept concerning its celebration. This precept he now inserts here, because it was still more difficult to connect the subject with the following chapters, which treated concerning the Passover.

As to the thought, now, c. 14 connects itself very well with what had gone before, — the treating of martyrdom in general; and here to this is subjoined c. 14 concerning the suffering of our Lord (περὶ τοῦ πάθους τοῦ κυρίου). Surely it was also an object of the author to set forth the Christian festivals; but he wished to set them forth in connection with the fundamental view of Christianity, which referred all to the suffering, the resurrection, and the glorification of Christ. Hence, as in that

period, there were only such festivals as referred to the spiritual creation of Christ, so the author of the Constitutions enters also upon a copious representation of the festival of the resurrection [the Passover, or Easter], to which the festival of Pentecost, above all, is joined; the festival on which Christ was glorified by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

The 14th chapter exhibits now pretty copiously the history of our Lord's sufferings. We remark only that the holy supper is designated as 'the representative mysteries of his precious body and blood' (*ἀντίτυπα μυστήρια τοῦ τιμίου σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ αἵματος*). It is well known that interpreters have not been agreed, whether Judas was present or not at the instituting of the Supper. Our Constitutions are the first among the ancients that expressly assert the negative ('Judas not being present with us').

The 15th chapter enjoins fasting on the *fourth* day of the week, Wednesday (quarta feria), and on the *sixth*, Friday (the Preparation): on Wednesday, because on that day our Lord was betrayed; and on Friday, because on this he was crucified.[1] It may be asked, whether this custom already prevailed at that time in which we have placed the origin of the Constitutions. Some have believed that it began in the fourth century, but certainly without good ground. In our discussion of the external testimonies respecting the Constitutions, we have seen that the same precept is found in Epiphanius, Heresy lxxv. 6 (see p. 315). He seems to ascribe to this custom an apostolic origin. Hence we may with all safety infer that it is not only much more ancient than the age of Epiphanius, but that its origin is to be sought in a very early time. For us it is sufficient to point to the fact, that, in the time of Clement of Alexandria[2] and of Tertullian,[3] the custom was generally received, and therefore that it arose in a time still earlier. The mention of it, therefore, is by no means against the age of the Constitutions assigned by us. In the precept of the Constitutions it is then added that we should abstain from fasting on the seventh day at the cock-crowing, but fast during the whole Sabbath or seventh day

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[1] *Τετράδα δὲ καὶ παρασκευὴν προσέταξεν ἡμῖν νηστεύειν· τὴν μὲν διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν, τὴν δὲ διὰ τὸ πάθος.*

[2] Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. vii. p. 744, ed. Colon. *Οἶδεν αὐτὸς καὶ τῆς νηστείας τὰ αἴνιγματα τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων, τῆς τετράδος καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς λέγω· ἐπιφημίζονται γὰρ, ἡ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ, ἡ δὲ, Ἀφροδίτης.*

[3] Tertull. De Jejun. c. 14. Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum et dierum et mensium erasit apostolus, cur Pascha celebramus in annuo circulo, in mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exsultatione decurrimus? Cur stationibus quartam et sextam Sabbati dicamus, et jejuniis Parasceven?

itself, to that moment; not that we must fast on the Sabbath, as being the day when the work of creation ceased, but because we must fast on this one only, as being the day during which the Creator was yet under the earth. The same command, to celebrate as festival each Sabbath except one, the Constitutions repeat in b. v. c. 20.[1] They represent in this matter, very appropriately, the view of the whole oriental church. The Sabbath, it is true, was celebrated in all regions; but the manner of its celebration in the oriental church was entirely different from that which prevailed in the western. In the oriental church it was always considered as a festival day, except the *great Sabbath*, when Christ lay in the tomb. All the other Sabbaths were celebrated as festival days, what the Constitutions enjoin in many passages; for example, b. vii. c. 23.[2] The Sabbath-day fast is also forbidden in the apostolical canons, 64 (66), and, among the later authorities, by Epiphanius, Heresy xlii. 3, and especially by the Trullan Council, can. 55. In the church of Milan, the oriental custom was followed.[3] But in respect to this rite, the western church stood in full opposition; for they observed the fast on the Sabbath (Saturday). Of this we find an early testimony: it is in the works of Augustin, who, in an epistle to Jerome, mentions the custom of the oriental church as differing from that of the western, and starts the question how the matter can be decided without accusing and condemning a great part of the church.[4] In the passage a part of which we have inserted at the bottom of the page, he then proceeds: 'Would you be pleased to have us say that there is something intermediate, which nevertheless may be acceptable to him who may have done this, not feignedly, but for the harmony of

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[1] Every Sabbath-day excepting one, and every Lord's day, hold your solemn assemblies, and rejoice.

[2] Yet the Sabbath and the Lord's day keep as festivals, because the former is the memorial of the creation, and the latter of the resurrection. And in the whole year, there is only one *Sabbath* to be otherwise observed by you, that of our Lord's burial; on which men ought to keep a fast, but not a festival. For inasmuch as the Creator was then under the earth, the sorrow for him is more forcible than the joy for the creation; because the Creator is more honorable by nature and dignity than his own creatures.

[3] Ambrose, De Jejun. c. 40, and August. Epist. 86.

[4] Augustin. Epist. 19 ad Hieronymum. Vellem, me doceret benigna sinceritas tua, utrum simulate quispiam sanctus orientalis, quum Romam venerit, jejunet Sabbato, excepto illo die Paschatis vigiliæ? Quod si malum esse dixerimus, non solum Romanam ecclesiam, sed etiam multa ei vicina et aliquanto remotiora condemnabimus, ubi mos idem tenetur et manet. Si autem non jejunare Sabbato malum putaverimus, tot ecclesias orientis, multo majorem orbis Christiani partem, qua temeritate criminabimur?

society and out of deference?'[1] Yet there seems to have been no adjustment, nor mutual acknowledgment of the variety in this usage; but the difference continued for centuries in the different churches, till, in the eleventh century, it was called up afresh in the controversies of Nicetas Pectoratus and Humbert, which consummated the separation of the Romish and Greek churches. Since in these controversies our Constitutions are set up as testimony on the Greek side, and are rejected on the Roman, we have already taken the respective statements into particular consideration (p. 321); and, from the comparison, we can now perceive that the view of both churches in the fourth century was the same as in the eleventh.

In treating on the testimony of Epiphanius (see p. 313 and p. 334), the difference, in the precept concerning the celebration of the Passover, between the Constitutions which Epiphanius had and those which we have, has already been exhibited. While the Constitutions which he had, enjoin the celebrating of the festival with the Jews, those which we have establish the contrary. The later interpolation, therefore, is evident. It may be asked whether it has been effected only by the corruption of single words, or by the introduction of whole sentences, or of a whole new chapter. The latter, it is probable, is the way in which it has been done. The connection of the chapters remained the same, although an entirely new chapter was introduced, if it contained only directions concerning the celebration of the Passover, no matter whether in the Jewish or in the anti-Jewish manner. One circumstance speaks very much in favor of the assumption which we have made. The Constitutions which Epiphanius had, not only command the celebrating with

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[1] Placetne tibi, ut medium quiddam esse dicamus, quod tamen acceptabile sit ei, qui hoc non simulate, sed congruenti societate atque observantia fecerit?

Long before Augustin, — indeed, before the time of our Constitutions, — we find this difference between the two churches. Originally in the East, the Jewish Christians adopted the celebration of the Lord's day, yet retained the celebration of the Sabbath. The western churches, induced by opposition to Judaism, considered the Sabbath as a fast-day. Already, Tertullian assailed the Roman custom of setting forward the fast from Friday to the Sabbath. De Jejun. c. 14. Quanquam vos etiam Sabbatum si quando continuatis, nunquam nisi in Paschate jejunandum. On this custom there is found in Victorinus, bishop of Petovia in Pannonia, a testimony contemporaneous with our Constitutions: Hoc die solemus superponere; idcirco ut die dominico cum gratiarum actione ad panem exeamus. Et Parasceve superpositio fiat, nequid cum Judæis Sabbatum observare videamur. Galland. Bibl. Patr. tom. iv. Our Constitutions, for the opposite reason, forbid the fast, because they are more inclined to the Jewish-Christian direction, as we perceived from the original Constitution respecting the Passover, preserved to us in Epiphanius. See Neander, Kirchengeschichte, Bd. i. Abth. ii. S. 515.

the Jews, but also endeavor to harmonize this precept with the anti-Jewish usage, and to soften the opposition. At least, they attempt in the outset to repel the reproach of Judaism, while they endeavor to represent and prove that the *Jewish* Passover is a meal of affliction, but the *Christian*, a feast of joy; and that the fasting of the Christians on the following day, on which the Jews had crucified Christ, exactly coincided with the banquet of the Jews. Thus, Heresy lxx. 11: 'For the same apostles say, that when they (the Jews) banquet, do ye, fasting, lament for them, because on the day of the feast they crucified Christ; and when they lament, eating unleavened bread and bitter herbs, do ye banquet.'[1] This passage of the Constitutions which Epiphanius had, proves that the custom of celebrating the Passover with the Jews was, in that Constitution, justified by a defence. But since the passage is not found in our present Constitutions, we have a right to conclude that the interpolator has taken away the earlier seventeenth chapter, and has inserted an entirely new one in its place.

It seems impossible to doubt, that the oriental church at an early period rejected, in part, the Jewish reckoning of the Passover, without having yet adopted a general rule in its place, till the meeting of the Nicene Council. In the mean time, according to the statements of Eusebius, several attempts were made to establish, for the celebration of the Passover, a canon whose computations should be exact. Thus, Eusebius relates that Hippolytus, about the year 220, proposed, in his book on the Passover, a new cycle of sixteen years.[2] Not long after, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, about the year 250, brought forward another canon, in which he endeavored to prove that the Passover ought not to be celebrated till after the vernal equinox.[3]

But above all, Anatolius, about the year 270, in his Paschal canons, attempted to set up a new opinion. By birth an Alexandrian, he seems, according to the testimony of Eusebius, to have been the first among the most learned of his time, and to have 'attained to the highest emi-

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[1] *Λέγουσι γὰρ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀποστόλοι, ὅτι ὅταν ἐκείνοι εὐωχῶνται, ὑμεῖς νηστεύοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πενθεῖτε, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐσταύρωσαν· καὶ ὅταν αὐτοὶ πενθῶσι, τὰ ἄζυμα ἐν πικρίσιν, ὑμεῖς εὐωχεῖσθε.*

[2] Eccles. Hist. b. vi. c. 22. At the same time, Hippolytus, who composed many other treatises, also wrote a work on the Passover. In this he traces back the series of times, and presents a certain canon comprising a period of sixteen years, on the Passover, limiting his computation of the times to the first year of the emperor Alexander.

[3] Eccles. Hist. b. vii. c. 20. Besides these epistles, the same Dionysius, about this time, also composed others, called his Festival Epistles, ... in one of which he gives the canon for eight years, showing that it is not proper to observe the Paschal festival before the vernal equinox was past.

nence in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, besides his proficiency in dialectics, and physics, and rhetoric.' Now Eusebius gives us some extracts from his *canons on the Passover* (*κανόνες περὶ τοῦ πάσχα*), from which we perceive that he proposed another cycle of *nineteen* years, and endeavored to show that the Passover must be held after the equinox.[1]

But although Usher[2] is of the opinion that the Constitutions were corrupted for the purpose of harmonizing them with these attempts, yet this is somewhat improbable; for, long after those attempts, Epiphanius still had before him the original Constitution, which must therefore have been corrupted first after his time. On the other hand, the Nicene decrees, which establish the celebration of the Passover on the Sunday after the full moon of the vernal equinox, may well have given occasion to the interpolation. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact, that in the Constitutions, in the interpolated chapter, the same reasons for departing from the Jewish custom are given, as were the reasons by which the Nicene Council were guided, and which Constantine adduces in his circular epistle to the bishops who were not at the council. The seventeenth chapter of this fifth book of the Constitutions assigns, as a reason for celebrating the Passover *after* the vernal equinox, 'lest ye be obliged to keep the memorial of the one passion twice in a year: Keep it once only in a year for him that died but once.'[3] In like manner, Constantine says, in general, that it is wrong to celebrate the festival with the hostile Jews, who deviate so far from the proper correction as to celebrate the Passover a second time in the same year.[4]

The following chapter bears the title, 'A Constitution concerning the great week of the Passover' (*Διάταξις περὶ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ πάσχα ἑβδόμαδος*); but this superscription seems to us to have been inserted, not originally, but at a late period. For our conjecture several reasons present themselves, each of which helps to sustain the others. The name, *the great week* (*ἑβδομὰς μεγάλη*, and, among the Latins, sometimes *hebdomas magna*, and sometimes *septimana major*), is found neither in the writers of the second century, nor in those of the third. Since now this designation, *the great week*, is not found at all in

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[1] Eccles. Hist. b. vii. c. 32. From the canons of Anatolius on the Paschal festival: You have, therefore, in the first year, the new moon of the first month, which is the beginning of every cycle of nineteen years.

[2] Prolegom. in Epist. Ignat. c. 9.

[3] *Ὅπως μὴ δὶς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἑνὸς παθήματος μνείαν ποιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους.*

[4] Euseb. De Vita Constantini, lib. iii. c. 18. . . . *ὡς δὴ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπανορθώσεως, τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει δευτερὸν τὸ πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖν.*

the contexture of the first seven books of the Constitutions, it is highly probable that it has come into the superscription of this eighteenth chapter, from b. viii. c. 33, where it is found for the first time, as used by Chrysostom.

Now this chapter contains nothing else that seems to indicate a later time. There are regulations given on the fast during the time of the Passover.[1] In this week, for instance, there was to be fasting not only on the Sabbath (Saturday), but also on several other days. Among the Greeks this fast was called ὑπερθέσεις; among the Latins, *superpositiones*. The number of the days, at different times, was different; at least, several writers state them variously. Some added to this fast one day, others two, and still others, three, four, or five days. This is stated by Irenæus in a passage preserved by Eusebius.[2] Our Constitutions, now, in c. 18, command to fast during six days ('beginning from the second day of the week, until the Preparation and the Sabbath, six days'): and enjoin the use of only bread, salt, herbs, and water; and abstinence from wine and flesh; for, it is added, 'they are days of lamentation, and not of feasting.' Then they further command that 'such as are able fast the day of the Preparation and the Sabbath-day entirely, taking nothing till the cock-crowing of the night. But if any one is not able to join them both together, at least let him observe the Sabbath-day as a fast.' If now we look at the accounts of other writers on the Paschal fast, we find altogether the same as in our Constitutions. Thus Epiphanius tells us exactly the same that they prescribe; and indeed, what is well worthy of consideration, he represents it as a custom exceedingly ancient. 'The six days of the Passover all the people pass in abstinence; that is, then using bread, and salt, and water, at evening; but also the zealous superadd two, and three, and four days, and some all the week, till the cock-crowing, as the Lord's day dawns.'[3]

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[1] In the chapter itself it is said, 'In the days, therefore, of the Passover, fast' (*ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις οὖν τοῦ πάσχα νηστεύετε*). The expression, *the great week*, is not used at all, though the precepts are given concerning the days of this week. Besides, there are found in the ancients very many names for this week: Πάσχα σταυρώσιμον, ἑβδομὰς τῶν ἁγίων πάθων, ἑβδομὰς τοῦ σωτήριου παθοῦς, ἑβδομὰς ἀπράκτος (inofficiosa, muta, silent week); hebdomas authentica, pœnosa, ultima, that is, the last in the ecclesiastical year. But the first seven books of our Constitutions always use the same designation, *the days of the Passover* (*αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ πάσχα*).

[2] Eccles. Hist. b. v. c. 24. For some think that they ought to fast only one day; some two, some more days. Some compute their day as consisting of forty hours, night and day.

[3] Epiph. Exposit. Fid. Cathol. n. 22. Τὰς δὲ ἓξ ἡμέρας τοῦ πάσχα ἐν ξηροφαγίᾳ διατελοῦσι πάντες οἱ λαοὶ· φημὶ δὲ ἄρτῳ καὶ ἅλι καὶ ὕδατι τότε χρώμενοι πρὸς ἑσπέραν· ἀλλὰ

From this passage of Epiphanius, it is undeniable that it was not a custom which arose first in his time, but was one which before his time was already prevalent; — a supposition which coincides well with the precept in our Constitutions. But there are also other evidences, that we can ascribe this custom to no later age than the one in which we have placed the origin of our Constitutions. First, as to the abstinence (or, as the Greek word here used literally signifies, the eating of dry food), this is found earlier in the church, and was enjoined as a law by the Montanistic party. But that the precepts given in our Constitutions on fasting were already in use in the third century, is proved especially by a passage in the Epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria to Basilides. Not all, says he, spend the six days of the fasts with equal strictness nor in a similar manner; but some superadd all the days, passing them without food; some, two days, some three, some four, and some none.[1] Then he contends against those who, in the four preceding days, have not fasted at all, or have spent them even in banqueting, but then have fasted the last two days, and now think they have done something great. Dionysius is of the opinion that those persons would stand higher, who, after they had fasted on the other days, and were fatigued and enfeebled, should take some food before the end of those two days. Therefore, in this also Dionysius agrees with our Constitutions.

The *nineteenth* chapter treats now concerning the vigils on the Great Sabbath (magnum Sabbatum). It is the only Sabbath which the Christian church has retained and celebrated from among the Jewish Sabbath days. The dogma which lay at the basis of the celebration of this day is unquestionably the descending of the Saviour into the infernal world. This we perceive very clearly from that well-known homily which Epiphanius held on the holy and great Sabbath.[2] Though the day celebration of this Sabbath was kept, yet the night celebration was the most impressive; and among all the vigils, that of the great and holy night was the most commended. In the chapter before us, the Constitutions mention nothing of the doctrine of Christ's descent into hell, but only give command that the fast continue till the cock-crowing, and then cease; that in the mean time there be watching and praying in the church all night, the reading of the Law, the Prophets, and the

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καὶ οἱ σπουδαῖοι διπλᾶς, καὶ τριπλᾶς, καὶ τετραπλᾶς ὑπερτίθενται καὶ ὅλην τὴν ἑβδομάδα τινες ἄχρι ἀλεκτρυόνων κλαγγῆς, τῆς κυριακῆς ἐπιφωσκούσης.

[1] Dionysius Alex. in Epist. ad Basilidem. Ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τὰς ἐξ τῶν νηστειῶν ἡμέρας ἴσως μηδὲ ὁμοίως πάντες διανέμουσιν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ πάσας ὑπερτιθέασιν ἄσιτοι διατελοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρας, οἱ δὲ ὀὐδεμίαν, &c.

[2] Epiphan. Opp. ed. Petav. tom. ii. p. 259 —

Psalms, the baptizing of catechumens, the reading of the Gospel with fear and trembling, and the speaking to the people of such things as pertain to their salvation. At this time, as in the following centuries, this vigil was preëminently the season for baptism among the Christians, probably because a special efficacy was ascribed to baptism into the death of Christ. The explanation of this custom is very near at hand; for, as we have already had occasion to remark, it must have its basis in the decisions of the apostle in Rom. 6: 3–5 ('Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death' (*εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν*)? and in 1 Cor. 15: 29 ('baptized for the dead,' *βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*); for this baptism in the vigil of the great Sabbath was truly a baptism for the dead. There have come down to us the most splendid and spirited descriptions of this vigil. Chrysostom mentions it often, and describes it quite amply, and seems to have been very enthusiastic in favor of its celebration. Palladius calls it the angelic night, in which the demons themselves sink down with trembling.[1] It is quite aside from our task to set forth the painting of this vigil, in the later Gregory of Nazianzum, Chrysostom, Socrates, Jerome, and Lactantius; but here we shall still have to answer the question, whether the mention of the custom agrees with the age in which, according to our judgment, the Constitutions were written, or whether this custom did not first arise in the fourth century. Still the last is by no means the case. Before Epiphanius, Eusebius mentions the celebration of this vigil. He joyfully relates, that the emperor Constantine lent the splendor of the day to the holy night celebration; that high pillars of wax were lighted everywhere throughout the place; and that torches illuminated the whole city.[3] The entire narration, which presupposes the celebration of this vigil as a well-known solemnity of the Christian church, is of such a kind as of itself to prove that the celebration of the vigil of the great Sabbath was customary already in the third century. But on this matter we have, even from the third century, several express testimonies. For example: a passage of Tertullian proves that in his time this vigil of the Passover was

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[1] Pallad. Vit. Chrysostomi, c. 9, p. 84—, ed. Par. where he copiously describes how the soldiers interrupted the celebration of this vigil, and fell upon the Christians; *τότε ἦν ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀγγελικὴν νύκτα, ἐν ᾗ καὶ δαίμονες πίπτουσι ἐπτηχότες, εἰς λαβύρινθον μεταβληθεῖσαν.* A translation of the homily of Cyprian on the holy Sabbath, and of two sermons of Augustin on the holy Easter vigils (Opp. ed. Benedict. tom. v. pt. ii. serm. 219–223, p. 962—), is given by Augusti, Bd. ii. S. 168—; and ii. S. 127 —.

[2] Compare Werensdorf, De Constantini M. religione paschali ad Euseb. de Vita Const. M. lib. iv. c. 22; Viteb. 1758, 4to; where the whole passage is historically illustrated.

attended by all Christians, by women as well as by men. He speaks zealously against the marriage of Christian women with heathen men, and adduces as a reason to dissuade them from these marriages, that no heathen would quietly permit his wife to withdraw herself from him during the night for the purpose of participating in the solemnities of the Passover.[1] In the precept of the Constitutions, c. 19, 'And let this be an everlasting ordinance till the consummation of the world, until the Lord come,'[2] there could already perhaps be the view, that, on this night, Christ will come to judge the world. At a later period, it was pretty generally prevalent.[3]

Near the end of the chapter it is commanded, after eight days to celebrate the eighth day, the so-called octave, as a festival: ('After eight days let there be another feast observed with honor, the eighth day itself.') It was considered as an after-celebration of Easter, and in remembrance of the satisfying of Thomas in respect to the certainty of the resurrection of Christ. Our Constitutions, too, give the same reason for it, while they suddenly make Thomas himself relate the matter. Hence it comes, that among the Greeks this Sunday is called Thomas's Lord's day (*Κυριακὴ τοῦ Θωμᾶ*[4]); while among the Latins, as is well known, this Sunday is called White Sunday (Dominica in albis), from the white baptismal dresses which the catechumens wore, for the last time, on that day.

The conclusion of the chapter is certainly very remarkable, for in it the celebration of the feast of the Ascension is commanded; — certainly

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[1] Tertull. ad Uxor. lib. ii. c. 4. Quis solemnibus Paschæ abnoctantem securus sustinebit? — But abuses early crept into these vigils. Hence the council at Elvira (in the year 305) canon xxxv. forbade the females all participation in the vigils.

[2] *Καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἔστω νομιμὸν αἰώνιον, ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος.*

[3] Lactant. Inst. Div. l. vii. c. 19. Hæc est nox, quæ nobis propter adventum Regis ac Dei nostri, pervigilio celebratur: cujus noctis duplex ratio est, quod in ea et vitam tum recepit, cum passus est; et postea orbis terræ regnum receptum est.

And Jerome on Matt. xxv. 6. Traditio Judæorum est, Christum media nocte venturum, in similitudinem Ægyptii temporis, quando Pascha celebratum est, et exterminator venit, et dominus super tabernacula transiit, et sanguine agni postes nostrarum frontium consecratæ sunt. Unde reor et traditionem apostolicam permansisse, ut in die vigiliarum Paschæ, ante noctis dimidium, populos dimittere non licet, expectantes adventum Christi. Et postquam illud tempus transierit, securitate præsumpta, festum cunctos agere diem.

[4] Probably this appellation among the Greeks was occasioned by the passage, John 20: 19 —, to which our Constitutions seem to have had regard. In a way very similar, the name *Quasimodogeniti* (*as new-born*) for this day, became, at a later period, usual in the Latin church, from the Latin translation of 1 Pet. 2: 2.

the earliest testimony respecting it that has come to us from the ancients. Hitherto, the passage in b. v. c. 19, so far as I know, has always been overlooked; and in the archæological investigations respecting this festival, only b. viii. c. 33 has been adduced. 'And again' (says the passage here in the fifth book), 'from the first Lord's day count forty days, from the Lord's day till the fifth day of the week, and celebrate the feast of the Ascension of the Lord, whereon he finished all his dispensation, and constitution, and returned to that God and Father who sent him.' This passage seems manifestly to testify for the celebration of this feast towards the end of the third century. But since all the five books bear on themselves the impress of that time, as we think we have sufficiently shown, all these earlier proofs must, in advance, favor the opinion that the celebration of this feast had then become customary. It may be asked, whether there are not other reasons by which this is sustained. It is difficult, indeed, through testimonies of the ancients, to prove that the festival was already celebrated in the end of the third century. Mention of it occurs first in Chrysostom, in many passages,[1] and frequently in the writers of his and of later times. Epiphanius also, and Gregory of Nyssa, presuppose that it was commonly known; and they have even written homilies upon it.[2] About the middle of the fourth century, therefore, the origin of this feast was spoken of as belonging to a very early time.

Finally, we have from Augustin five copious sermons on the festival of which we have been speaking. One of these is specially remarkable, and is distinguished by several peculiarities.[3] Besides, there is another passage in Augustin where this is reckoned among the great festivals; indeed, where he almost derives it from the apostles.[4] Although he is wavering in his judgment (either from the apostles themselves or from plenary councils), yet so much at least is certain, namely, that he ascribed to it a high antiquity, and placed its origin long before his own

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[1] Chrysost. Homil. in Assump. Νῦν ὅτε τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἄγομεν, τὴν φαιδρὰν ταύτην καὶ ἐξαστράπτουσαν ἡμέραν —. Homil. 2. in Pentecost. Πρώην μὲν οὖν ἑωρτάσαμεν τὸν σταυρὸν τὸ πάθος, τὴν ἀνάστασιν, μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἄνοδον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[2] Epiphan. Εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Opp. ed. Petav. t. vi. Paris. 1622, p. 205 —. Gregorius Nyssen. Opp. ed. Paris. Morel. 1615, t. ii. p. 873 —.

[3] See Augusti's Denkwürdigkeiten, Bd. vi. S. 372.

[4] Augustini Epist. 118. Illa, quæ non scripta, sed tradita custodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe observantur, datur intelligi, vel ab ipsis apostolis vel plenariis conciliis, quorum in ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas, commendata atque statuta retineri. Sicut quod Domini passio et resurrectio et adscensio in cœlum et adventus de cœlo Spiritus Sancti anniversaria solemnitate celebrantur.

time. If the result is similar that is derived from the citations and homilies of Epiphanius, and Gregory of Nyssa, who, not less than Augustin, seem to have admitted an earlier origin of the feast of the Ascension, shall we not be justified, in connection with our passage in b. v. c. 19, to assume that the celebration of this festival came into use towards the end of the third century; and that, therefore, the mention of it furnishes no evidence against the opinion advanced by us in respect to the time when the Constitutions were written?

Let it be conceded that we cannot strictly prove the universal celebration of this festival towards the end of the third century: although Origen against Celsus, b. viii. c. 22, manifestly considers the feast of the Resurrection as the point of beginning to the feast of Pentecost, yet this would not overthrow the assertion that in the Constitutions about this time [towards the end of the third century], the celebration of this feast is commanded, even while it was not yet universal. But that the fact of Christ's ascension was esteemed as highly as that of his resurrection, is sufficiently proved by its having been received into all the symbols and rules of faith.

It is possible, indeed probable, that, at the time of our Constitutions, the celebration of the feast of the Ascension was in its beginning, and gradually became customary; that, too, it was not yet reckoned among the great festivals, which was first done in the fourth century. This opinion seems to be favored also by our passage in the Constitutions. Here the celebration of the feast is commanded with entire simplicity, without its being reckoned a great feast, and without there being ordered for it any special solemnities. There is merely a reference to the occasion of its being instituted; namely, that Christ, on this day, entered into his glory with the Father.

If we turn now to c. 20, this is not less worthy of consideration. In it the feast of Pentecost is commanded; and precepts are given for the time after the ending of this feast. 'But,' it is there said, 'after ten days from the ascension, which from the first Lord's day is the fiftieth day, do ye keep a great festival: for on that day, at the third hour, the Lord Jesus sent on us the gift of the Holy Ghost, and we were filled with his energy, and we spake with new tongues, as that Spirit suggested to us; and we preached both to Jews and Gentiles, that he is the Christ of God, who is determined by him to be the Judge of the living and the dead.' Were the assertion true, which some have made, that the feast of Pentecost was not celebrated as a distinct festival before the fourth century, this would overthrow the assertion which we have made respecting the first seven books of the Constitutions; or, at least, it would speak against this twentieth chapter. But this is not

at all the case; and it can be proved that the feast of Pentecost was one of the first Christian festivals. None of the Old Testament feasts passed over so easily into a Christian one. The thanksgiving for the first-fruits of the harvest, was analogous to the thanksgiving for the nourishment of the Spirit, through the higher gift of the heavenly Father; as the remembrance of the giving of the law on Sinai, was analogous to the remembrance of the higher revelation of the spiritual law in Christ. Here, indeed, a difference in the celebration of this festival must not be overlooked, namely, that, at first, the feast of Pentecost embraced the whole time of fifty days between the Passover and the Pentecost, and that it was not till a later period that it was understood to be a festival lasting only one day. But while we fully admit this difference, we assert that the one-day festival of Pentecost, as it is commanded in our Constitutions, already occurs in the third century. That the festival, in the first sense given above, [that is, embracing the fifty days,] was introduced early, is generally admitted, and is also sufficiently proved by the testimonies of the ancients, especially of Tertullian.[1] In favor of the celebration of the feast of Pentecost as a distinct festival, about the middle of the third century, we have also the clear testimony of Epiphanius in his homilies, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzum. Not only this, however, do they prove; but since, in their time, the feast was quite general and ancient, we may well assume that towards the end of the third century the one-day celebration of this festival had begun to be customary. In the testimony of Origen, the transition, as it were, from the earlier custom to the later seems to us to be indicated.[2] Besides, if now the passage in Augustin (Epist. 118, to Januarius), already adduced by us, calls attention to a very ancient origin of the distinct feast of Pentecost, it is probable, that the celebration of this distinct one-day feast was in use at the end of the third century.[3] For, had this not been the case, we cannot conceive how Epiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa, and others could presuppose the general

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[1] Tertull. De Idololatr. c. 14. Ethnicis semel annuus dies quisque festus est: tibi octavo quoque die; *excerpe singulas solemnitates nationum, et in ordinem texe, Pentecosten implere non poterunt;* also De Baptismo, c. 19; together with Can. xx. Concil. Antioch.

[2] Orig. c. Cels. lib. viii. c. 22. *Ἐαν δὲ τὶς πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνθυποφέρῃ τὰ περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν κυριακῶν, ἢ παρασκευῶν ἢ τοῦ πάσχα ἢ τῆς πεντεκοστῆς,* &c. Here it seems as if Origen considered the feast of Pentecost as a distinct one, although still in connection with the feast of the Resurrection, and as a conclusion of the Quinquagesima.

[3] This might also be confirmed by the fact that the canon xliii. of the council of Elvira in Spain, A.D. 305, understands, by the Pentecost, only the feast of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

observance of this festival.[1] Our Constitutions, by their precepts, may have been the very means of promoting the celebration of Pentecost as a distinct festival.

In the Latin church, the Pentecost cycle closed with the Pentecost octave, that is, with the Trinity festival. The oriental Greek church, however, has never celebrated this feast, but its octave was the feast of All Saints (ἑορτὴ πάντων ἁγίων). But, manifestly, this Pentecost octave, in the oriental Greek church, first became usual at a late period, after the feast of Pentecost had already, for a long time, been celebrated in this church as a distinct feast; although it is true that, among the Greeks, the honoring of saints came into vogue much earlier than among the Latins, and that the Greeks celebrated the festival of All Saints centuries earlier. The proof of this is furnished by our Constitutions. For in them, no trace occurs of such a celebration of the Pentecost octave in honor of the saints; indeed, not a single trace of a Pentecost octave; although, in our Constitutions, precepts are expressly given respecting the time after the celebration of Pentecost: 'Therefore after ye have kept the festival of Pentecost, keep one week as a festival; and, after that, fast one.'[2] Further on it is said, 'After this week of fasting, we command you to fast every fourth day of the week and every day of the Preparation, and what is saved by your fasting bestow upon the needy.' This fast, therefore, at this earliest time, occupied the place of the later Pentecost octave, the feast of All Saints. Perhaps, about the same time, it was identical with the so-called *fast in honor of the holy apostles* (jejunium in honorem S. Apostolorum); and, at a later period, as a new Pentecost octave became usual, the feast of All Apostles was transferred to the first of May. But, however this may be, it is certain that the fast after the feast of Pentecost arose long before the Pentecost octave. Still, in the time of Leo the Great, this fast was in use; and he himself commends it in a discourse, very urgently, and paints it as an apostolic institute of the highest importance.[3] If this now is not according to the truth, it is equally wrong to assert, as some have done, that the fast after the feast of Pentecost came in the place of the abrogated vigils. The assertion is contradicted by the testimony of our Constitutions, which enjoin the fast after the feast of Pentecost, while the vigils still belonged to the highest solemnities.

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[1] See extracts from their homilies, in Augusti's Denkw. Bd. ii. S. 394—.

[2] B. v. c. 20.

[3] Sermo primus de Jejunio Pentecostes, ed. Par. 1641. p. 77.

Investigation on the Sixth Book of the Constitutions.

This sixth book is superscribed *On Schisms* (περὶ σχισμάτων); but, like the other books, it contains precepts which cannot be included under this superscription. Still, all its parts cohere well with each other; and, where it shall be necessary, we shall speak with reference to their connection. For example: After, through a series of chapters, the heresies are spoken of, their destructiveness portrayed, and proved by examples, the Constitutions reject the baptism which was administered by heretics. Then they give warning of the many falsely-styled apostolical writings, which, 'under our name,' that is, the name of the apostles, were written for the corruption of the church.

The first chapter begins with a warning to take heed of all heresies; for those persons who ventured to cause divisions would not escape the merited punishment. Here the Constitutions always appeal to examples taken from the Old Testament, and the destructiveness of heresies and divisions is particularly shown in the Jewish people. In the same general strain as the first three chapters, are also the following. The fourth says: 'But do ye, brethren, who are instructed out of the Scripture, take care not to make divisions in opinion.' Here the bishops seem to be exhorted to unanimity; for it is added: 'In like manner, ye of the laity, come not near to such as advance doctrines contrary to the mind of God.' The fifth chapter proceeds: 'For those are most certainly to be avoided who blaspheme God.' With this is connected again a copious exhibition of the fearful destruction which has proceeded from heresies; and this is particularly proved by declarations of the prophets.[1]

The sixth chapter shows that various heretical doctrines, abhorred of God, arose also among the Jews. Here, now, the author of the Constitutions names, first, the Sadducees, who deny the resurrection of the dead; and the Pharisees, who attribute to chance and to fate the actions of those who do amiss;[2] and the Basmotheans, who deny the Providence of God, and assert that all arose from accidental motion, and take away

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[1] Ἐκ γὰρ τῆς κακίας τῶν αἱρεσιωτῶν ἐξῆλθε μόλυσμα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, ὡς φησιν Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης. See Jer. 23: 15.

[2] On this opinion of the Pharisees there are also some similar testimonies in ancient writers. Josephus, Antiq. of the Jews, b. 13, c. 9, and b. 18, 2. Hieronym. ii. adv. Pelag. 10. Pharisæorum est hoc supercilium, ut peccata propriæ voluntatis referant ad conditoris injuriam et illius justitiam calumnientur.

the immortality of the soul.[1] Among the heretics are then mentioned also the Hemerobaptists[2] and the Ebionites. On the contrary, the Essenes are commended as those who have separated themselves from all these, and observe the usages of the land of their fathers.[3] The Ebionites, therefore, are here reckoned among the Jewish heretics, and designated as those who made their appearance in the times of the apostles (*οἱ ἐφ' ἡμῶν φανέντες*), and asserted that the Son of God was nothing but a man, who was begotten through the connection of Joseph with Mary.

But now the author of the Constitutions passes to the heresies of the Christian church, and endeavors, first, in c. 7, to show whence the heresies arose, and who was the author of these evils. He relates that the apostle Philip, through the gifts of the Holy Spirit, had performed in Samaria many wonderful cures, and that the Samaritans had hence been led to faith in God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and had been baptized. Simon also became a believer, when he saw that the wonders were performed without magic; and he was baptized. Then, the Constitutions further state, Simon requested us, the apostles, to bestow on him, for money, the gift of imparting the Holy Spirit to others. Here, and in the following chapters, Simon Magus is introduced as the author of the heresies, and especially as the father of the Gnostic sects. Our Constitutions have this in common with all the writers of the ancient church, that they ascribe to this magician a peculiar importance. In the whole circle of pseudo-Clementine writings, he generally plays an important part; and it is manifest that Simon Magus, too, was a collective name, which had to represent the theosophic-poetic tendency. Properly speaking, he could hardly be reckoned among the Christian heretics; for he had attached himself quite as much to Judaism, and to a heathenish, theosophic-poetic tendency, as to Christianity. But how it could happen, that he acquired special importance in the ancient church,

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[1] On the Basmotheans, or Masbotheans, Eusebius treats in his Ecclesiastical History, b. iv. c. 22, where he quotes from Hegesippus. Those heretics are said also to have celebrated the Sabbath, whence they were also called Sabbatini.

[2] *Καὶ Ἡμεροβαπτισταὶ, οἵτινες καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται, οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κλίνας καὶ τοὺς πίνακας ἤτοι κρατῆρας καὶ ποτήρια καὶ καθίσματα ἐαν μὴ καθάρωσιν ὕδατι, οὐδενὶ χρῶνται.*

[3] It is well known that the accounts in Philo, and in Josephus, concerning this sect, do not agree. While Philo, in his book on the True Freedom of the Virtuous, represents them merely as practically religious men (*τὸ ἠθικὸν εὐ μάλα διαπονοῦσι, ἀλείπταις χρώμενοι τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις*), Josephus ascribes to them theosophy and oriental speculation. Our Constitutions, now, relate almost the same as Philo; yet Josephus is the more credible.

is to be explained only by supposing that he very soon became a mythic personage. Our Constitutions can prove this. In b. vi. c. 9, they relate expressly that Simon Magus came to Rome, and by his magic arts deceived and attracted all. 'But on a certain time, as he was gone into the theatre,' proceeds Peter, 'he commanded the people to bring me also into the theatre; and then he undertook to fly through the air; and as, raised on high by demons, he soared aloft in the air, he said that he was going to heaven, and would thence bestow favors upon them. While now the whole people honored him as a god, I besought God, through the Lord Jesus, to cast down the destroyer, to curtail the power of the demons, who used it for the seduction and perdition of men, to dash him against the ground, and bruise him, but not to kill him.' It was done, according to the prayer. Upon this, some forsook Simon; but others persevered in his destructive doctrine. 'And thus,' Peter concludes his narration, 'this most atheistical heresy first fixed itself in Rome.' From this account it is evident that, at the time when the Constitutions were made, Simon had already become fully a mythical person; and if we read in the Recognitions, and in the Clementines, the accounts of the disputations of Peter with Simon Magus, these, which bear in themselves a thoroughly mythic character, can only confirm our view.

Among the disciples and followers of Simon, are here named Cleobius, Dositheus, Manander, Basilides, and Saturnilus; whom we pass over, since nothing new is said concerning them. Still, it ought here to be mentioned, that our Constitutions mention the sect of the Nicolaitans, and assert that they are wrongfully thus named. The deacon Nicolaus, therefore, is here defended against the reproach of being the founder of this sect. It has indeed been questioned, whether there ever was such a sect; but, in respect to this, after the united testimonies of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others, there can be no doubt, although it is not fully ascertained, whether the later sect of Nicolaitans is one and the same with that which existed in the apostolic age. (See Rev. 2: 6–15.) It is in the highest degree uncertain whether this sect proceeded from the well-known deacon Nicolaus, and on this point the testimonies of the ancients are contradictory. Irenæus, who describes it, derives it from the deacon Nicolaus, and ascribes to it pernicious excesses.[1] The same do our Constitutions, in this sixth book, c. 8: 'Some are impudent in uncleanness, such as those who are falsely called Nicolaitans.'[2] According to

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[1] In his work Adv. Hæreses, lib. i. c. 26. Qui indiscrete (*ἀδιαφόρως*) vivunt.

[2] *Οἱ δὲ ἀναίδην ἐκπορνέυουσιν, ὅιοι ὁι νῦν ψευδώνυμοι Νικολαῖται.*

Clement of Alexandria, they held the pernicious principle, that men might give themselves up to their lusts, and yet not be affected by them, but abuse the flesh.[1] As our Constitutions, in another passage,[2] use almost the same words to describe a heresy, which, however, they do not expressly name, so it seems, that they also here meant the Nicolaitan heresy. In the expression, 'as those who are *falsely* called Nicolaitans,' it is too evident to admit of mistake, that the author of the Constitutions wished not to derive this sect from the deacon Nicolaus, since he found the designation false. Clement of Alexandria, also, at an earlier period, had already pronounced the derivation false, and vindicated the character of Nicolaus. Irenæus, probably through misunderstanding Rev. 2: 6–15, has occasioned the error, which, besides, is found also in many writers since his time.

Moreover, in c. 8, it is related, that in the disputation of Peter with Simon Magus, Zaccheus and Barnabas were present. It is remarkable that it is then added, 'And Nicetas and Aquila, brothers of Clement the bishop and citizen of Rome.' Here, therefore, is a passage where Clement is named, and yet not prominently, but, as it were, only as connected with Nicetas and Aquila. Therefore, also, Clement is here not represented as in a relation to our Constitutions. In the second place, the addition also, 'Who was the disciple of Paul, our fellow-apostle, and fellow-helper in the gospel,' is striking. For although it contains no contradiction against our Constitutions, since in them nothing occurs on the conversion of Clement, yet it contains an open contradiction against the general tradition, and against other pseudo-Clementine writings, namely, against the Recognitions, in which Barnabas is named as the first through whom the proclamation of the gospel was imparted to Clement, till, at a later time, the apostle Peter, not Paul, completed his conversion.

In opposition to the mentioned heresies, now in c. 11 and onward, the contents of the apostolical preaching are given, and those things named, in which one must separate himself from the heretics. Already (p. 339), c. 14 has been exhibited by us as that chapter in which the apostles express themselves on the tendency and object of the Constitutions, — that they had written this universal canon of doctrine for the refutation of all heresies, and for the strengthening and confirmation of all believers.

But the contents of c. 15 are very essential for us, in which the bap-

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[1] Stromat. p. 411, . . . *τὸ δεῖν παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ.*

[2] B. vi. c. 10: 'But others teach, that men ought to be impudent in uncleanness, and to abuse the flesh, and to go through all unholy practices, as if this were the only way for the soul to avoid the rulers of this world.'

tism of the heretics is entirely rejected, and is represented as a pollution. From this chapter we shall draw a conclusion with great determinateness in respect to the age of our Constitutions.

Our Constitutions express themselves, concerning the baptism of heretics, in the following manner: 'Be ye likewise contented with one baptism alone, that which is into the death of the Lord; not that which is conferred by wicked heretics, but that which is conferred by unblamable priests in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and let not that which cometh from the ungodly be received by you; nor let that which is done by the godly be annulled by a second. . . . . But those that receive polluted baptism from the ungodly will become partners in their opinions.' All this, and the whole succeeding contents of the chapter, lead us to infer that it was written at a time when the controversy respecting baptism administered by heretics had already become very violent, and had proceeded to an open division. Already, from a very early period, differences in the church had prevailed on the question, how, in respect to baptism, one should conduct himself towards him who had received baptism in a heretical sect, and now came over to the Catholic church. In respect to this, in the middle of the second century, there was a diversity of opinion, and a diversity of practice had sprung up, according to the different points of view from which the matter had been contemplated. The church in Asia Minor, which ascribed validity to all acts of religion only in so far as they were practised by the Catholic church, regarded the baptism of the heretics as not a correct one, and was of the opinion that the true baptism must follow the coming over to the Catholic church. In the Western church, however, the opposite practice had come into use. Still, no particular controversy had arisen on these different views. The subject was conversed on, quietly, as we may perceive from Tertullian.[1] Two councils, the one at Carthage, after the year 200 (see Cyprian's Epistles, 71 and 73); the other at Iconium, solemnly confirmed the Asiatic usage in respect to baptism. From the whole, we perceive that, in any case, our Constitution, in b. vi. c. 15, must have been written later; for the violent, passionate, all-excluding opposition shows clearly that it must have been written at a time, when vehement controversies had arisen in respect to the baptism administered by heretics. If we pursue further the question concerning this baptism, we find that, in the second

[1] De Baptismo, c. 15. De Prescrip. c. 12, and De Pudicit. c. 19. Tertullian, it is in the highest degree probable, wrote his treatise on Baptism, as a member of the catholic or general church; but in that work he sometimes expressed a view different from that which prevailed in the west.

half of the third century, it occasioned the most frequent controversies and separations; it was, therefore, exactly at the time in which we have placed the origin of our Constitutions.

Stephen, bishop of Rome, it was, who, animated by the hierarchical spirit and authority, withdrew ecclesiastical fellowship from the churches in Asia Minor, towards the end of the year 253, and denominated them Anabaptists (*Ἀναβαπτισταί*). This must naturally have produced, on the other side, hatred and bitterness; and soon the difference of opinion proceeded to an open reproach. The church in North Africa, with Cyprian at its head, examined the matter, and adopted the opinion that the baptism imparted by heretics, was not valid. It was preëminently Cyprian, who with vehemence defended this opinion, which agreed so well with his whole mode of viewing ecclesiastical life.[1] Stephen, with pride and contempt, replied to Cyprian, who, in gentle terms, had made known to him this decree of the council. He broke off ecclesiastical communion with the North African church; and, instead of all arguments, he urged the Roman tradition.[2] Cyprian, on the other hand, arranged a still more numerous council of seventy-eight bishops (A.D. 258), who expressed themselves in the most decided and zealous manner against the Roman opinion. If now we look again at our Constitutions, we readily see that this 'Constitution,' in b. vi. c. 15, is given in reference to these controversies, and expresses itself not less vehemently, when it says, 'Nor indeed are those that are baptized by them initiated, but are polluted, not receiving the remission of sins, but the bond of impiety. And besides, they that attempt to baptize those already initiated crucify the Lord afresh, slay him a second time, laugh at divine, and ridicule holy things, affront the Spirit, dishonor the sacred blood of Christ, as common blood, are impious against Him that sent, Him that suffered, and Him that witnessed.'

But here we must mention the opinion of several Eastern bishops, in order to show the agreement of the Constitutions with these. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, disapproved entirely the conduct of Stephen,

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[1] Epist. 70. Neminem foris baptizari, extra ecclesiam posse, cum sit baptisma unum in sancta ecclesia constitutum. Epist. 70–73.

[2] Cyprian's statement concerning Stephen, Epist. 74. Cætera vel superba vel ad rem non pertinentia, vel sibi ipsi contraria, quæ imperite et improvide scripsit, &c. — Quæ ista abstinatio est, quæve præsumtio, humanam traditionem divinæ dispositioni anteponere, nec animadvertere, indignari et irasci Deum, quoties divina præcepta solvit, et præterit humana traditio. Nam consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est. — How strong the mutual reproaches were, we see, among others, from Epist. 75. Non studet Stephanum. . . . . Cyprianum pseudo-Christum et pseudo-apostolum et dolosum operarium dicere.

and acceded to the view of Cyprian.[1] The same did most of the Eastern bishops; and among them was Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, who agreed with Cyprian, and uttered bitter words concerning Stephen.[2] From the passages referred to, we perceive sufficiently how very much, at that time, all in Asia Minor were opposed to the Roman view; and hence we can very well explain the vehement opposition of our Constitutions.

If it be objected, that, in this Constitution, there is no allusion to the individual relations of the contending persons, and that no name, even in the remotest manner, is indicated, this is, indeed, true; but it can be sufficiently explained from the design of the author to write as if in the time of the apostles. He had, therefore, to guard against mentioning particularly any individual relations. On the contrary, so far as the contents of this Constitution are concerned, there is the most decided agreement with the views of those, who, while the controversy on baptism administered by heretics, was the most vehement, rejected that baptism entirely. Here we must call attention to another remarkable agreement. As Stephen withdrew church fellowship, and called the dissenting churches Anabaptists (*Ἀναβαπτισταί*), so these guarded themselves expressly against that name; for they also rejected second baptisms, and wished not to baptize *again* the already baptized; but they did not acknowledge the baptism of the heretics, at all, as valid and true. Indeed, this is altogether the doctrine of our Constitutions; for while they represent the baptism of the heretics as a pollution, and utterly reject it, they, too, guard themselves against the reproach of Anabaptism. The caption of c. 15 is, 'That we ought neither to rebaptize, nor to receive that baptism which is given by the wicked, which is not baptism, but pollution.' Certainly, all this is not an insignificant proof that we have fixed on the right time for the origin of the Constitutions.

Near the end of c. 15, pedobaptism is commended: 'Moreover, bap-

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[1] In a letter to the Roman Sixtus II., the successor of Stephen. It may be seen in Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. b. vii. c. 5.

[2] Firmiliani Epist. ad Cyprianum (Ep. Cypr. 75. in a literal Latin translation): Gratiam referre Stephano in isto possumus, quod per illius in humanitatem nunc affectum est, ut fidei et sapientiæ vestræ experimentum caperemus. .... Sed hæc interim, quæ a Stephano gesta sunt, prætereantur, ne dum audaciæ et insolentiæ ejus meminimus, de rebus ab eo improbe gestis longiorem mœstitiam nobis inferamus. .... Lites et dissensiones quantas parasti per ecclesias totius mundi? Peccatum vero, quam magnum tibi exaggerasti, quanto te a tot gregibus scidisti? Excidisti enim temetipsum: noli te fallere. Si quidem ille est vere schismaticus, qui se a communione ecclesiasticæ unitatis apostatam fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes a te abstinere posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti, &c.

tize your children, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of God. For the Saviour saith, *Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not.*[1] And this is altogether in harmony with the view which, already, we have often indicated in respect to the time of the Constitutions. It is ascertained that pedobaptism does not belong to the apostolic age; and it is difficult to point out its existence before the time of Tertullian, who zealously opposed it. In his time, this practice seems to have been first coming into existence; for the passages in Irenæus, and in Clement of Alexandria, will hardly bear criticism, and can prove the contrary of that for which they have sometimes been adduced. But after the time of Tertullian, it was rapidly introduced, and about the middle and towards the end of the third century, it was received in the Alexandrian and North African church, and only there. It was constantly held to be apostolical on the ground of Matt. 19: 14; which passage also our Constitutions adduce. Cyprian, in his 59th Epistle, declares himself entirely in its favor. He had, as his starting-point, the deep Christian thought, that the life of those who were born among Christians, should, immediately from its first development, experience the beneficial influence of Christianity, and that the divine principle of Christianity should be brought nigh to the young soul. In the Alexandrian church, also, the practice gradually became prevalent. Still, there were at that time those who, viewing baptism as an *opus operatum*, expected from it a mysterious and magical forgiveness of sins, and therefore deferred it as long as possible. Against these, now, our Constitutions speak most decidedly, and warn them not to put off conversion to the hour of death.[2]

In all the remaining parts of the book, there is contained but little which could serve to cast a clearer light on the age of the Constitutions. So much the more there is, that is characteristic of the whole aim and plan of the author.

There is extended through some chapters still, the opposition against the heretics. Attention is called to their pernicious custom of secretly introducing writings under the name of apostolical men, in order to spread their heretical opinions; and then again there is an earnest warning to avoid all communion with heretics. In the end of c. 18, the

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[1] Βαπτίζετε δὲ ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ νήπια, καὶ ἐκτρέφετε αὐτὰ ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ θεοῦ. Ἄφετε γὰρ, φησὶ, τὰ παιδία ἐρχεσθαι πρὸς με, καὶ μὴ κωλύετε αὐτά.

[2] But he that saith, When I am dying I will be baptized, lest I should sin and defile my baptism, is ignorant of God, and forgetful of his own nature. For, *Do not thou delay to turn unto the Lord; for thou knowest not what the next day will bring forth.* [Ecclesiasticus 5: 8, and Prov. 27: 1.]

preservation of the pure doctrine is mentioned as the object of the Constitutions. On this passage we have already treated at considerable length (p. 340). In the following chapters, the opposition is directed against those who reject the law. The well-known declarations of our Lord in favor of the validity of the law, are enumerated; and in c. 19, among other proofs, it is urged that Moses and Elias, as stated in Luke 9: 30, were present at the transfiguration of our Lord, as friends, not as enemies. It is obvious that the author was attached to the Judaizing view, as he then especially likes to borrow his examples and proofs from the Old Testament, when he has occasion to establish some of his favorite ideas. As he sought to transfer the Levitical priesthood of the Old Testament to Christianity, so there were many other things in respect to which he believed the Constitution of the Old Testament not abrogated. But it would be wrong to think that he had *entirely* overlooked the perpetual, the almost absolute difference between the Old Testament and the New. He distinguishes between the natural and the superadded law.[1] By the natural law, he understands the Decalogue, which was given before the idolatry of the people; and which, according to its nature, judges rightly. But after the people had fallen away from God, and presented offerings to an idol, God bound them with indissoluble bonds. Then the Constitutions show how God imposed on the people a multitude of altogether external statutes which they name particularly; and they include these under the expression, *law superadded* (*νόμος ἐπεισακτος*), which they declare to be abrogated through Christ; while, on the contrary, they maintain that Christ has not abrogated, but has confirmed, the *natural law.* Nevertheless, the author of the Constitutions is not willing to concede that the *whole* of the *superadded law* is abrogated, but only the more difficult parts of it.[2] It is

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[1] The twentieth chapter answers the question, What is the *natural* law, and what the one *introduced;* and why it was introduced.

[2] Chap. 22: 'Christ, by his coming, hath strengthened and completed the law. He hath taken away the additional precepts, although not all of them, yet at least the more grievous ones, having confirmed the law, and having caused these to cease.' . . . The chapter ends thus: 'And he that was the lawgiver became himself the fulfilling of the law; not taking away the natural law, but abrogating those additional precepts that were afterwards introduced, although not all of them.' Chap. 23 (the caption): 'How Christ became a fulfiller of the law; and what parts of it he caused to cease, or changed, or transferred.' The comparison is remarkable, which is made between the symbolical usages of the Old Testament and those of the New: 'Instead of the daily washing, Christ instituted only one baptism. Instead of one tribe for priests, the best out of every nation were to be ordained. Instead of the bloody offering, an unbloody, mystical offering was to be presented.'

certainly true, that in our Constitutions no genuine *free* Christian view prevails, and that in particular they have a tendency to look too much to what is external; but still, there breathes in them a Christian spirit; and, in reference to the difference between the Old and the New Testament economy, they say, quite correctly, that we who believe in Christ are under grace, not under the servitude of the law (the superadded law). But the author of the Constitutions seems not to have comprehended and grasped the deep Christian doctrine that rejects *every* legal dependence.

In some of the following chapters, the warnings against the heretics are repeated, amidst the mentioning of several heretical opinions; and then, in c. 27, it is copiously shown that natural things, whatever they may be, cannot defile and pollute the man, but only impiety and unrighteous actions; and in the succeeding chapters, there is warning given against several vices that dishonor mankind.

Finally, in c. 30, mention is made of the fact that deceased Christians were interred by their brethren amidst the singing of psalms. Probably the custom had its origin in the dirges of the ancients and in their songs for the dead, which were sung, with the accompaniment of the pipe, and sometimes even of the trumpet. It is difficult to point out definitely the time when psalms were first sung at funerals among the Christians.[1] In the singing of psalms for the sleeping martyrs there is, in no way, implied a praying that they might be forgiven, but much more a praising of God at the remembrance of them; for, in the ancient church, the day of the death of the martyrs was viewed as their birthday, and was celebrated as their anniversary.[2]

This passage of our Constitutions, is, so far as I know, the earliest testimony which has come down to us, respecting this ecclesiastical usage. In later writers, the custom occurs frequently, and the Psalmodies appear as an essential part of the church celebration. See Chrysostom, Homily iv. on the Epistle to the Hebrews; Gregory of Nazianzum, Oration x.; Socrates, Ecclesiastical History, b. vii. c. 46; and many others.

It could be objected, that the existence of this custom would presuppose that the Christian church already enjoyed a state of complete exter-

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[1] 'Singing for the martyrs who are fallen asleep, and for all the saints from the beginning of the world, and for your brethren that are asleep in the Lord. And at the funerals of the departed, accompany them forth with singing, if they were faithful in the Lord.'

[2] Hence, in ecclesiastical phraseology, the day of one's death is always called his *birthday* (dies natalis). The church celebrated only the birthday of Christ, of Mary, and of John the Baptist. In regard to all the rest, she kept the day of their death.

nal security, which is not to be thought of as possible about the middle and towards the end of the third century, when there still were persecutions. But if we consider that the Christian life as connected with the church, was, at that time, almost completely regulated, and many other rites in divine service were used, and if we recollect that Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzum, and others, speak of this custom in such a manner that it cannot have been first introduced in their time, every doubt will certainly disappear, which could perhaps be derived from this Constitution.

Investigation on the Seventh Book of the Constitutions.

The seventh book[1], — it being the last book of the Constitutions as they existed in the times of Eusebius, Athanasius, and Epiphanius, before the eighth book was added, towards the end of the fourth century, and probably by the author of the last canon (see p. 334), — contains, as it were, a short recapitulation of all the precepts given in the former books, and then some liturgical directions and forms, which enable us to infer the state of the churches in respect to public religious services, at the close of the third century. This short recapitulation of most of the precepts which are given in the preceding books, confirms our assertion of the unity of the first seven books, and shows at once that this seventh book forms the conclusion. We might be inclined, just from this short repetition of several precepts, to argue against the unity of the work; but this assumption is opposed by the fact that in the repetition, regard is sometimes had to the earlier regulations. Thus, for example, it is said in c. 22, 'Now concerning baptism, O Bishop, or Presbyter, we have already given direction, and we now say.' This proves clearly that there is no accidental repetition, made without any unity, and no mere putting together of unconnected pieces.

The regulations of the seventh book, as far as to the 22nd chapter, are mostly of a general character, as they already occur in the earlier books; and, at the most, the warning in c. 6, against having any thing to do with augury and with magical arts, might not be found in the foregoing books. In the 22nd chapter, some additional precepts are given respecting baptism; and these manifestly refer to the earlier, in b. iii. c. 16. Already, in b. iii. c. 16, the express mention of the Father, the Son, and

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[1] This book bears the general superscription, Περὶ πολιτείας, καὶ εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν μνήσεως.

the Holy Ghost, is required; but here the whole formula of baptism (Matt. 28: 19) is introduced after the words, 'Thou shalt so baptize as the Lord commanded us, saying.' Certainly, this passage, in b. vii. c. 22, is one of the earliest testimonies concerning the application of this formula in baptism. We admit, there occur yet earlier traces of its application; for instance, in Justin Martyr, Apology i. c. 46, and in Tertullian on Baptism, c. 13; while the place in Matthew seems at that time to have been only had in view, and baptism to have been administered with reference to the trinity, without the passages being considered as a prescribed formula. When now modern writers[1] have asserted that, in this passage, no definite formula of baptism, at all, was in reality prescribed, and that the baptismal formula usual in the first centuries of the Christian church is nowhere to be found, this assertion is sufficiently refuted by what is here presented.[2]

The Constitutions further direct that the person about to be baptized fast before baptism; for our Lord also fasted forty days and forty nights in order to give us an example. This direction contains, however, nothing new and unusual; for respecting this custom we have several other testimonies of the ancients, which prove that already before the time of our Constitutions, this custom was pretty general. Justin Martyr,[3] as well as Tertullian,[4] mention expressly, that to prepare for baptism there was a fast. Its duration is variously stated. Often it was three days; sometimes one or two weeks; and sometimes forty days. The 24th chapter gives us a not less interesting testimony concerning our Lord's prayer.[5] It is there commanded to offer it three times a day.[6] It would lead us too far, were we to mention the various opinions respecting the Lord's prayer, some of which do not regard it as a prayer, and much less recognize in it a general form. Its not being used in the

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[1] Among others, *Eisenlohr*, Historishe Bemekungen über die Taufe. Tubingen. 1804. S. 67 —.

[2] In Bingham, tom. iv. p. 164, the testimonies on the high antiquity of the Baptismal formula are collected; but our passage, b. vii. c. 22, is overlooked.

[3] Apolog. ii. p. 93. Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστέυωσι ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοις.

[4] De Baptismo, c. 20. Ingressuros baptismum orationibus crebris, *jejuniis* et geniculationibus et pervigiliis orare oportet, &c.

[5] The caption of c. 24 is, What sort of people they ought to be who offer the prayer that was given by the Lord.

[6] Pray thus thrice in a day, preparing yourselves beforehand, that ye may be worthy of the adoption of the Father.

apostolic age is difficult to be explained; but the ground of this is properly sought in the fact that the canon of the New Testament became generally known only by degrees, and at a later period. Already in Irenaeus we find a trace of the Lord's prayer being known to him.[1] In the time of Tertullian its use was so general, that, almost certainly, before his time it had been admitted as a general form of prayer in the church. Tertullian, it is well known, wrote a special work upon it (De Oratione Dominica), in which he represents it as the prayer for the Christians of all times (oratio legitima et ordinaria). If now we compare his representation with what occurs in our Constitutions, we shall find that he, as well as the Constitutions, wishes the Lord's prayer to be offered three times a day. Cotelerius[2] thinks that this was directed in honor of the holy trinity, and in proof he cites Theodoret (Epist. 145), and others. But the confirmation of his conjecture lies still nearer, in the testimony of Tertullian, who says expressly, that we, as debtors of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, ought to pray three times a day.[3] But still we must call attention to a difference between Tertullian and our Constitutions. Tertullian is unacquainted with the doxology. He concludes the prayer with the words, *But deliver us from evil* (Sed evehe nos a malo). On the contrary, in our Constitutions, the doxology occurs. In our passage, indeed, b. vii. c. 22, the full form does not appear; and it says merely, 'For thine is the kingdom, for ever, amen.' But it occurs in the eighteenth chapter of the third book. Hence it appears that, to the author of the Constitutions, the doxology was not current; unless we should be so bold as to infer that it originated with him; and, because it proceeded from him, he brought it forward sometimes in one form and sometimes in a form somewhat different.

Origen[4] and Cyprian[5] have written not less copiously on the Lord's prayer; and by this it is fully certain that at the time of the origin of our Constitutions, towards the end of the third century (as we must assume this for their age), the use of the prayer was very general. We remark, further, that, from the custom of saying this prayer three times a day, it has probably acquired the designation *daily prayer*

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[1] Adv. Hæres. lib. v. c. 17. Quapropter et in oratione dicere nos docuit: et *remitte nobis debita nostra;* utique quoniam hic est Pater noster, cujus eramus debitores, transgressi ejus præceptum.

[2] Note 8, ad lib. vii. c. 24.

[3] De Orat. Dom. c. 19. Etsi simpliciter se habeant sine illius observationis præcepto, bonum tamen sit aliquam constiuere præsumtionem,—ne minus ter die saltem adoremus, debitores Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.

[4] In the second part of his work, περὶ εὐχῆς.

[5] De Orat. Dom. p. 217–230, ed. Par.

(oratio quotidiana), which occurs in later writers; as, for example, in Augustin (Enchirid. c. 71).

In c. 25 there is a liturgical formula on the celebration of the Lord's Supper, entitled a mystical thankgiving (*εὐχαριστία μυστική*).[1] In respect to all these forms we must not forget that they are ideal forms, which never passed over into practical life. Hence we seek in vain in other writers for liturgical forms like those of the seventh book. The Lord's Supper is here represented as a mystery, from which every one who has not been initiated (*ἀμύητος*) is excluded. The chapter closes by saying, 'If any one that is not initiated conceal himself, and partake, he eateth eternal condemnation; because, being not of the faith of Christ, he hath partaken of such things as it is not lawful for him to partake of, to his own punishment. But if any one be a partaker through ignorance, instruct him quickly, and initiate him, that he may not go out a despiser.' The more carefully the mysteries were concealed from the catechumens, the more perilous it was, if a person not initiated came to a knowledge of them. Then there was applied a kind of forced baptism; which, although mildly expressed, is recognized in this passage of the Constitutions. In later times the same practice was retained; as we perceive from the regulations made by the council at Toledo, which would permit a constraint only in this case.[2] Besides, Cotelerius has remarked,[3] that in the Greek casuistry, the question, What is to be done when a catechumen has been present through accident, and partaken of the Lord's Supper, it is answered that he must be immediately baptized, since he is, as it were, called of God. Here, in regard to the end of the prayer, it is worthy of being specially noted that with a part of the doxology the *amen* is connected as a closing word. In the Church Fathers this formula occurs, especially in the Eucharist, and a special value was ascribed to it, about the middle of the third century. Justin Martyr, in his first Apology, § 65 and 67, is the first in whose works we find it thus used; and then, in later writers, it becomes a standing formula, which was constantly held fast in opposition to the heretics who

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[1] In b. ii. c. 28, the *Agape*, love-feast, is briefly mentioned (*ἀγάπην, ἤτοι δοχὴν, ὡς ὁ κύριος ὠνόμασε*); and in b. iii. c. 10, the sacrifice (*θυσία*), and the blessing, small and great (*ἡ εὐλογία μικρὰ καὶ μεγαλὴ*), are forbidden to the laity.

[2] Concil. Tolet. iv. can. 57. De Judæis hoc præcipit sancta synydus, nemini deinceps ad credendum vim infere. Qui autem jam pridem ad Christianitatem venire exacti sunt, — oportet, ut fidem etiam quum vi vel necessitate susceperunt, tenere cogantur, ne nomen divinum blasphemetur, et fides, quam susceperunt, vilis ac contemtibilis habeatur.

[3] From Timoth. Alex. Respons. Canon. c. 1. Apud Balsamonem, p. 1059.

wished to remove it; as, for example, the Novatians, according to Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, b. vi. c. 43.

Upon this there follows, in c. 26, another formula, to be used after the communion (*εὐχαριστία ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ μεταλήψει*), which is the more important, the more certainly it is ascertained that these are the most ancient forms on this subject that have come down to us. Of this the noble simplicity and dignity which prevail in them, give the best proof. Towards the end of this form it is said, 'Deliver it (the church) from all evil, and perfect it in thy love and thy truth, and gather us all together into thy kingdom which thou hast prepared. Maranatha: Our Lord is come. *Hosanna to the son of David. Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*' This is certainly one of the most ancient traces of the formula *Hosanna to the son of David.* That is still more ancient which Eusebius (Eccles. Hist. b. ii. c. 23) has preserved from Hegesippus. [Compare Matt. 21: 9, where the same words are used which occur in the passage before us.]

At the first glance, it might seem as if the 29th chapter did not suit the connection, since it contains some directions concerning oblations. Yet this is by no means the case. It is ascertained that in the ancient church, the Lord's Supper was supported by the oblations of the believers, and that therefore the communicants had, each time, to bring, or, as it were, to offer oblations. These gifts, which consisted chiefly of bread and wine, but often, too, of other things, were called *oblations of the believers* (oblationes fidelium), and were received only from communicants, that is, from complete members of the church. That portion of the oblations which was not necessary for the Lord's Supper, was considered as belonging to the servants of the church, and to the poor. If we recollect this, we shall not be surprised at what is said, in this connection, respecting oblations. The transition is easy to the statement that the first fruits must be brought to the clergy.

The 39th chapter now mentions *the laying on of hands* (manuum impositio) in the reception of catechumens;[1] and here the question arises, whether this imposition of hands was performed before or after baptism, or whether there is here any trace of confirmation. Some have assumed the latter on account of the rite of the laying on of hands, but manifestly without good reason; although there can be no doubt that the rite of the laying on of hands was applied, from the first origin of confirmation. It is also fully ascertained that, in the earliest times of the

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[1] *Ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα μανθανέτω ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει, ὁ προσιών· προσκυνείτω δὲ ὁ χειροθετῶν αὐτὸν, τὸν θεὸν τὸν τῶν ὅλων δεσπότην.*

church, baptism and confirmation were closely connected, the one following the other without delay. Nevertheless, the discourse here is not of confirmation, but only of the laying on of hands, which was considered as an integral part of baptism. Frequently it has been altogether denied that a laying on of hands was connected with baptism, and this passage has been classed with such as speak of confirmation. But we must carefully distinguish two rites of laying on of hands; one which preceded baptism, and one which followed it. This distinction has already been brought into use, but it has found many opposers.[1] Hence our passage in the Constitutions is the more important, since it decides most clearly the point of contest. For in the whole 39th chapter all is exactly described which should precede the reception and the baptism of catechumens. It is said in plain words, 'He therefore who is to be catechized in the word of piety, let him be instructed before his baptism.' Since now this laying on of hands is mentioned in connection with this instruction, which must precede baptism, it is manifest that this laying on of hands also precedes baptism. It becomes still more certain by the fact that the following chapter begins thus: 'And when the catechumen is just at the point of being baptized,' &c., which words still presuppose that the person to be baptized, on whom the laying on of hands is already performed, is not yet baptized.

That the renouncing of the devil,[2] which is enjoined in c. 41 and 42, belongs to no later age than the one fixed on by us for the Constitutions, hardly needs to be mentioned; for already, before that time, it is often brought forward by writers. Even Tertullian, early as he lived, mentions that the renunciation of the adversary was performed twice.[3] Besides, the confession of faith (symbolum fidei), given in this chapter, is one of the most ancient which we possess from the times before the Nicene Council; and it well merits a place with the confessions of Gregory Thaumaturgus, and of Lucian Martyr, and with the fragments of confessions in Tertullian, Cyprian, and others.

Upon this renunciation of the devil, followed the adhesion to Christ (*συντάσσεσθαι Χριστῷ*), or the vow of obedience to Christ, which also our Constitutions mention at large. This custom, moreover, is very ancient, and is found in the writers of the second century. Among the

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[1] Augusti. Bd. 4, S. 407, thinks that this distinction, at least in the time of Tertullian, was not yet made; but he concedes that it arose afterwards.

[2] 'I renounce Satan and his works, and his pomps, and his worship, and his angels, and his inventions, and all things that are under him.'

[3] Tertull. De Corona Milit. Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus.

Latins, this adhesion to Christ is called *promise, vow, covenant* (promissum, votum, sponsio), and among them it followed immediately after the renunciation. There was connected with it the idea that he who has renounced the devil, and with him all that is worldly, must immediately promise to be an obedient soldier of Christ.

In an earlier part of this essay (p. 377), we have already called attention to the variety in the right of anointing, namely, that there were two anointings, one which preceded baptism, and one which followed it; that the former was the anointing with the mystic oil (*Χρίσις τοῦ μυστικοῦ ἐλαίου*); the second, the anointing with ointment (*Χρίσις τοῦ μύρου*). This is clearly shown by c. 42 and 44, where the former treats on the anointing with *oil*,[1] and the latter on the anointing with *ointment*.[2] The first anointing is represented as a preparation for baptism, that he who is anointed may also be worthy of this consecration. The idea of the second anointing is given by c. 44, in the words, 'O Lord, do thou grant at this time that this ointment may be efficacious upon him that is baptized, so that the sweet odor of thy Christ may continue upon him firm and fixed, and that, having died with him, he may rise with him, and live with him.' This second anointing, with which again the laying on of hands was connected,[3] occupied in the Oriental church the place of confirmation; which confirmation, in the more modern sense, was first introduced into the Western church at a later period.[4]

After the first anointing, there follows the consecration of the water with which the candidate is to be baptized. In our Constitutions, c. 43, this rite is copiously described;[5] and the formula for the consecration is given. After the divine economy is praised, according to which the Son came into the world, and redeemed sinful men, it is said, 'Look

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[1] C. 42 (the Caption): A thanksgiving concerning the anointing with the mystical oil. The chapter begins thus: 'Now this is blessed by the high priest for the remission of sins, and the preparation for baptism . . . . that he would sanctify the oil in the name of the Lord Jesus, and bestow spiritual grace, and efficacious strength, the remission of sins, and the preparation for the confession of baptism.'

[2] C. 44 (the Caption): A thanksgiving concerning the mystical ointment.

[3] C. 44 (mid.): For this is the efficacy of the laying on of hands on each.

[4] Under the guidance of Catholic writers, it is commonly assumed that confirmation was introduced by the Roman Bishop Silvester, in the fourth century. Still, this is not historically ascertained; and much might be said in favor of an earlier introduction. Brenner, in his Historical Representation of the Performance and Administration of the Sacraments from Christ to our Times, vol. i. p. 97, is of the opinion that confirmation was introduced as a substitute for the anointing by a bishop, when this was not imparted.

[5] C. 43 (the Caption): A thanksgiving concerning the mystical water.

down from heaven, and sanctify this water, and bestow grace and power, that so the person baptized, according to the command of thy Christ, may be crucified with him, and may die with him, and may be buried with him, and may rise with him to the adoption which is in him, by being made dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto righteousness.' This consecration of the water, however, had not its origin, by any means, in a later time; but Tertullian, early as he lived, was acquainted with the rite;[1] and Cyprian, more expressly and altogether in the sense of our Constitutions, says that the water must be first purified and sanctified by the priest, that it may wash away the sins of the person who is baptized.[2] Finally, in c. 44, it is commanded that he, after his baptism, standing up, offer the Lord's prayer;[3] a custom which is found in all antiquity. Besides, the 45th chapter gives us the form of a prayer which the persons baptized could offer after the Lord's prayer.[4] From c. 39 to 45, the Constitutions treat concerning the reception, the instruction, and the baptism of catechumens; so that the regulations on these subjects conclude with the 45th chapter: 'These Constitutions we have thought it right to make concerning the catechumens.' It might seem remarkable that, in all these regulations, the baptism only of persons grown up can be intended, which was performed with this solemn ritual, in which the person himself who is baptized takes a part; while we, in another passage (p. 409), have seen, that our Constitutions admit the baptism also of children. This circumstance, instead of tending to overthrow the assertions which we have made, confirms them. For exactly at the time of the origin of our Constitutions it was, when infant baptism and the baptism of persons grown up existed together. Till the fifth century this continues, and the baptism of the grown-up is the more prevalent; but then pedobaptism predominates, and completely displaces the baptism of adults. It is well known how very zealously Tertullian (De Baptismo, c. 18,) opposed infant baptism; and although the council at Carthage, A.D. 253, with Cyprian at their head, declared themselves in its favor, yet only in the African church from that time it came gradually to prevail. In the Oriental church, on the contrary, the earlier usage remained till the fifth century.

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[1] Tertull. De Baptismo, c. 4. Sacramentum sanctificationis consequuntur invocato Deo. Supervenit enim statim spiritus de cælis et aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semet ipso; et ita sanctificatæ vim sanctificandi combibunt.

[2] Oportet, mundari et sanctificari aquam prius a sacerdote, ut possit baptismo suo peccata hominis, qui baptizatur, abluere.

[3] C. 44: After this let him stand up, and pray that prayer which the Lord taught us; for, of necessity, he who is risen again ought to stand up and pray; because he that is raised up standeth upright.

[4] C. 45 (the Caption): A prayer of the newly initiated.

We come now to c. 47, where, under the name of the morning prayer (προσευχὴ ἑωθινή), the hymn is found, which, in the Greek church, is denominated the great doxology, — the same which, in a Latin translation prepared by Hilary, is still sung in the Catholic church as an *angelic hymn* (hymnus angelicus), in the celebration of the mass.[1] Even in Lutheran Germany, for a long time, the Latin collects and hymns were preserved; but, since this practice was done away, still, down to the very latest time, in many countries, on the three great festivals, the Latin *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Glory to God in the highest), has been used; to which the congregation replied, *et in terra pax* (and on earth peace).[2] The ground of preserving this hymn is certainly to be sought

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[1] This hymn is printed in the sixth volume of the London Polyglott Bible, from the Codex Alex. Usher also has published it, in his Diatriba de Symbolis, p. 35; and Thomas Smith, in his account of the Greek Church, p. 302.

[2] From the same hymn also has arisen the German song,

Allein Gott in der Höhe sei Ehre;

[of which the following English version has been kindly furnished, for insertion here, by the Rev. S. F. Smith; whose various contributions to awaken and elevate the best affections of the soul, need no commendation.

Praise, praise to thee, O God most High!
How large thy grace, how deep thy love!
Safe in thy favor, lo, we stand;
Our steadfast souls no ill can move;
Through Christ from condemnation free,
Great peace our spirits find in thee.

Thanks for thy glorious being, thou,
The Father, evermore adored;
Sovereign of worlds, our rock, our tower,
Supreme and universal Lord;
Eternal is Jehovah's throne;
Whate'er his will appoints is done.

Thy name be hallowed, God the Son,
Son of the heavenly Father, thou,
Redeemer, Saviour of the lost,
Our peace, our Intercessor, now;
Blest Lamb of God, thy face reveal,
Our wants relieve, our pardon seal.

Spirit divine, our life, our strength,
The noblest gift of him who died,
Keep us from ill for his dear sake,
Who, seated at his Father's side,
Rejoices in the pangs he bore,
That sin and death might reign no more.]

in the great reverence which was cherished for its high antiquity. For all have agreed that it is the most ancient hymn which has descended to us from the ancient church.[1] It is asked, now, whether this hymn does not testify against the age stated by us for the Constitutions, and whether we can point out any testimony that it was already extant at the end of the third century.[2] This, to be sure, is difficult, yet there is a testimony extant,

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[1] A. J. Rambach, in his Anthology of Christian Songs from all Centuries of the Church (Bd. i. S. 40 —), has with good reason received this hymn into his collection, as a song preserved to us from the third century. It is there printed in full, together with a translation. Still, on account of its importance, we present it here, in the recension of our Constitutions, which differs in several places from that which Rambach followed. It seems, moreover, that our Constitutions would have it regarded as a prayer, rather than as a hymn. We give it from Cotelerius, who, however, did not divide it into stanzas.

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ
Καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη,
Ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.
Αἰνοῦμέν σε,
Ὑμνουμέν σε,
Εὐλογοῦμέν σε,
Δοξολογοῦμέν σε,
Προσκυνοῦμέν σε,
Διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως
Σὲ τὸν ὄντα θεὸν
Ἀγέννητον ἕνα,
Ἀπρόσιτον μόνον
Διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν.
Κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε,
Θεὲ πάτερ παντοκράτορ.
Κύριε ὁ θεὸς,
Ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
Τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ,
Ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου.
Πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν·
Ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ·
Ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἅγιος·—
Σὺ μόνος κύριος,
Ἰησοῦ,|ς| Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ
Πάσης γενητῆς φύσεως,
Τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν·—
Δι' οὗ σοι δόξα,
Τιμὴ καὶ σέβας.

[2] *Wernsdorf* Liturgia Lutherana servans exemplum antiquæ et purioris ecclesiæ Exercit. i. Viteb. 1780. 4. p. 9, 10. 'Doxologia major, Gloria in excelsis Deo, qui est Hymnus angelicus, Græcorumque matutinus, quem Hymnum Constit. Apost. lib. vii. c. 47, jubent diebus dominicis et festis *μελοδικῶς* cantari, quem omnium hymnorum, qui cani solcant in cœtibus Christianorum publicis antiquissimum esse Thomas

which must make it in the highest degree probable, that, at the end of the third century, this hymn had already come into use. Athanasius, in his book on Virginity (De Virginitate), recommends to the virgins to use this hymn in their morning prayer. It is to be regretted that he does not quote it entirely; then it would have been possible for us to compare it with the hymn of our Constitutions; but still, he so designates it that no other can well have been meant. He also adduces the first three lines, and three others near the beginning, which agree entirely with those of the hymn in our Constitutions, so that we can safely assume that they are identical.[1] But if this be so, it may reasonably be inferred, notwithstanding the lateness of the testimony of Athanasius, that the hymn was in existence at the end of the third century. For the testimony of this Father [who was born about A.D. 296, and died A.D. 373], and the end of the third century, are not so very far from each other; and, in the second place, we can safely conclude that a hymn which he presupposed to be so well known that he mentioned it only by the first lines, did not have its origin in his time.

But whether the author of the Constitutions was the author of this hymn is a difficult question, which can hardly be either affirmed or denied. Strictly speaking, there is no historical ground for denying that it was written by the author of the Constitutions; but it is certainly possible that he received into his Constitutions the already extant hymn, as he wished to give a form of such a prayer. On this point, external testimonies entirely fail. It often occurs in Chrysostom, and the later writers, but without any mention of the author, or the time of its origin. Certainly belonging to the same time, and most probably proceeding from the same author, is the hymn given in c. 48[2] (*ὕμνος ἑσπερινὸς*, oratio vespertina), which has much that resembles the preceding. Usher, and after him others, have confounded it with the evening ad-

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Smithius (Miscellan. p. 136. Lond. 1686) affirmat, sub initium sacrorum publicorum obtinuit, si non prius, at jam sæculo quarto. Eum hymnum post emendata per D. Lutherum sacra quum Jo. Spangenbergius transtulerit in linguam vernaculam: quidni ab eo cantu ordinatur cultum divinum ecclesia Lutherana, quæ ad exemplum illius antiquæ ac puræ composita est'! Certainly there was a very right feeling at the basis of the reverence for the antiquity of this hymn.

[1] Athanasius de Virginitate, tom. i. p. 1057. *Πρὸς ὀρθρον δὲ τὸν ψαλμὸν τοῦτον λέγετε· ὁ θεὸς, ὁ θεὸς μοῦ, πρὸς σε ὀρθρίζω· ἐδίψησὲ σε ἡ ψυχή μου· διάφαυμα δὲ· εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα κυρίου τὸν κύριον· δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία· ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.*

[2] Perhaps this hymn also, as a specimen from the third century, might claim to be admitted into anthological collections. Hence we present it here according to the

dress which is presented in b. viii. c. 36. The only testimony which we have respecting it is given by Basil (De Spiritu Sancto, c. 21[1]), where, however, no author is mentioned. In any case, there is neither external nor internal evidence requiring us to deny that the author of the Constitutions is also the author of the hymn, and there is nothing contained in it against the time assigned by us for the origin of the Constitutions.[2]

Having now gone through the first seven books of the Constitutions, step by step, and pointed out everywhere in detail, as we believe, the view proposed by us respecting the unity and the age of these first seven books, it now only remains for us, in the following chapters, to point out also, in detail, the interpolations which we assume in the same books; and then proceed to the investigation on the eighth book.

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recension of Cotelerius, but divided into stanzas; omitting, however, the passages of Scripture which constitute the beginning and the end.

Αἰνοῦμέν σε,
Ὑμνοῦμέν σε,
Εὐλογοῦμέν σε,
Διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν·
Κύριε βασιλεῦ,
Ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
Τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ,
Ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου·
Σοὶ πρέπει αἶνος·
Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος·
Σοὶ δόξα πρέπει.
Τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί,
Διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ,
Ἐν πνεύματι τῷ παναγίῳ,
Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

[1] Ἔδοξε τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν μὴ σιωπῇ τὴν χάραν τοῦ ἐσπερινοῦ φωτὸς δέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς φαινέντος εὐχαριστεῖν· καὶ ὡς τις μὲν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων τῆς ἐπιλυχνίου εὐχαριστίας, εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχομέν· ὁ μὲν τοι λαὸς ἀρχαίαν ἀφιῆσι τὴν φωνὴν καὶ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀσεβῶν ἐνομίσθησαν οἱ λέγοντες· αἰνοῦμεν πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεοῦ.

[2] The same may be said of the *prayer at dinner* (εὐχὴ ἐπ' ἀρίστῳ), which constitutes the forty-ninth chapter of the seventh book.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE INTERPOLATIONS WHICH THE FIRST SEVEN BOOKS OF THE CONSTITUTIONS HAVE SUFFERED.

Although we have admitted the unity of the first seven books, and have established for their origin a common age, yet it does not hence follow that we depart from the general opinion of the ecclesiastical historians, who hold them to be corrupted and interpolated. It is only on the manner of this interpolation that there is any diversity of views. To deny entirely a corruption of the Constitutions would withhold from the most important historical testimonies, which expressly assert it, all credit and authority. On the other hand, there is room for the inquiry, whether this corruption is an essential one, which has reached all parts of the Constitutions in their whole compass; has changed them,—has taken away old parts, and inserted new; or whether this corruption is an unessential one, and consists only in a change of words, and modes of expression, here and there, and sometimes merely in an addition of one or more propositions. Most of those who have pronounced a judgment on the Constitutions have acceded to the first view, without having proved its correctness. Especially they seem readily to assent to this opinion, who assume that the Constitutions were made up of many and various isolated parts. At least, it makes their task, in respect to bringing proof for their assumption, very easy; since they can, pretty arbitrarily, separate the Constitutions into parts which according to them must be original parts, or into parts which were added as a consequence of later corruption. In determining the age of the Constitutions, they find their task the more easy also, since whatever in this code does not suit their determination of the time, they can, without any further trouble, refer it to the department of the interpolations.

As we maintain the unity of these first seven books, it may readily be inferred that we admit only a corruption in the change of expressions and phrases, and in a few places an interpolation and insertion of a strange chapter. The interpolator seems to have been led chiefly by a dogmatic or doctrinal interest. This is obvious in every corruption that is attempted with single expressions and applications of terms. We see clearly in these additions or changes, that their author was attached to the Arian heresy, and that he probably had the design to give currency by them to his Arian opinions; or, at all events, to be

able, with the help of these interpolations, to argue from the Constitutions in favor of his heretical views. With this agree also the historical testimonies. According to the second Trullan canon, the Quinisextine Council rejected the Constitutions, because there were mingled with them, by heretics (*ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων*), for the destruction of the church, certain things spurious and alien from the church, making obscure to us the becoming beauty of the divine doctrines.[1] This points expressly to a doctrinal interpolation. But Photius determines its nature still more definitely.[2] Among the reasons for the rejection of the Constitutions, he mentions by name their Arianism (*καὶ ἔτι Ἀρειανισμῷ*),[3] from which they could be freed only by violence.

We proceed now to a full exhibition of these corruptions; and, after they are examined, we shall endeavor to give also the probable time when they were introduced.

The comparison which we find in b. ii. c. 26, is very remarkable.[4] We shall show, further on, that this whole chapter, in which the Bishop is set up as an earthly god, is calculated to promote the hierarchy; and this comparison also may have the same object. At the same time, its Arianism can hardly fail of being perceived. The Bishop is compared with God; the deacon, with Christ. But as the Constitutions, in many places, and also here, make the deacon completely subordinate to the Bishop, and in respect and power set the Bishop far above him, so Christ too, in this comparison, appears entirely subordinate and occupying only the second place. Manifestly this conflicts with the catholic system, and can with difficulty be referred to an orthodox author. It is in the highest degree probable that it was inserted by an Arian or a Macedonian. This becomes pretty certain by the comparison of the Holy Spirit and the deaconess.[5] As the deaconess, according to the

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[1] *Ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων ἐπὶ λοίμῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας νόθα τινὰ καὶ ξένα τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρενετέθησαν, τὸ εὐπρεπὲς κάλλος τῶν θείων δογμάτων ἡμῖν ἀμαυρώσαντα* (Comp. p. 311).

[2] Phot. Biblioth. Cod. 112, 113.

[3] Besides this reproach, Photius mentions also that the reproach of forgery was cast upon the Constitutions, which however he calls an objection not difficult to remove (*οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀποσκευασάσθαι*); secondly, that invectives against the second law were laid to their charge (*τοῦ δευτερονομιοῦ ὕβρις*); but he pronounces it easy also to reconcile these matters (*ἀ καὶ ῥᾴστον διαλύσασθαι*). See, on the last subject, Augusti's Denkwürdigkeiten, Bd. iv. S. 215.

[4] But let the Deacon minister to him as Christ doth to his Father, and let him serve him unblamably in all things, as Christ doeth nothing of himself, but doeth always those things that please his Father.

[5] Let also the Deaconess be honored by you in the place of the Holy Spirit, and not do or say any thing without the Deacon; as neither doth the Comforter say or do

doctrine of the Constitutions, occupies a very subordinate place, and is completely subjected to the deacon, so (since by the comparison this relation is transferred to the Holy Spirit), so must the Holy Spirit here necessarily appear subordinated both to God and to Christ. Hence we must feel ourselves inclined to regard this addition as proceeding either from a Semi-arian or a Macedonian.[1] In like manner, the forty-fourth chapter in b. ii. seems to be not free from the Arian heresy.[2] Here again the same comparison is used. The deacon, as it is there said, may himself manage whatever he can, after power for the purpose is conferred on him by the Bishop, as Christ has received from the Father the power of creating and upholding. Unquestionably this departs from the catholic system, which admitted one and the same substance and essence of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; and, consequently, must ascribe the power of creating and upholding to all as to each. On the contrary, this assertion of the Constitutions accords entirely with the opinion of Arius.[3]

In the same position, too, we must put a passage in b. iii. c. 17, where there seems to be a crowding upon the same catholic dogma.[4] The addition, 'and taught by him,' could of itself betray the Macedonian heresy. Some have, indeed, adduced John 16: 13—, in order to prove that this representation of the Holy Spirit is truly apostolical. Still it has been done without sufficient reason. While Christ here says, the Holy Spirit 'shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak,' and v. 14, 'for he shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you,' the great teachers of the church also, as Chrysostom, Augustin, and others, thus maintained, as catholic doctrine,

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any thing of himself, but giveth glory to Christ by waiting for his pleasure. And, as we cannot believe on Christ without the teaching of the Spirit, so let not any woman address herself to the Deacon or Bishop without the Deaconess.

[1] Both parties opposed the generally received doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit; and hence, for a long time, the names were equivalent. Thus they were used even by Socrates and Sozomen; but still, we must maintain the chronological difference. In the later Church Fathers, the name Macedonians came gradually to be the standing one to designate the heresy respecting the Holy Spirit. Thus Augustin, De Hær. 52, and Joh. Cassian. De Incarnat. 1, 2—.

[2] And let the Deacon refer all things to the Bishop, as Christ doth to his Father. But let him order such things as he is able by himself, receiving power from the Bishop, as the Lord did from his Father the power of creation and providence. But the weighty matters let the Bishop judge.

[3] See Arii Epist. ad Alexandrum, in Athanasius De Synodis Arim. et Seleuc. p. 729, and Epiphanius, Hær. lxix. 7.

[4] The Holy Spirit is the Comforter, who is sent by Christ, and taught by him, and proclaims him.

that the Holy Spirit hears what he speaks; but at the same time they maintained not less strenuously the doctrine, that the knowledge also, as well as the substance, of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, is one and the same; that the Holy Spirit hears exactly in consequence of this unity of substance, — that this hearing is in him at once a knowing, but this knowing pertains to his very essence. An entirely different view of the subject is presented in our Constitutions. In them, Christ and the Holy Spirit are here conceived of as two different persons, and the Holy Spirit is represented as subordinated to Christ, who teaches him. But that the Scripture nowhere teaches this doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, and that this was not the catholic system, is ascertained beyond a doubt; and we must ascribe the view to the heresy of the interpolator. In the same chapter, the dogma, certainly unheard of in the catholic church, is indicated, that baptism is not to be administered jointly in the name of the Holy Spirit, but that the Holy Spirit is associated only, as it were, as a witness.[1] The passage in b. vi. c. 26, is very characteristic; and is adapted to convince any one of the insertion of Arian views and opinions.[2] The whole chapter consists of admonitions to beware of the heretics, who aim at the destruction of souls. Now some heretical opinions are enumerated; and then it is added, 'but others of them suppose that Jesus himself is the God over all.' Certainly, however, none but an Arian could hold this view to be heretical; since it was always an orthodox doctrine, that Christ is 'God over all' (*ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς*); and also the Scripture (Rom. 9: 5) designates him as *over all, God blessed for ever.*

In b. vi. c. 11, are found traces of Arianism or Semiarianism.[3] Christ is here called the first-born of the whole creation. Le Clerc has already remarked, that this manifestly betrays Arianism, which is brought forward only with caution. Since, besides this, there is nothing heretical contained in the whole chapter, we may reasonably assume that only the words, 'and of the first-born of the whole creation' (*καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης δημιουργίας*), are inserted; to which the occasion afforded in this chapter, to propagate the Arian heresy, must have very

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[1] B. iii. c. 17. This baptism, therefore, is given into the death of Jesus. . . . . The mention of the Father as of the author and sender; the joint mention of the Holy Spirit, as of the Witness. *Τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ μνήμη, ὡς αἰτίου καὶ ἀποστόλεως· τοῦ πνεύματος ἡ συμπαράληψις, ὡς μάρτυρος.* [It may, perhaps, be doubted, whether the statement above is fully sustained by the evidence here adduced.]

[2] But others of them suppose that Jesus himself is the God over all, and glorify him as being his own Father.

[3] The God and Father of the only-begotten, and of the first-born of the whole creation.

specially invited. On b. vii. c. 43, where it is said, 'the Father of the only-begotten God' (*τὸν πατέρα τοῦ μονογενοῦς θεοῦ*), Le Clerc remarks, further, that the phrase, *μονογενὴς θεὸς*, is unknown to the apostolic style; but that it is an expression peculiar to the Arians, who called the Father *unbegotten* (*ἀγεννητὸν*), but the Son *begotten* (*γεννητὸν*), and *only-begotten God* (*μονογενῆ θεόν*). It was chiefly the relation of Christ to the Father in the work of creation, that was offensive to the Arians, as it was exhibited in the orthodox system. The Arians objected to the full equality with the Father. In b. v. c. 20,[1] there is a passage which presents that relation in a sense altogether Arian: namely; in creating, Christ stood to the Father in the relation of a servant, 'ministering to his God and Father for the creation of the universe.' This statement can very easily have been inserted by an interpolator, as an addition which can be there or not, without essentially altering any thing in the connection. Turrian has sought to free the Constitutions here, as well as in b. viii. c. 12, from the reproach of Arianism, by suggesting that we can well speak of a ministering of Christ after his incarnation, but not before it. We do not, however, perceive what is here gained by this distinction. In any case, the ministering relation still remains here; for God has not created the world since the incarnation of Christ.

On the Time when these Interpolations were undertaken.

We endeavor here to give the time when the interpolations were made; for we wish to use the traces of Arianism and Macedonianism for the more exact discussion and answering of this question.

Already, in the comparison which we have instituted between our Constitutions and those of Epiphanius, there presented themselves many differences which could be explained only by supposing a later corruption. The foregoing investigation has been occupied in showing that here and there, in the Constitutions, there is found something heterogeneous and heretical, which belongs to a time later than that of their origin. Those who place the Constitutions in an earlier time, could perhaps adduce for the explanation of this circumstance the consideration that the Ante-Nicene Fathers, especially in the doctrine concerning

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[1] Him, therefore, do we also preach to you, and declare him to be God the Word, who ministered to his God and Father for the creation of the universe.

the trinity, very often employ many expressions which afterwards, in the Arian controversies, were assailed. The fact is incontestably true. Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen, use phrases and expressions which are found among the Arians. But, since neither the Arians nor the Catholics in their controversies used the Constitutions, and these were adduced neither for nor against Arianism, it may be inferred from this silence, especially from that of Athanasius, that neither party had any knowledge of the Constitutions with their present Arian corruptions. The Arians could not adduce them in their own favor, since, according to the testimony of Epiphanius, those old Constitutions contained nothing which deviated from the faith and the general standard of doctrine. Epiphanius, who exerted himself so much to trace out each heresy, is hence the best voucher that the Constitutions at that time were free from any heretical corruption. The time, therefore, when they were corrupted, may be determined with certainty, so far as to say that the corruption must have occurred between the time of Epiphanius and that of the Trullan Council. We readily concede that this determination is very general, but in this we were speaking of what is certain, and cannot be called in question. On the contrary, we are willing to attempt, by a conjecture, to settle still more definitely the age of these interpolations.

This conjecture rests on the fact that, in the eighth book of the Constitutions, there are found traces of Arianism. In b. viii. c. 12, the Arian heresy expresses itself, without any reserve. Christ is there the *only-begotten God* (*μονογενὴς θεὸς*), who ministers to his God and Father, both in the various creation and in the corresponding providence.[1] Even there, too, the begetting of the Son is expressed of the Father, but so modified that God begets him before all time, by his will, his power, and his goodness.[2] Very often, also, the expression, 'the first-born of every creation' (*πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*), is applied to Christ. And there are found similar traces of Macedonianism.[3] In b. viii. c. 5, it is said of the Holy Spirit, only, that he was present as a witness at the

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[1] B. viii. c. 12. *Ἅγιος δὲ καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ θεος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· ὃς εἰς πάντα ὑπηρετησάμενός σοι τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὶ εἰς τε δημιουργίαν διάφορον, καὶ πρόνοιαν κατάλληλον.*

[2] B. viii. c. 12 (nearer the beginning): *Τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ· αὐτὸν δὲ πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων γεννήσας βουλήσει καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἀγαθότητι ἀμεσιτευτως.*

[3] Philastrius, Hær. 67, designates the nature of the Macedonian heresy thus: Spiritum autem non de divina substantia, nec Deum verum, sed factum atque creatum Spiritum prædicantes, ut eum conjungant et comparent creaturæ.

divine incarnation. And in b. viii. c. 37, God is called the Lord of the Holy Spirit.[2] These traces of the heretical opinions in this book, which have so much in common with the already adduced doctrinal corruptions of the first seven books, lead to the conjecture that those corruptions were introduced at the time when the eighth book was added, that is, towards the end of the fourth century. Hence also it may be inferred, with some probability, that he who added the eighth book was also the interpolator of the first seven.

That our Constitutions favor Arianism, has been observed by modern Arians, who have endeavored to use them to their own advantage, but without success. At the same time, others also have wished to support and justify their heretical views by the Constitutions.[3]

Interpolations, not Doctrinal, that are found in the first Seven Books of the Constitutions.

If now we have admitted doctrinal interpolations, and have endeavored also to show that these have been made only in particular passages and in single expressions, we must still, on the other hand, admit an insertion and corrupting of some, though only a very few chapters, — what happened in the progress of time, when new institutions and usages arose, and there was a desire to bring the Constitutions into harmony with these. We have already called attention to the fact, that the doctrinal interpolations were made at the time of the writing of the eighth book; and we shall be able to show the same in respect to the interpolations which are not doctrinal. It was natural that the author of the eighth book, as he added it to the seven preceding, should wish to bring the earlier books into harmony with his eighth book. He wished

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[1] B. viii. c. 5. Σὺ ὁ δοὺς ὅρους ἐκκλησίας, διὰ τῆς ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ παρακλήτῳ.

[2] B. viii. 37. Ὁ ἄναρχος θεὸς καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, ὁ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴς διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ κηδεμών, πρὸ δὲ πάντων αὐτοῦ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ, ὁ τοῦ πνεύματος κύριος.

[3] Thus *Christoph Sand*, in his Nucleus Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. i. p. 67, ed. Amstelod.; *Daniel Zuiker*, in his Irenicum Irenicorum; *Samuel Crell*, who, under the fictitious name of Lucas Mellierius, published Fides Christianorum ex Barnaba, Herma, Clemente Romano demonstrata, and Antiqua Fides de divinitate Christi asserta; and the author of the book entitled, Le Platonisme devoilé, who, according to Cotta was *Souverain*, a French reformed preacher. Against these, Samuel Gardiner, George Bull, Abraham Calov, and others, have written. See J. F. Cotta's Versuch einer ausführlichen Kirchenhistorie des N. Testaments. Zweiter Theil, § 432, S. 1211 —.

also to incorporate the later usages and the later established rites into these seven books, in order to give, as it were, a completeness to their contents; as, for example, we perceive from the inserted chapter on the Christmas festival. We turn now to the interpolations not doctrinal that are contained in the second book.

In the investigation on the second book of our Constitutions, we have already called attention to the incoherence of c. 57 and c. 58, and have shown that the external combination of the chapters indicates the later interpolation of c. 57. It therefore only remains for us here to bring from the contents of the chapters the proof of their spuriousness.

In describing the structure of the church, it is mentioned in c. 57, that the church must have, on both sides at the east end, apartments, which are here called *παστοφόρια*.[1] In our passage, there is not the least intimation for what use these apartments were designed; nor is there any mention of them in the first seven books of our Constitutions. On the contrary, we find them mentioned in b. viii. c. 13, — a fact which again confirms the harmony and the analogy of the interpolations with the eighth book. Here it is commanded that the deacons, after the communion, take what remains of the oblations, and carry it into the apartments (*τὰ παστοφόρια*).[2] That there was a similar place in the Jewish temple, is ascertained; and it is in the highest degree probable, that the having of such a structure and repository connected with the main building, was transferred from the Jewish temple to the Christian church; as even the Septuagint version in Ezek. 40: 17, has this word (*παστοφόρια*).[3] Some, but certainly without sufficient reason, have held these apartments to be the treasuries of the church, and, in support of this explanation, have appealed to the Jewish custom. Still, something seems to have been carried into them; and a very simple solution is furnished by what we learn from b. viii. c. 13, that there were rooms in which the oblations remaining from the communion

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[1] B. ii. c. 57. 'And first, let the building be long, with its head to the east, with its vestries [or apartments] on both sides at the east end; and so it will be like a ship.' . . . . At a very early period, a ship was an emblem of the Christian church. On the favorite emblems of the Christians, as a dove, a lyre, an anchor, a fish, &c. see Neander's Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des Christenthums, Bd. i. Hft. ii. S. 69 —.

[2] B. viii. c. 13. And when all, both male and female, have partaken, let the Deacons carry what remaineth into the vestry, or private apartments (*εἰς τὰ παστοφόρια*).

[3] [Where the common English version has *chambers;* from the original Hebrew, לִשְׁכוֹת, pl. of לִשְׁכָּה, a chamber, a cell; a dining room; an office or chamber for business.]

were stored up. If it is now very probable that this usage was borrowed from the Jews, it is also ascertained that it was not adopted earlier than towards the end of the fourth century. Our Constitutions are almost the only evidence concerning it. Jerome barely mentions the *chambers*, in his commentary on Ezek. 40: 17. Not a single writer of the earlier centuries alludes to these apartments. Hence we may well assume that they did not come earlier into use among the Christians.

There now follow a multitude of liturgical and disciplinary directions which sometimes descend to things exceedingly minute and insignificant, and again harmonize with the eighth book, and with Chrysostom, in whose time we have placed that book.

It must by no means be forgotten that these particular disciplinary directions, which are given with so much precision and copiousness, point necessarily to a secure state of the church, already furnished with complete regulations; a state which was still impossible at the time of the persecutions in the second half of the third century. Thus it is evident that a great multitude of the formalities and external observances named in this chapter, had not yet come into use, to so great an extent.

In the course of the chapter it is commanded, that, whenever any one is found sitting out of his place, he be rebuked by the Deacon, and be removed to the place proper for him. Here the place for each is very minutely defined; and then it is again enjoined that the Deacon observe the people, so that no one may whisper, or sleep, or laugh, or nod. In like manner, Chrysostom ascribes to the Deacon the office of overseer, while he exhorts to call the Deacon, if any laugh or commit other follies.[1]

Above all, the gradation of clerical dignities is remarkable; which, in the extent in which we find it in this chapter, first obtained the ascendency after the Council at Nice. In our Constitutions it is commanded, In the middle let the Bishop's throne be placed; and on each side of him let the Presbytery sit down; and let the Deacons stand near at hand, lightly dressed and well girded, so as to be unencumbered.[2] The same arrangement and order we find also in Gregory of Nazianzum, and in other writers of the fourth century. But that they were not yet customary in the third century we perceive from the fact that

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[1] Chrysost. Homil. xxiv. in Act. Κεῖνται, πάντες ψυχροὶ καὶ γέροντες· καθάρματα μᾶλλον οἱ νέοι, γελῶντες, ἀνακαγχάζοντες, διαλεγόμενοι· . . . . . ἐγκάλεσον σφοδρότερον οὐκ ἀνεχόμενον, τὸν διάκονον κάλεσον.

[2] B. ii. c. 57. Κείσθω δὲ μέσος ὁ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνος· παρ' ἑκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ καθεζέσθω τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι παραστάσθωσαν εὐσταλεῖς τῆς πλείονος ἐσθῆτος.

the Council at Nice expressly forbids the Deacons to seat themselves among the Presbyters.[1]

It is a well-known fact that already the early Christians, in their prayers, turned themselves towards the east. The writers of the second century presuppose this custom to be fully known; but there were given for it very different reasons. We find this usage at that time among the heathen, who, when they prayed, turned themselves towards the rising of the sun. The Jews, on the contrary, in their praying, turned themselves towards the west, since in that quarter was the most holy place in their temple. Many conjectures have been made respecting the cause of the first Christians having departed so early from this custom. Some assumed that Christ was considered, symbolically, as the light and the sun, and that this idea lies at the basis of this symbolical act. Others would derive the usage from the heathen mysteries. But, as one of the reasons for it, our Constitutions specify its being adapted to remind us of the earlier possession of the Paradise, from which the first man was driven out, upon transgressing the divine command at the instigation of the serpent.[2] Bingham thinks that its origin is to be sought in the Baptism of the Christians; since the candidates, when they had renounced the devil and his works, had turned their face towards the west; on the contrary, when they had professed their attachment to Christ, they had turned their faces towards the east.[3] It would, however, be difficult to sustain this opinion; for the ceremony here spoken of is mentioned first in authors of too late a period. Augusti,[4] who accedes to Bingham's opinion, has been able to adduce for the existence of this ceremony in baptism only Cyril of Jerusalem (Cateches. Myst. i. c. 2. 4. 9.) and Jerome (Comment. in Amos 6: 14). It is mentioned in no writer of an earlier time. In the passage of the Constitutions, b. vii. c. 44, which Augusti also adduces, the clause, *But let him pray towards the east* (*προσευχέσθω δὲ κατ' ἀνατολάς*), is in such a connection that no such reference is to be

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[1] Concil. Nicæn. Can. xviii. *Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθῆσθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐξέσθω τοῖς διάκονοις.*

[2] B. ii. c. 57. After this, let all rise up with one consent, and, looking towards the east, after the Catechumens and Penitents are gone out, pray to God *who ascended up to the heaven of heavens to the east.* Remembering also the ancient situation of Paradise in the east, whence the first man, when he had yielded to the temptation of the serpent, and disobeyed the command of God, was expelled. [Respecting the clause, *who ascended up to the heaven of heavens* TO THE EAST (*κατὰ ἀνατολὰς*), see the Septuagint version of Ps. 67: 34; where, it is manifest, an error in translating arose from the ambiguity of a Hebrew word, קֶדֶם.]

[3] Bingham, Orig. tom. v. p. 275.

[4] Denkwürdigkeiten, Bd. 5, S. 401.

found in it as that author supposes; but as in each prayer, so, too, in the prayer after baptism, a person stood, facing the east.[1] Besides, in b. vii. c. 40 and 41, where the renunciation of the adversary is enjoined, there is no mention of its being done with the face turned towards the west. But, even if we admit that in our Constitutions a trace occurs of this ceremony in baptism, as is not at all the fact, it would never prove that the origin of the custom of turning one's self towards the east in prayer is to be derived thence; for long before our Constitutions, as is even generally admitted, this custom is found.[2]

The mention, however, of the conclusions of the verses (*τὰ ἀκροστίχια*)[3] shows us clearly that this chapter [the 57th of the second book] belongs to the fourth century. At first there is commanded, with considerable minuteness, the reading of the Holy Scriptures; but, after two lessons have been read, it is added, Let some other person sing the hymns of David, and let the people repeat in singing the last parts of the verses.[4] Now it is ascertained that this custom did not arise before the fourth century. Chrysostom, and the writers of his time, are the first who bring it forward as existing in their time.[5] Socrates also, in his Ecclesiastical History, b. v. c. 22, mentions it, and calls the precentors *prompters* (*ὑποβολεῖς*).

But, besides the custom which we have mentioned, of standing in prayer, our Constitutions contain also the direction that, when the gospel

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[1] [There certainly is a reference to the passage in 2 Chron. 5: 12, as containing a precedent for standing up, with the face towards the east, in prayer. It will be borne in mind that the Septuagint version was used, and regarded as authoritative, while the Hebrew original was sadly neglected. In quoting the words *κατ' ἀνατολάς* (towards the east), what immediately follows them is overlooked, and the sense strikingly marred, but suited exactly to the case in hand. Would that, among later theologians, there were no instance of a similar, or a worse oversight!]

[2] While here, in b. ii. c. 57, and b. vii. c. 44, and in many passages of the Constitutions, the custom of standing upright in prayer, is mentioned, it is a custom which did not first arise in the third or fourth century, but it seems to have been usual in the earliest period of Christianity. The custom, it is probable, passed over to Christianity from Judaism; for the examples of prayers in Gen. 18: 22, 19: 27, 2 Chron. 20: 13, Job 30: 20, and in many other places of the Old Testament, speak in favor of the supposition.

[3] Although, for the most part, *ἀκροστιχὶς* or *ἀκρόστιχιον* denotes the beginning of a verse, as in the well-known acrostics of the Sibyls, yet it signifies also the end of a verse.

[4] B. ii. c. 57. *Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἕτερός τις τοὺς τοῦ Λαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω.*

[5] Chrysost. Homil. xxxvi. in 1 Cor. *Ὁ ψάλλων ψάλλει μόνος, κἂν πάντες ὑπηχῶσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἡ φωνὴ φέρεται.* Homil. xi. in Math. *ἂν δύο ψαλμοὺς ἢ τρεῖς ὑπηχήσαντες.*

shall be read, all the Presbyters and Deacons, and all the people, shall stand in profound silence.[1] This custom which, at a later period, became general in the whole church, arose first in the age of Chrysostom. If, in the theatre, says he, the commands of the king are read, when a profound silence is obtained, how much more does it become all to be hushed, and to stand attentive, when the commands, not of an earthly Lord, but of the Lord of angels, are to be read.[2] Isidore of Pelusium, b. i. epist. 136, gives a corresponding account, and mentions that even the Bishop stood up, thereby indicating that the Lord himself was present. Several other writers relate the same; as Philostorgius, b. iii. c. 5, from whom Nicephorus, b. ix. c. 18, has taken it; and Sozomen, b. vii. c. 19. Besides, the usage is adopted in all the later Liturgies, Greek and Latin. This chapter proves also, that, at the time of its origin, several addresses were delivered, one after another. Thus it is said, In the next place, let the Presbyters, one by one, not all together, exhort the people, and the Bishop in the last place, as being the commander.[3] This custom accords again with the age of Chrysostom. Thus, for example, the Bishop Flavianus preached after Chrysostom, while Chrysostom was a Presbyter at Antioch.[4] The existence of such a custom is testified also by Basil,[5] Gregory of Nyssa,[6] Theodoret,[7] Augustin,[8] Jerome,[9] and many others. On the contrary, not a single earlier testimony makes it credible or probable that it existed in the third century. Here, then, is another reason confirming what we have asserted respecting the interpolation of the chapter before us.

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[1] B. ii. c. 57. *Καὶ ὅταν ἀναγινωσκόμενον ᾖ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς στηκετῶσαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας· γέγραπται γὰρ σιώπα καὶ ἄκουε Ἰσραήλ.*

[2] Chrysost. Homil. i. in Math. *Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ θεάτρου πολλῆς σιγῆς γενομένης, τότε τὰ τοῦ βασίλεως ἀναγινώσκεται γράμματα· πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἅπαντας δεῖ κατεστάλθαι, καὶ ὀρθαῖς ταῖς ἀκραις ἑστάναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιγείου τινὸς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τῶν ἀγγέλων δεσπότου τὰ γράμματα ἀναγινώσκεσθαι μέλλει.*

[3] B. ii. c. 57. *Καὶ ἑξῆς παρακαλείτωσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν λαὸν, ὁ καθεὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἅπαντες· καὶ τελευταῖος πάντων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὡς ἔοικε κυβερνήτης.*

[4] Chrysost. Homil. iv. de verb. Jes. *Ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες, ἀναχωρήσωμεν οἴκαδε· μᾶλλον δὲ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες, δεξώμεθα καὶ τὴν τελειωτέραν τοῦ καλοῦ διδασκάλου παραίνεσιν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα, οἷα ἂν εἴη, ἔχει τὰ τῆς νεότητος δείγματα· τὰ δὲ τούτου, οἷα ἂν ᾖ, πλείονα κεκοσμῆται τῷ φρονήματι.* Comp. Homil. ii. in Psalm 49: 17, and Homil. xxxvi. in 1 Cor.

[5] Basil. Hom. xviii. in Barlaamum Martyrem.

[6] Greg. Nyss. Orat. in Ordinat.

[7] Theodoret, in 1 Cor. 14: 31.

[8] Augustin. Serm. in Psalms 94: 95: and 131.

[9] Hieronym. Epist. 2, and Epist. 61. Compare also Cotelerius on this place in the Constitutions. He has collected many other passages, and some decrees of councils.

We turn now to c. 59, for the purpose of proving here also from the contents the later interpolation.

The chapter contains especially many admonitions to attend divine service with diligence. 'Assemble yourselves together,' it is directed, 'every day, morning and evening, singing psalms and praying in the Lord's house; in the morning saying the sixty-second psalm, and in the evening the hundred and fortieth.' This custom, however, is found in no other place of the seven books of our Constitutions. On the contrary, both psalms are mentioned in the eighth book. In b. viii. c. 35, it is said, for instance, 'and after the repetition of the psalm at the lighting up of the lights' (*καὶ μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψάλμον*), by which the same is indicated as in b. ii. c. 59, by the hundred and fortieth psalm; and in b. viii. c. 37, it is said in like manner, 'After the repetition of the morning psalm' (*μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ὄρθριον*), by which the sixty-second is designated. Here it ought to be further remarked, that, according to our usual division, it is the sixty-third. Certainly, a striking evidence in favor of what we are maintaining is furnished by the fact that this psalm occurs in no ancient writer before the middle of the fourth century. It is Chrysostom that [first] mentions it expressly.[1] He calls it the morning psalm (*ψάλμος ἑωθινός*), which 'enkindles a desire after God, and elevates the soul, inflaming it exceedingly, and filling it with much joy and love.' Now we admit that Chrysostom does not adduce the psalm by name, but he gives us the beginning, 'O God, thou art my God, early will I seek thee' (or, rather, as it stands in the Septuagint version, *ὁ θεὸς, ὁ θεός μου, πρός σε ὀρθρίζω*), from which it appears, beyond contradiction, that our sixty-third psalm was intended by Chrysostom.

We proceed to the interpolation which has occurred in the fifth book. It has been shown already (p. 389), that the 13th chapter does not cohere with the chapter which precedes it, nor with that which follows it; and that it was inserted for the purpose of completing the cycle of the festivals.

In c. 13, it is commanded, 'Brethren, observe the festival days; and first the birthday of the Lord, which must be celebrated by you on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month; after which, hold the Epiphany very much in honor, on which the Lord manifested to us his divinity;

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[1] Chrysost. Comment. in Psalm 140: *Τοῦτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἑωθινὸς ψαλμός . . . . τὸν πόθον ἀνάπτει τὸν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, καὶ διεγείρει τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ σφόδρα πυρώσας, καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπλήσας ἀγαθότητος, καὶ ἀγάπης, οὕτως ἀφέησι προσελθεῖν· ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ πόθεν ἀρχεται, καὶ τί διδάσκει ἡμᾶς· ὁ θεὸς, ὁ θεὸς μοῦ, πρός σε ὀρθρίζω, ἐδίψησέ σε ἡ ψυχῆ μου· οὕτως ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὤφθην σοι, τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν δυναμίν σου καὶ τὴν δόξαν σου.*

and let this festival be celebrated on the sixth day of the tenth month.'[1] Here, in the first place, we must consider that in this precept, Christmas and Epiphany are considered as two distinct festivals. Now it is generally acknowledged that the celebration of Christmas first became customary at a comparatively late period, and that in the beginning Christmas and Epiphany were identical. It remains, therefore, for us to investigate, when Christmas and Epiphany were introduced as separate festivals, and when they were first celebrated on the days fixed by our Constitutions.

As no dogma was immediately connected with the birth of our Lord, it happened that in the ancient church it was long before the celebration of Christmas was introduced. It became customary by degrees, and not till late. Some few traces of it, indeed, are found in the first centuries; but they are very uncertain, and have against themselves many historical considerations.[2] It is remarkable, that in the Oriental church, for three centuries, the day of the festival of Epiphany, the sixth of January, was celebrated as the birthday of our Lord. There were several reasons for this celebration; and the different churches severally attributed to them a different value. Some celebrated the festival in honor of the incarnation of Christ; others on account of the appearing of the star, which guided the Magians to the Saviour; others still on account of his baptism, where the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, represented him as the Son of God; finally, others still, on account of the first miracle of Christ, by which he manifested his glorious character.[3]

The first sure historical testimony concerning the celebration of the festival of Christmas is given us by Chrysostom, who, in a homily delivered in the year 386, while he was a Presbyter at Antioch, expressly says that the festival of the birth of Christ had come into use in the east within ten years, and that hence it was rejected by many, as an

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[1] B. v. c. 13. Τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἑορτῶν φυλάσσετε, ἀδελφοὶ, καὶ πρώτην γε τὴν γενέθλιον, ἥτις ὑμῶν ἐπιτελείσθω εἰκάδι πέμπτῃ τοῦ ἐννάτου μηνός, μεθ' ἣν ἡ ἐπιφάνιος ὑμῖν ἔστω τιμιωτάτη, καθ' ἣν ὁ κύριος ἀνάδειξιν ἡμῖν τῆς οἰκείας θεότητος ἐποιήσατο· γινέσθω δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἕκτῃ τοῦ δεκάτου μηνός.

[2] Here belongs the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, Stromat. lib. i. p. 407. Εἰσι δὲ οἱ περιεργότερον τῇ γενέσει τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προστεθέντες. When, now, in the sequel of this passage, the twenty-fifth day of the month Pachon, in the twenty-eighth year of Augustus, is mentioned as the birthday of our Lord, there is still contained in it only a chronological determination, but not the mention of a celebration of a festival commemorating his birth.

[3] Hence the various names of this festival. It is called also *Bethphania*, in reference to the miracle at Cana; also *the festival of the three kings* (festum trium Regum), *the feast of the Magians* (festum Magorum), &c.

innovation.[1] From other homilies of Chrysostom it is clear that, from that time onward, Christmas and Epiphany were considered as distinct festivals; for he speaks of them as of two days, which, at an earlier period, were held for one and the same.[2] As formerly the words Epiphany, *appearance* (ἐπιφάνεια), and *birthday* (γενέθλια), had been used synonymously, so now a *first* Epiphany and a *second* were distinguished; of which the first was the festival of Christmas, the second the festival of Epiphany. It is striking that, for several centuries, the custom in the west differed from that in the east; for in the west, Christmas was celebrated much earlier; here, too, Christmas and Epiphany had constantly been separated from each other, and considered as two distinct festivals. On this point we find the most definite testimonies in Jerome,[3] Cassian,[4] and several western church fathers.

From the testimonies of Chrysostum, therefore, it is evident that Christmas and Epiphany, as festivals distinct from each other, were not celebrated in the east sooner than towards the end of the fourth century, perhaps about the year 375. It now becomes manifest that our Constitution respecting Christmas and Epiphany, which is found in this thirteenth chapter, cannot have been made towards the end of the third

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[1] Chrysost. Homil. xxxiii. De Natali Christi, p. 417, ed. Francof. Οὔπω δέκατὸν ἐστιν ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ δῆλη καὶ γνώριμος ἡμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα γεγένηται· παρὰ μὲν τοῖς τὴν ἑσπέραν οἰκοῦσιν ἄνωθεν γνωριζομένη, πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ κομισθεῖσα νῦν, καὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἀθρόον οὕτως ἀνέδραμε, &c. Chrysostom delivered this whole Homily at the celebration of the birthday of our Lord, which had not before been celebrated in Antioch. But several had declared themselves against this new festival; and Chrysostom endeavors to gain these by proving that the twenty-fifth of December was actually the birthday of our Saviour. A [German] translation of this Homily is found in J. A. Cramer's work: Des heiligen Kirchen-Lehrers Johannes Chrysostomus, Ertzbischofs und Patriarchen zu Konstantinople, Predigten und kleine Schriften, aus dem Griechischen übersetzt. Fünfter Bd. S. 437–470. Leips. 1749. 8vo.

[2] Chrysost. Homil. xxiv. De Baptism. Christi, p. 276, ed. Francof. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐπιφάνεια ἡ παρούσα λέγεται ἑορτὴ δῆλόν ἐστι πᾶσιν. — ἀλλὰ τίνος ἕνεκεν, οὐχὶ ἡ ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ἐτέχθη, ἀλλ' ἡ ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ἐβαπτίσθη, ἐπιφάνεια λέγεται· αὕτη γὰρ ἐστιν ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ἐβαπτίσατο, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ἡγίασε φύσιν.

[3] Hieronymi Comment. in Ezech. 1. Apud Orientales October erat primus mensis, et Januaris quartus. Quintum autem diem mensis adjungit; ut significet baptisma, in quo aperti sunt Christo cæli, et Epiphaniorum dies huc usque venerabilis est; non, ut quidam putant, natalis in corne. Tunc enim absconditus est et non apparuit: Quod huic tempori congruit, quando dictum est, Hic est filius meus, in quo mihi complacui.

[4] Cassian. Collat. x. c. ii. Epiphaniorum diem provinciæ illius sacerdotes vel dominici baptismi, vel secundum carnem nativitatis esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti solemnitatem non bifarie, ut in occiduis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitate concelebrant.

century which we have pointed out as the time of the origin of the first seven books of the Constitutions; for these festivals were not celebrated in the east before the end of the fourth century. The contents as well as the [want of] coherency of the chapters, therefore, indicate a later age and interpolation of this chapter. If now we ask when the interpolation occurred, there presents itself the reply that this Constitution was inserted when the eighth book was added. From a comparison with the eighth book we perceive that in c. 33 of that book, Christmas and Epiphany are represented as distinct festivals.[1] And the testimony of *the Incomplete Work on Matthew* proves the celebration of Christmas towards the end of the fourth century.[2]

It is more than probable, therefore, that the author of the eighth book inserted the Constitution concerning the festivals of Christmas and Epiphany, in c. 13, for the purpose of producing a harmony with his eighth book, and with the custom of his age. On the interpolation of c. 17, we have already spoken at large. (See p. 392.)

CHAPTER VI.

INVESTIGATION ON THE EIGHTH BOOK OF THE CONSTITUTIONS.

On the question whether the Eighth Book be a whole or consist of several parts.

We have separated the eighth book, as belonging to a later time, from the investigation on the first seven books; and it now devolves on us to

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[1] Const. b. viii. c. 3. Τὴν τῶν γενεθλίων ἑορτὴν ἀργείτωσαν, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον χάριν δεδόσθαι ἀνθρώποις, γεννηθῆναι τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου ἐπὶ σωτηρίου τοῦ κόσμου· τὴν τῶν ἐπφανίων ἑορτὴν ἀργείτωσαν, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνάδειξιν γεγενῆσθαι τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότητος.

[2] Opus Imperfectum in Math. 24: 23. Ab æquinoctio vernali duodecimi mensis incipiunt paullatim tepescere aëres per singulos dies, usque ad mensem tertium, et dies fieri noctibus longiores. Item ab æquinoctio autumnali mensis septimi incipiunt paullatim iterum frigescere aëres per singulos dies, et noctes fieri longiones diebus usque ad mensem nonum, quando celebratur Christi natalis.

bring the proof for what we assumed. In the preceding investigation, we have held fast the unity of the first seven books, but have also called attention to the fact, that those who regard the Constitutions as consisting of many small separate parts, proceed in this assertion from what appears in the eighth book. (See p. 279.) One of the first who proposed this opinion, is Grabe, who, as he examined the Baroccian manuscripts, xxvi. and clxxxv. in the Bodleian library, soon convinced himself that the Teachings (*Διδασκαλίαι*) of the apostolical fathers contained in them harmonized with most of the regulations in the eighth book of our Constitutions; by which circumstance he was confirmed in his opinion that the whole work of the Constitutions consisted of parts brought together from different sources. The more important this circumstance is for the investigation on the eighth book, the more necessary will it be to place together and compare these Teachings of the Baroccian manuscripts with our Constitutions.[1] In the first manuscript or codex, after the canons of several councils (fol. 146, p. 2), is found a Teaching of the holy apostles concerning gifts (*διδασκαλία τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χαρισμάτων*), which begins with the words, Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, delivering to us the great mystery of godliness (*Τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ μέγα τῆς ἐνσεβείας ἡμῖν παραδιδόντος μυστήριον*). The end of this Teaching coincides with the end of c. 2. Since now, that which follows in the Baroccian codex (fol. 151, p. 2), under the title, 'Constitutions of the same holy Apostles concerning Elections, by Hippolytus' (*διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἱππολύτου*), has a beginning like that of the fourth chapter, Wherefore we, the twelve apostles of the Lord, being together (*Ἅμα τοίνυν ὑπάρχοντες ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα τοῦ κυρίου ἀπόστολοι*), Grabe conjectures, not without good reason, that the third chapter was inserted by the compiler of the eighth book, on account of the connection and coherency. This Teaching ends (fol. 158, p. 2) with the words, For the church is a school, not of confusion, but of good order (*ἡ γὰρ ἐκκλησία οὐκ ἀταξίας, ἀλλ' εὐταξίας ἐστὶ διδασκαλεῖον*), with which, in our eighth book, c. 31 closes. But it is to be remarked that, in these Constitutions of Hippolytus, there are contained only the fourth and the fifth chapters, and those from the sixteenth to the twenty-eighth, inclusive; and that the other chapters, from the sixth to the fifteenth, and c. 29, are wanting.

If we pursue the comparison further, the Teaching which begins with

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[1] Since we ourselves could not compare these codices or manuscripts, we follow Grabe in respect to them. See his Spicilegium Patrum Seculi I. p. 285.

the words, I Paul, the least of the apostles (*Ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐλάχιστος*), ends with, 'The Constitutions of Paul the holy apostle concerning ecclesiastical canons.' (*Παύλου τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου διατάξεις περὶ κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν.*) In the other codex (clxxxv. part i. fol. 9, p. 1), is found the same, only the introductory words are left out, and it begins immediately with the words, Those that first come (*οἱ πρώτως προσίοντες*). In the former codex (fol. 160, p. 1), in the latter (fol. 9. p. 2), the Teaching ends with the words, 'in the epistles we have taught' (*ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐδιδάξαμεν*). It is obvious that those Constitutions (*διατάξεις*), which in these codices are exhibited as canons of Paul, are the thirty-second chapter of our eighth book. In the former codex (fol. 160, p. 1), follow, 'Constitutions of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul' (*Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διατάξεις*), which begin with the words, I Peter and Paul ordain (*ἐγὼ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατασσόμεθα*), and (fol. 163, p. 1), with the words, 'Fulfilling the command of our Lord Jesus Christ' (*ἐντολὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκπληροῦντες*). These Constitutions are contained again in our eighth book, c. 33, 34, 42, 43, 44, and 45; but the chapters from 35 to 41, inclusive, are wanting. Finally, in the former codex (fol. 163, p. 1), under the superscription, A Teaching of all the holy Apostles concerning good order (*περὶ εὐταξίας διδασκαλία πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων*), there is also contained the forty-sixth chapter of our eighth book. The Teaching in that codex begins with the words, But this we all enjoin in common (*Τοῦτο δὲ κοινῇ πάντες παραγγέλλομεν*), and (fol. 166, p. 1) ends with, 'were appointed by Christ, the incomparable high priest' (*ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προεχειρίσθησαν τοῦ ἀρχιέρεως τοῦ ἀσυγκρίτου*), and agrees therefore with our eighth book, word for word.[1]

We have presented this matter fully, that a judgment might the more easily be formed concerning the hypothesis which has been brought forward. And we accede to the opinion, that the eighth book is composed of materials from different sources; but we dissent from Grabe in this, namely, that we cannot assume, with him, that these single parts are teachings of apostolical fathers, perhaps of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, and others. It has already been mentioned, too, that his inference from the eighth book to the seven other books of the Constitutions is arbi-

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[1] The same, according to Grabe, is to be found in Cod. vii. inter Historicos Ecclesiasticos juxta ordinem Nesselii, Part. v. Catalog. Mss. Græcorum, p. 20 and 21 of the Library at Vienna. [It ought, perhaps, to be remarked that, in this passage of our Constitutions, as it now stands in the common editions, the word *θεοῦ* is added; so that Christ seems to be represented as the high priest of the incomparable God.]

trary and adventurous. That this eighth book is composed of several single parts, the comparison which Grabe has instituted of those codices, has unquestionably proved, and it would be difficult to bring any thing in opposition. But still, it by no means follows that these single parts proceeded from apostolical fathers. And what reason is finally adduced by Grabe to prove his assertion? Properly, no other than that these single parts are represented in some codices as Teachings of Apostolical Fathers. But this can prove it, no more than the mere fact that the name of Clement, on the title-page of our Constitutions, can prove him to be the author of them. Besides, it appears from the contents, most clearly, that this opinion is altogether erroneous, and that this eighth book must have come into existence in a still later time than the first seven.

In favor of the assertion that the eighth book was added at a later time, speaks also in particular, the consideration that the eighth book repeats very many precepts (and sometimes in a sense and spirit quite altered) which are contained in the earlier books. We will in the sequel call attention to this, and make some specifications. The eighth book contains a liturgy so complete, extending itself to the most insignificant little matters, that we may at once infer it could not have been produced at the same time with the seven other books. In our preceding investigation, we have remarked how, in various places of the Constitutions, the persecutions are mentioned which the Christians suffered at the time when the work was prepared. The believers are in it admonished not to deny Christ, and are summoned to help those who suffer persecutions for Christ's sake. In short, every thing proves to us that, at the time of making the first seven books, the church was not yet recognized, and that the liturgical and ecclesiastical element had not yet fully developed itself. But to what an entirely different time do the contents of the eighth book conduct us! It contains a liturgy that gives comprehensive rules for all ecclesiastical and liturgical relations. From the first seven books it would appear, that the church was not yet firmly established, but rather that it was shaken and oppressed. Heathen emperors still reigned; and in the Christian church there was neither a settled liturgy nor a constant law for other ecclesiastical concerns. But in the time when the eighth book originated, the church must necessarily have been already quite firmly established, and not molested at all from without. The whole liturgical contents of this book prove, now, that it was composed and added under the influence of the later ecclesiastical discipline, when the church no longer suffered persecutions. This is especially confirmed by one of the most ancient translations of the

Constitutions, in which that whole liturgy is wanting.[1] There is still another weighty external proof, namely, that this whole liturgy never came into use in any church of the east, although the liturgies of James, of Basil, of Chrysostom, and of others, were received with favor and publicly used.

That these single parts in those codices bear the names of apostolical men, is easily explained; for history on this subject clearly testifies, that men have constantly endeavored to carry back all liturgies and especially all liturgical elements, even those which arose very late, to the earliest time. Thus we find that general tradition has made James, the brother of our Lord, the author of almost all Oriental Greek liturgies. It is acknowledged, indeed, that Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Gelasius, and Gregory, have exerted very considerable influence on the form of the liturgy; but all the modifications and changes were, as much as possible, carried back to the apostolical, or at least to an early time; and every thing arbitrary was avoided with great caution. It is certain that the first form of the liturgy depended on the general necessities and common views and feelings of the principal ancient churches.

Almost all the churches assert that their own liturgy is the most ancient, and derive it constantly from an apostle, usually from James. This is the case even with the Greek church; which, although it concedes that Basil was the first who wrote down the oral traditions, yet derives these immediately from the apostle James.[2] Among the Copts there is found a liturgy of St. Basil, besides a liturgy of St. Gregory of Nazianzum, and a liturgy of St. Cyril of Alexandria. If we may even admit that single elements of these liturgies proceed from the authors named, still their authenticity is by no means to be proved.[3] Thus the Ethiopic church has, among several other liturgies, one of St. John. It cannot here be the place to treat more particularly of the various liturgies. On this subject, however, we cannot forbear just to call attention to some periods in the history of the ancient church. Until the middle of the third century there still prevails a simple, not a complicated manner of divine service. The end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century form the transition, till, in the time of Cyril of Jerusalem, and of Chrysostom, we perceive a divine service completely changed, and often departing essentially from the earlier.

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[1] Renaudot. Collect. Liturg. Orient. tom. i. p 10.

[2] Renaudot. Collect. Liturg. Orient. tom. ii p. 49.

[3] Renaudot. Collect. tom. i. p. 169–314. Dissert. de Coptitarum Liturgia, p. 80—.

It has already been conceded that the author or compiler of the eighth book arranged single parts, and, most probably, added to these some formularies. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that many Constitutions contained in the eighth book can stand quite alone by themselves, and that a whole series of chapters is found where Constitutions of individual apostles are presented, each one of which, standing by itself, forms a whole. Such a form is entirely different from that of the seven other books, where the apostles impart directions in common, and where only sometimes one of them is particularly named, when something is adverted to which pertains to one of them personally. But in the form in which here, in the eighth book, the apostles come forward to speak, and give directions on single subjects, there is found no example in the seven other books. On the contrary, the form of these Constitutions in the eighth book sustains exactly the assertion set up. On single liturgical and disciplinary subjects, in particular churches, there were found regulations, which although they arose in a very late time, yet were carried back to the apostles, and were acknowledged under their name. The compiler of these single regulations collected them as they were scattered in the churches; and he combined them in this eighth book, together with some parts proceeding from himself, under the name of individual apostles, as in this eighth book we find a Constitution of James, of John, of Philip, of Thomas, and of other apostles. But we have already shown that these regulations, though they may bear the name of apostles or of apostolical men, cannot be placed in that early time, but that the circumstance is to be explained only from the fact that there was a desire to furnish all later regulations with apostolical authority.

The contents of almost all these Constitutions indicate a very late time. Hence we have already (p. 360) fixed on the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century as the time when the eighth book was prepared. In the discussion of the external testimonies respecting the Constitutions, we examined carefully the testimony of *the Incomplete Work on Matthew*, which makes the existence of the eighth book of the Constitutions in that time, at least, most highly probable. Since a passage which *the Incomplete Work* adduces from the eighth book is not contained in it, we must, of course, ascribe the omission of this passage to a later corruption, or we are compelled to assume that the citation is erroneous, — what to me at least seems the more probable, because, in the passage referred to of the Constitutions, there is no trace of an omission.[1]

[1] [But see the discussion, p. 317.]

Now the using of most of the prescribed forms of the eighth book in the end of the fourth and in the beginning of the fifth century, can decidedly be pointed out; so that we cannot doubt that in most of these prescribed forms there are preserved to us the constituent elements of a liturgy, which began to be formed about the middle and towards the end of the fourth century, in opposition to the earlier simple liturgy. We would illustrate this by a comparison with Chrysostom; for the similarity of the liturgical forms in his works and in our Constitutions is so great, that often we do not know whether he has used and given back the forms in our Constitutions, or whether the reverse has occurred. But it hence appears that the compiler of our eighth book has collected the regulations existing in particular churches in the time of Chrysostom, and has united them into this eighth book; so that it brings before our eyes the liturgical and ecclesiastical state of that time. From this, of course, it by no means follows that elements of an earlier time should not be found in these Constitutions of the eighth book; but the earlier time is had in view and used, just as in all liturgies and regulations, even those which were formed the latest. A thorough comparison, however, will show incontestably that in this eighth book of the Constitutions is exhibited the liturgical and disciplinary state of the second half of the fourth century.

It is, indeed, difficult to explain, why no positive testimony has come down to us respecting the comparatively late addition of the eighth book. Epiphanius, as we have seen, mentions the seventh book; and *the Incomplete Work on Matthew* is the first that quotes the eighth. The testimony of Epiphanius is, therefore, only a negative one, though here it is not to be denied that the *argument from silence* is always somewhat doubtful. The compiler, who met with the first seven books, and to whom what is liturgical in the seventh book seemed not sufficiently extensive, could easily conceive the thought of adding a new book, consisting of a collection of liturgical prescribed forms, in order thus to complete the Constitutions, and to make them more useful for his time. For this purpose he saw that he had occasion to undertake, in the first seven books, those interpolations which we have pointed out in them. If, now, there is extant no direct external testimony respecting the addition of the eighth book, yet the testimony of the Trullan Council proves that, in any case, an important change in the Constitutions had occurred; so that the objection, that there is no external testimony respecting the addition of the eighth book, is much diminished.

The Constitutions, which never gained a general practical influence, now set up, as it were, an ideal liturgy, and an ideal rule, for most of the

ecclesiastical relations; but while much indicates an earlier time, almost all in this eighth book can be pointed out as existing towards the end of the fourth century.

Particular Investigation on the Eighth Book of the Constitutions.[1]

Several have conjectured that Hippolytus, according to some, Bishop of *Portus Romanus*, according to others, Bishop of Aden in Arabia, was the author of the eighth book. This conjecture is founded only on the facts that Hippolytus, according to tradition, is said to have written a work entitled *Apostolical tradition concerning Gifts* (*Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις περὶ χαρισμάτων*),[2] and that the general superscription of our book also is *concerning Gifts*. But how uncertain and insufficient these considerations are, scarcely needs to be mentioned. The beginning of the eighth book treats also concerning gifts (*περὶ χαρισμάτων*); and we have seen that the manuscripts compared by Grabe contain, c. 1 and 2, a Teaching that may stand by itself. Hence it is possible, since these two chapters contain nothing indicative of their not having been written in the third century, that the compiler of the eighth book has borrowed them from that work of Hippolytus. Still, this remains problematical. After the third chapter (most probably for the sake of the transition) is inserted, the fourth treats copiously respecting ordination. We perceive from it how great a participation the people at that time had in the choice of the clergy, — that three times the question was directed to the people, whether the clergyman was worthy of the office to be intrusted to him. Now the custom is mentioned, that one of the principal Bishops offer a prayer of consecration, while the other Bishops and Presbyters pray silently, and the Deacons hold the gospels open on the head of him who is to be ordained.[3] We find the same custom in the time of Chrys-

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[1] The contents of the book are *περὶ χαρισμάτων, καὶ χειροτονιῶν, καὶ κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν.*

[2] Hippolytus was, without doubt, one of the most important ecclesiastical writers of the third century. Of his numerous writings, alas! only fragments have come down to us; and besides, the accounts respecting his writings are very defective; so that it is still uncertain, whether what he wrote concerning gifts and concerning apostolical tradition, were two distinct works.

[3] B. viii. c. 4. *Καὶ σιωπῆς γενομένης εἷς τῶν πρώτων ἐπισκόπων ἅμα καὶ δυσὶν ἑτέροις πλησίον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἑστὼς τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων σιωπῇ προσευχομένων, τῶν δε' διακόνων τὰ θεῖα εὐαγγελία ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῆς ἀνεπτυγμένα κατεχόντων, λεγέτω πρὸς θέον.*

ostom. The people then had the liveliest participation in the choice of the Bishop, and had to be agreed respecting the worthiness of the man to be chosen.[1] In harmony with the Constitutions, Chrysostom mentions that, while the clergy were ordained, the gospel was laid on their heads.[2]

In the end of c. 5, in which a prayer of consecration is given,[3] it is commanded that when the reading of the Scriptures is ended, and the Bishop has offered his prayer, the Deacon shall ascend a high place, and proclaim, Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers, stay (*μὴ τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων, μὴ τις τῶν ἀπίστων*).[4] Upon this there follows, in c. 6, the prayer for the Catechumens. . . . This prayer is in many respects very remarkable. It is a simple, solemn, truly Christian prayer; and it is almost the only one of the kind that has come down to us. But it is especially remarkable for its striking accordance with Chrysostom. He gives in his second Homily, on the second epistle to the Corinthians, an explanation of the prayer for the Catechumens, which was contained in the liturgy of his church.[5] He often quotes the very words of the church prayer, so that the great agreement of that prayer with our Constitutions is self-evident. Particular discrepancies, it is true, there are, but still very unessential, — the sentences being sometimes longer, and sometimes more compact. If, now, we consider that Chrysostom's recital, most probably, was not an exact repetition, the little discrepancies will be fully explained, and the identity of the two

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[1] Chrysost. De Sacerdot. lib. iii. c. 15.

[2] De Laudib. Evangel. *Ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν ἱερεων, τὸ εὐαγγελιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τίθεται, ἵνα μαθῃ ὁ χειροτονούμενος, ὅτι τὴν ἀληθινὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τιάραν λαμβάνει, καὶ ἵνα μάθῃ εἰ καὶ πάντων ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτους πράττει τοὺς νόμους, πάντων κρατῶν, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ κρατούμενος, πάντα νομοθετῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου νομοθετούμενος.*

[3] At the close of the consecration, the Bishops are to greet the newly-consecrated Bishop with a kiss: *πάντων αὐτὸν φιλησάντων τῷ ἐν κυρίῳ φιλήματι.* The same is directed in the Hierarchia Ecclesiastica of the pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, c. 5: *ἀσπαζομένου παντὸς ἱερατικοῦ παρόντος ἀνδρὸς.*

[4] Compare c. 12. *ἵν' εὐθὺς ὁ διάκονος λέγῃ· μὴ τις τῶν κατηχουμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων· μή τις τῶν ἑτεροδόξων.* And Chrysost. Homil. De Filio prodigo: *τῶν θείας ἱερουγίας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιᾳ περιτρέχοντων καὶ βοώντων· μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.*

[5] It has been a question whether this prayer belonged to the liturgy of Constantinople, or to that of Antioch. The earlier writers were of the former opinion; but Neander has lately declared himself in favor of thinking that the Homily belongs to the time when Chrysostom was still a Presbyter at Antioch. See his work, Der heilige Chrysostomus, &c. Th. i. S. 180. Chrysostum set a high value on the liturgy of Antioch.

prayers will be completely secured.[1] The differences are only inconsiderable. In the Homily referred to, Chrysostom lets the Catechumens direct their prayer to the angel of peace. Here, probably, by *the angel of peace*, is to be understood the guardian angel of every believer. At least, this representation occurs very frequently in Chrysostom;[2] but it is not found in the prayer for the Catechumens in our Constitutions. Nevertheless, in respect to this also, an accordance of Chrysostom with these Constitutions can be pointed out. The same form which he adduces in his Homily on the prayer for the Catechumens, is also contained in the Constitutions, only in another place, b. viii. c. 36;[3] so that it is possible that Chrysostom, who spoke from memory, drew this passage into his recital, or even that, besides the prayer for the Catechumens in c. 6, other parts of the Constitutions were brought in, from which that church prayer of Chrysostom arose. Moreover, the two forms differ from each other in this respect, namely, that in our Constitutions, in the prayer for the Catechumens, the children, before the other worshippers, are to say, *Lord, have mercy.*[4] But this discrepancy, too, is unimportant; since from Basil,[5] and even from Chrysostom,[6] we know that already, in that time, boys were used in the public worship.[7] The Constitutions also, in c. 6, mention the command that the Catechumens, when they receive the Bishop's blessing, are to bow down their heads (Bow down your heads,

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[1] Chrysost. Homil. ii. on 2 Cor. p. 516, ed. Francf. It would be too great a digression, were we to make extracts here from the whole Homily of Chrysostom, together with the whole prayer for the Catechumens in our Constitutions. A very good [German] translation of the prayer in our Constitutions, and of Chrysostom's explanation is found in Augusti's Denkwürdigkeiten, Bd. v. S. 138.

[2] Chrysost. Homil. ii. on 2 Cor. p. 521. Τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε, οἱ κατηχούμενοι· εἰρηνικὰ ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ προκείμενα· εἰρηνικὴν τὴν παροῦσαν ὑμέραν καὶ πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν αἰτήσασθε.

[3] B. viii. c. 36. Ἀναστάντες αἰτησώμεθα τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς, τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρηνῆς.

[4] B. viii. c. 6. Ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ὧν ὁ διάκονος προσφωνεῖ ὡς προείπομεν λεγέτω ὁ λαός· κύριε ἐλέησον, καὶ πρὸ παντων τὰ παιδία. Although it is true that the *Lord, have mercy* (κύριε ἐλέησον) arose from the form of prayer in the Old Testamant, חָנֵּנִי אֱלֹהִים, ἐλέησον με ὁ θεὸς, it might still be difficult to point out the *liturgical* use of this form before the middle of the fourth century. The eighth book of our Constitutions gives the first testimony respecting this use.

[5] Homil. in Famem et siccitatem.

[6] Homil. 72, in Matth.

[7] The Constitutions, Chrysostom, and Basil, are the first that mention this custom. Chrysost. Homil. 71 in Matth. p. 624 . . . ἡ τριτὴ δέησις πάλιν ὑπερ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ αὕτη τὰ παιδιά τοῦ δήμου προβάλλεται τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ ἔλεον παρακαλοῦντα.

and receive the blessing, *κλίνατε, καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε*).[1] This custom seems first to have come into use towards the end of the fourth century; for Chrysostom is the first that refers to it.[2]

There follows, in c. 7, a prayer for the Energumens, or those who are possessed by evil spirits. Such is the explanation given by the author of the eighth book, near the end of the sixth chapter: Ye Energumens, afflicted with unclean spirits, pray (*εὔξασθε, οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων*). And, in c. 12, they are spoken of as 'vexed by the adversary' (*χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου*). Although, in the ancient church, there was established a peculiar office, that of exorcists, for the superintendence and instruction of these Energumens, yet it was also customary, where circumstances permitted it, to bring them into the place of worship, and offer public supplications for their welfare. 'And let us all earnestly pray for them,' it is added, near the close of the sixth chapter, 'that God, the lover of mankind, will, by Christ, rebuke the unclean and wicked spirits, and deliver his supplicants from the dominion of the adversary.'

The seventh chapter (for the Energumens, *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων*) contains an appropriate form of exorcism: 'Thou, who hast bound the strong man, and spoiled all that was in his house, who hast given us power over serpents and scorpions to tread upon them, and upon all the power of the enemy, . . . rebuke these wicked spirits, and deliver the works of thy hands from the power of the adverse spirit.'

We must concede that this form of prayer is not found in Chrysostom; but in several passages it cannot fail of being perceived that he refers to this as to a public prayer of the church. For the Energumens, he says, as for the Penitents, common prayers are made by the priest and by themselves; and all offer one and the same prayer, a prayer full of compassion.[3] In another passage it is said, The Deacon therefore brings forward the Energumens, and commands them to bow down their heads, and, in this posture of the body, to pray; for, since it is not permitted that they pray at the same time with the brethren, he brings them forward,

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[1] B. viii. c. 6. And, as they have bowed down their heads, let the Bishop who is newly ordained, bless them with this blessing.

[2] Homil. 28. De incomprehensibili Dei natura. *Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους κατ' ἐκεινον ἵστησι τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος καὶ κελευει κλῖναι τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῷ σχήματι ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἱκετηρίας.*

[3] Chrysost. Hom. 18, on 2 Cor. p. 673, ed. Francf. *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαὶ, καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσι εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλέου γέμουσαν.*

that thou mayest pity them for their calamity.[1] But that there was an established prayer for the Energumens, in the liturgy which Chrysostom used, is manifest from what he says in another passage: The first prayer, when we make supplication for the Energumens, is full of compassion.[2]

All these forms of prayer are brought into a certain connection; and it is probable that, in the arrangement of them, the same order is followed which was observed in the public worship.

Then, towards the close of the seventh chapter, it is commanded, Let the Deacon say, go out, ye Energumens; and, after they have gone out, let him cry aloud, Ye that are about to be illuminated, pray (*εὔξασθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι*). Let all of us, the faithful, earnestly pray for them, that the Lord may deem them worthy, after being initiated into the death of Christ, to rise with him, and become partakers of his kingdom.[3] The eighth chapter presents the prayer of the Bishop *for the* persons about to be *baptized* (*ὑπὲρ τῶν βαπτιζομένων*). In Cyril of Jerusalem, *the* persons about to be *illuminated*, *οἱ φωτιζόμενοι*, are distinguished from *the Catechumens*, *οἱ κατηχούμενοι*, and from *the newly illuminated*, *οἱ νεοφώτιστοι*, and are also called *the* persons *coming to baptism*, *οἱ τῷ βαπτίσματι προσερχόμενοι*. In the Euchologion, or Ritual of the Greeks, p. 195, 196, and 343, *the* persons about to be *illuminated*, *οἱ φωτιζόμενοι*, are called *the* persons *for illumination*, *οἱ πρὸς τὸ φώτισμα*, and *the* persons *prepared for illumination*, *οἱ πρὸς τὸ φώτισμα εὐπρεπιζόμενοι*. In the Latin church, the persons 'about to be illuminated by baptism,' *illuminandi baptismo*, were usually designated as the *competentes*, persons *seeking* (baptism) *together*. This form of prayer occurs neither in Chrysostom, nor in any other writer. The reason of this, perhaps, is, that the prayer for those who were about to be baptized, made no essential part of the liturgy, that is, no essential part in the customary divine service. It is well known that, in the ancient church, there were some special times for baptism [the Passover or *Easter*, and the Pentecost or

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[1] Chrysost. Hom. 3. De incomprehensibili Dei natura, tom. i. p. 323. ed. Fr. *Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἵστησιν τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κελεύει κλῖναι τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῷ σχήματι ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἱκετηρίας· εὐχεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ συλλόγου τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐ θέμις· διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἵστησιν, ἵνα κατελεήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς*, &c.

[2] Homil. 71, in Matth. p. 768, ed. Fr. *Ἡ πρώτη δέησις ἐλέους γέμει, ὅταν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων παρακαλῶμεν.*

[3] B. viii. c. 7. *Καὶ ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω· προέλθετε οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι· καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς προσφωνείτω· εὔξασθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι· ἐκτενῶς οἱ πιστοὶ πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν παρακελέσωμεν, ὅπως ὁ κύριος καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς μυηθέντας εἰς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον συναναστῆναι αὐτῷ, καὶ μετόχους γενέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.*

Whitsuntide], while in the other times of the year, it was, comparatively speaking, seldom administered. . .

In the liturgy of the Greek church, at the present day, a similar form of prayer is to be found.[1]

After the candidates for baptism have withdrawn, there is a prayer for the Penitents. The various classes of these (such as hear attentively, such as kneel, and such as prostrate themselves, *ἀκροωμενοι*, *γονυκλίνοντες*, and *ὑποπίπτοντες*) are sufficiently known. In this place they are not distinguished, but all are embraced under the designation, The Penitents (*οἱ ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ*). Traces of such a prayer we observe also in Chrysostom, although he does not present such a prayer word for word.[2] They occur, too, in the canons of the councils; at Laodicea in Phrygia (A.D. 361), can. xix.; at Nice (A.D. 325), can. xi.; and at Ancyra in Galatia (A.D. 314), can. iv. There follows, in the tenth chapter, a 'bidding prayer,' or an exhortation to prayer for the faithful (*προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν*), and, in the eleventh, an invocation for the faithful (*ἐπίκλησις τῶν πιστῶν*). After the Deacon has dismissed the Penitents, he is to proclaim, 'Let no one of those who have not a right draw near. All we of the faithful, let us bow the knee.' The whole prayer seems to be reckoned as a *Missa Fidelium* [a service for believers at their partaking of the Lord's Supper, after the uninitiated part of the assembly was dis*missed*]. Still, there is nothing contained in it referring to any subject which was kept secret in the presence of those who were not fully received.[3] No ancient ecclesiastical writer has handed down to us so comprehensive a form of church prayer as the one contained in these chapters of the eighth book. Chrysostom seems to refer to it expressly.[4] He adduces several passages of a prayer which agree,

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[1] Euchолog. Gr. ed. Jac. Goar. p. 339. *Δέσποτα, κύριε, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, προσκάλεσαι τὸν δοῦλον σου, τὸν δὲ, πρὸς τὸ ἅγιον σου φώτισμα· καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης χάριτος, τοῦ ἁγίου σου βαπτίσματος· ἀπόδυσον αὐτοῦ τὴν παλαιότητα, καὶ ἀνακαίνισον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον.*

[2] Chrysost. Homil. 71, on Matth. p. 768, ed. Fr. *Καὶ ἡ δευτέρα (δέησις) πάλιν, ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, πολὺ τὸ ἔλεος ἐπιζητοῦσα.*

[3] Augusti, in his Denwürdigkeiten, Bd. 5, S. 166, has given a [German] translation of this whole prayer, and has added to it, for comparison, some ancient forms of the Litania Missalis from the Liturgia Ambrosiana and from Pamelii Liturgic. tom. iii. p. 301, from which the great harmony of this church prayer with the Litanies is manifest.

[4] Homil. ii. De Obscur. Proph. tom. iii. p. 822. *Κοινῇ πάντες ἀκούοντες τοῦ διακόνου, τοῦτο κελεύοντος καὶ λέγοντος, δεηθῶμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπισκόπου καὶ τοῦ γήρως, καὶ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως, καὶ ἵνα ὀρθοτομῇ, τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ, οὐ παραιτεῖσθε ποιεῖν τὸ ἐπίταγμα· ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐκτενείας ἀναφέρετε τὴν εὐχὴν, εἰδότες τῆς ὑμετέρας*

almost word for word, with the form in our Constitutions. Hence Bingham[1] has proposed the conjecture that the author of the Constitutions borrowed this form from the same source from which Chrysostom drew, namely, from the liturgy of Antioch. Chrysostom also mentions in another place, Hom. viii. on 2 Cor. and Hom. lxi. on Matth. p. 768, that the children were permitted to take part in this prayer.

In other writers, as in Augustin[2] and in Basil,[3] are found at least references to these prayers. The latter includes them under the name of *ecclesiastical annunciations* (*κηρυγμάτων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν*). The Invocation for the Faithful, in c. 11, bears among the Latins the name of the Collect, since it is, as it were, a collecting and recapitulation of the preceding prayers. The prayer is one of the most important. It is offered by the Bishop; and it is introduced by the exhortation in the end of c. 10, Let us rise up, and let us pray earnestly, and dedicate ourselves and one another to the living God, through his Christ.

In the other books of the Constitutions, the celebration of the Lord's Supper is mentioned. See b. ii. c. 27, and b. iii. c. 10. In b. vii. c. 25, several liturgical forms are given for the communion. But far more important, in respect to this, is the complete liturgy of it, which is contained in c. 12, 13, 14, and 15, of our eighth book. It constitutes a whole by itself; and probably it was inserted as such.[4] We have already remarked that the most ancient liturgies were ascribed to the apostle James. The Syrian and other Oriental churches regarded this apostle as the author of their liturgy. That the liturgy in the eighth book bears his name, might indicate that it was borrowed from one which had been derived from him. We have already stated that, not-

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συνόδου τὴν δύναμιν· ἴσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι τὰ λεγόμενα· τῇ γὰρ εὐχῇ τῶν κατηχουμένων οὐδέπω τοῦτο ἐπιτέτραπται, ἐπειδὴ οὐδέπω πρὸς τὴν παῤῥησίαν ἔφθασαν ταύτην· ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς μέχρι περάτων τῆς γῆς ἐκτεταμένης καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν διοικούντων αὐτὴν ἐπισκόπων ἁπάντων παρακελεύεται ποιεῖσθαι τὰς δεήσεις ὁ ταύταις διακονῶν, καὶ ὑπακούετε μετὰ προθυμίας, ἔργῳ μαρτυροῦντες, ὅτι μεγάλη τῆς εὐχῆς ἡ δύναμις τῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου συμφώνως ἀναφερομένης ἐστίν.

[1] Orig. vi. p. 236, where also a comparison is given of this prayer with the Litanies and Fragments of ancient ecclesiastical writers.

[2] Epist. 52, ad Paulin. and Epist. 107.

[3] Epist. 241.

[4] The twelfth chapter bears the superscription, A Constitution of James, the brother of John, the son of Zebedee (*διάταξις Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου*), and this is the general title for this liturgy of the Lord's Supper. The superscriptions of the other chapters form the subdivisions: c. 13, The bidding prayer for the faithful after the divine oblation; c. 14, The bidding prayer after the participation; c. 15, The invocation after the participation.

withstanding such a derivation, very much that is later was found in these liturgies. In the one before us, the Lord's Supper is treated entirely as a mystery; and the Catechumens, and mere hearers, are as carefully shut out as the unbelievers and the heretics.[1] The more copious the other forms are, the more simple is the ritual in what, properly speaking, is the distribution of the Lord's Supper: And let the Bishop give the oblation, saying, *The body of Christ;* and let him that receiveth, say, *Amen.* And let the Deacon take the cup; and when he giveth it, let him say, *The blood of Christ, the cup of life;* and let him that drinketh, say, *Amen.*[2] It may further be remarked, that there are three elements of which, in the Constitutions, the Lord's Supper consists, *bread, wine, and water.* The last two are to be used as a mixture.[3] It is still further to be remarked, that the breaking of the bread is clearly mentioned.

Our liturgy of the Lord's Supper is the first Constitution, which is brought forward as the appointment of a single apostle. In the subsequent chapters, single Constitutions of the apostles on some one ecclesiastical subject are there brought forward, so that each chapter contains a Constitution of some one apostle. By this we see clearly that all is no longer coherent, but the parts are loosely connected one with another. We have clear traces where the hand of the compiler has been at work to produce coherency, and such a connection as prevails in the first seven books; but this is often very unskilfully done. For although, in the beginning of the twelfth chapter, it is said, Further, say I James, the brother of John the son of Zebedee,[4] yet the 15th chapter closes the liturgy of the Lord's Supper with the words, These Constitutions, concerning this mystical worship, we the apostles do ordain for you the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.[5]

That this is the most ancient liturgy of the Lord's Supper that has

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[1] C. 12. Let none of the Catechumens, let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers, let none of the heterodox, stay here.

[2] It is to be noted that during the Supper the thirty-third Psalm was sung (Ps. 34). Besides, the form *Sursum corda, sursum mentem,* occurs very appropriately in the celebration of the Supper. In our passage, c. 12, it is said, Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς· ἄνω τὸν νοῦν, καὶ πάντες· ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον. One of these forms constantly follows the other. In the Latin church, the call, *Sursum corda,* is followed by the response, *Habemus ad Dominum.* These forms were in use as early as in the third century. Cyprian often mentions them in his work, De Oratione Dominica.

[3] Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ ἁγιάσας.

[4] Ἡμὶ δὴ κἀγὼ Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου.

[5] Ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μυστικῆς λατρείας διατασσόμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις.

come down to us, has been doubted by no one; and the great harmony of all the oriental and the western liturgies with it, in its essential parts, could easily be shown. Very many allusions and references to this form are found in Cyril,[1] in Ambrose,[2] in Augustin,[3] and in Jerome.[4] Still, it cannot be denied that *parts* of it existed in an earlier time.[5] But it cannot be ascertained when this liturgy arose as a whole.

In the 16th chapter, there now follows a Constitution of the apostle John, concerning the ordination of Presbyters. The subsequent chapters contain Constitutions of single apostles concerning the ordination and induction of the lower clergy and servants of the church.[6] All these single Constitutions are without coherency. They are only put together according to the gradation of the church officers, and have no other common bond, than that each separate Constitution bears on itself the name of an apostle. Most probably it is a collection of ecclesiastical disciplinary regulations, which the compiler found in individual churches, in which these regulations were [professedly] derived from some one apostle.

Besides our form concerning the ordination of Presbyters,[7] there is found a similar one in Dionysius the Areopagite.[8] Still, they differ a little, since our Constitutions mention only the laying on of hands (manuum impositio), and prayer. From c. 17 and 18, it is evident

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[1] Catech. Mystag. v. § 18.

[2] De Sacram. lib. iv. c. 5. De initiandis, c. 9.

[3] Contr. Faust. lib. xii. c. 10.

[4] Epist. 62, ad Theophil.

[5] Thus, Tertullian seems to allude to the form, already adduced by us, which was used in the imparting of the Lord's Supper. De Spectac. c. 25. Quale est — ex ore, quo Amen in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere.

[6] C. 16 (The Caption): Concerning the ordination of Deacons, a Constitution of Philip. C. 18, an invocation for the ordination of a Deacon. C. 19. Concerning the Deaconess, a Constitution of Bartholomew. C. 20. An invocation for the ordination of a Deaconess. C. 21. Concerning the Subdeacons, a Constitution of Thomas. C. 22. Concerning the Readers, a Constitution of Matthew. C. 23. Concerning the Confessors, a Constitution of James the son of Alpheus. C. 24. The same Apostle's Constitution concerning Virgins. C. 25. The Constitution of Lebbeus, who was surnamed Thaddeus, concerning Widows. C. 26. The same apostle concerning the Exorcist. C. 27. Simon the Cananite, concerning the number necessary for the ordination of a Bishop.

[7] B. viii. c. 16. *Πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν, ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτίθει αὐτὸς, τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου παρεστῶτος σοι καὶ τῶν διακόνων, καὶ εὐχόμενος λέγε.*

[8] De Hierarch. Eccles. c. 5. *Ὁ ἱερεὺς ἄμφω τὼ πόδε κλίνας ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θείου θυσιαστηρίου, ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχει τὴν ἱεραρχικὴν δεξιὰν, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ πρὸς τοῦ τελοῦντος αὐτὸν ἱεράρχου ταῖς ἱεροποιοῖς ἐπικλήσεσιν ἁγιάζεται.*

that the difference between the ordination of a Presbyter and that of a Deacon consisted in this, that the ordination of the Deacon could be performed by the Bishop alone, [in the presence of the Presbyters and Deacons, without their vote; whereas, the ordination of a Presbyter could not be performed by him, without 'the vote and determination of the whole clergy.'] It is to be remarked that, in c. 21, the Constitution of Thomas commands that the Bishop consecrate the Subdeacon by the laying on of hands.[1] In favor of this custom there is only the testimony of our Constitutions. Against it, is that of Basil,[2] who reckons the Subdeacon expressly among those who were consecrated without the imposition of hands, *ἀχειροτονητοι*. [But we may translate this Greek word, *not elected* (by the extension of hands), and thus let Basil reckon the Subdeacons among those who, like the Deacons, could be ordained by the Bishop without 'the vote and determination of the whole clergy.']

The office of an Exorcist is one of those which arose latest in the church. Concerning his induction, c. 26 directs that he is not to be ordained; and this direction proceeds from viewing exorcism as a gift (*χαρίσμα*), which can be imparted by the Holy Spirit, but not by an external act. [Or, perhaps, we may briefly express, in part, the sense of several of the chapters in this connection, thus: — c. 23: a confessor is not appointed to be such; for he is so by his own choice and patience. C. 24: a virgin is not appointed to be such; for this is a state of voluntary trial. C. 25: a widow is not appointed to be such; but, if she has lost her husband a great while, and has lived soberly and unblamably, and has taken extraordinary care of her family, as Judith and Anna, those women of great reputation, let her be enrolled in the order of widows. C. 26: an exorcist is not appointed to be such; for it is a trial of voluntary goodness, and of the grace of God, through Christ, by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, for he who has received the gift of healing is declared by revelation from God. But, if there be need of the man for the office of Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, he is appointed and ordained accordingly.] It ought here to be remarked, that the succeeding chapters, concerning the ordination of Bishops, concerning first fruits, and concerning those persons who are to be admitted to baptism, contain regulations which manifestly were contained already in the earlier books of the Constitutions; and this is done without any regard or reference to the earlier regulations; all which plainly indicates the later addition of the eighth book.[3]

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[1] C. 21. *Ὑποδιάκονον χειροτονῶν, ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, ἐπιθήσεις ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας.*

[2] Basil. Ep. Canon. 51.

[3] C. 28 (the Caption): Canons concerning Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the

Finally, c. 31 gives us a rule concerning what remains of the oblations; directing that certain parts be distributed to the clergy, according to the measure of their dignity.[1] Although these remaining parts bear the name of the *mystical eulogies* (*εὐλογίαι μύστικοι*), it ought to be remarked that these oblations were not yet consecrated. Socrates mentions this custom, and makes use of the same name.[2]

It is true, indeed, that most of these Constitutions may have arisen already in the end of the third century, — some, perhaps, even still earlier. We do not deny, rather we call attention to the fact, that earlier constituent parts are received into all the ancient liturgies. Hence it is only asserted that the compilation, the preparing of the eighth book as a whole, occurred towards the end of the fourth century; and its other constituent parts bear testimony in favor of this assertion.

The thirty-third is one of those chapters which point to the time when the book originated, towards the end of the fourth century.[3] Here the Christian festivals are mentioned, and, among them, that also of the birth of Christ is named, and, indeed, while it is distinguished from the festival of Epiphany. In another place it has already been shown that this chapter harmonizes with the interpolation, b. v. c. 13; and at the same time it has been proved that, in the east, Christmas and Epiphany were first celebrated, as distinct festivals, about the time of Chrysostom.[4]

The thirty-fourth chapter now states distinctly at what hours prayer must be offered, and why at these hours, — the third, the sixth, and the ninth, at evening, and at cockcrowing. But no writer of the first three centuries mentions this custom of a fixed time for prayer; but Chrysostom[5] and other writers of the fourth century are the first who mention

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rest of the clergy. C. 29: On blessing water and oil, a Constitution of Matthias. C. 30: The same apostle's Constitution concerning first-fruits and tithes. C. 32: Various canons of Paul the apostle, concerning those who come to baptism; whom we are to receive, and whom to reject.

[1] C. 31. *Τὰς περισσευούσας ἐν τοῖς μυστικοῖς εὐλογίας, κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἢ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἱ διάκονοι διανεμέτωσαν τῷ κλήρῳ· τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ μέρη τέσσαρά, πρεσβυτέρῳ μέρη τρία, διακόνῳ μέρη δυὸ· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις, ὑποδιακόνοις, ἢ ἀναγνώσταις, ἢ ψάλταις, ἢ διακονίσσαις μέρος ἕν.*

[2] Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 12. *Ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐδεν ἐδέξατο, πλὴν κατὰ κυριακὴν δύο ἄρτους τῶν εὐλογιῶν ἐλάμβανεν.*

[3] *Οἵας ἡμέρας δεῖ ἀργεῖν τοὺς οἰκέτας· . . . τὴν τῶν γενεθλίων ἑορτὴν ἀργείτωσαν, διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον χάριν δεδόσθαι ἀνθρώποις*, &c. . . . *τὴν τῶν ἐπιφανίων ἑορτὴν ἀργείτωσαν.* [Here *Christmas* and *Epiphany*, it will be perceived, are mentioned as distinct festivals.]

[4] See p. 438—.

[5] Chrysost. Homil. 14, in 1 Timoth. p. 501, ed. Fr. *Ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐφώνησε, καὶ εὐθέως*

it, so that, without hesitancy, we can ascribe this Constitution to the end of the fourth century, when perhaps it made a part of some oriental liturgy.

From c. 35 to c. 39 there follow, as Constitutions of the apostle James, daily morning and evening prayers.[1] The reading of the evening Psalm (Ps. 141), is to precede the bidding prayer for the evening (*προσφώνησις ἐπιλύχνιος*). The analogy of this Constitution with b. ii. c. 59, we have already had under consideration. Some would prove the high antiquity of this form of prayer, from the fact that such expressions as *before all, his* [Christ's] *God and Father* (*πρὸ πάντων αὐτοῦ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ*), and *the Lord of the Spirit* (*ὁ τοῦ πνεύματος κύριος*), occur in them; since these, after the Council of Nice, could not well have been used without giving offence. Yet in the preceding investigation we have already shown that these and similar expressions, most probably, come from an Arian and Macedonian. These morning and evening prayers seem rather to have been a part of that liturgy which Chrysostom used. In several passages he mentions that the Psalms quoted were daily sung; and, finally, he has preserved to us a short form of prayer, which agrees almost word for word with the form in our Constitutions.[2]

Finally, the forty-first chapter gives us a prayer for them who have fallen asleep (*ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων*), for our brethren that are at rest in Christ (*ὑπὲρ ἀναπαυσαμένων ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφῶν*). Very remarkable in this prayer is the passage, Forgive him, if voluntarily or involuntarily he hath sinned, and afford him merciful angels (*ἀγγέλους εὐμενεῖς παράστησον αὐτῷ*). Here is expressed a view which our Constitutions have in common with many of the church fathers, namely, that in the death of men, angels assist the dying; the angel of peace, the pious; who soothes their souls, leads them to heaven, and conducts them to God. It is exceedingly difficult to determine the age of this prayer; for nothing is contained in it that could lead to individual relations of time. There is, however, no

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ἐλθὼν ὁ προεστὼς καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τὸν κειμένον ἁπλῶς ὑπονύξας, πάντας, ἀνέστησεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ γυμνοὺς ἐκεῖ καθεύδειν θέμις· εἶτα διαναστάντες εὐθέως ἐστήκασιν, ὕμνους ᾄδοντες προφητικοὺς μετὰ πολλῆς συμφωνίας, μετ' εὐρύθμων μελῶν . . . εὐχὰς ἑωθινὰς ἐπιτελέσαντες καὶ ὕμνους πρὸς τὴν τῶν γραφῶν ἀνάγνωσιν τρέπονται· . . . εἶτα τρίτην, ἕκτην, ἐννάτην, καὶ τὰς ἑσπερινας εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦσι.

[1] C. 35 (the Caption): A Constitution of James the brother of Christ, concerning evening prayer. C. 36: A bidding prayer for the evening. C. 37: A thanksgiving for the evening. C. 38: A thanksgiving for the morning. C. 39: [A prayer with] imposition of hands for the morning.

[2] Chrysost. Comment. in Psalm. Opp. tom. iii. See also Athanas. Epist. ad Marcell. tom. i. p. 975. De Virgin. p. 1057; Cassian. Institut. lib. iii. c. 3; and Chrysost. Homil. iii. in Coloss. and Homil. xxxv. in Assension. Dom.

ground at all to deny its belonging to the age of Chrysostom; and our opinion is corroborated by the consideration that his extended liturgy, embracing all parts of the ecclesiastical life, contained also, perhaps, this prayer for them who have fallen asleep. It is here to be further remarked, that in the author of *the Incomplete Work on Matthew* (xxiv. 43), is found the same representation of the angel, which we have pointed out in this prayer. In the passage cited, he calls him *the angel of death* (angelum mortis). Pearson[1] has proved that this author lived soon after the time of the Emperor Theodosius [who died A.D. 395]; and hence it is very possible that the mention of that angel proceeded from the representation prevalent in the time common to them both.[2]

In the remaining chapters there is found a multitude of precepts, whose contents are so general as to render it quite impossible to point out the precise time of their origin. They seem, certainly, to have originated in an earlier time than the other constituent parts of the book, and, most probably, have been added by the compiler of the eighth book, for the purpose of concealing the later time of the other parts of his book. Here, for example, we reckon c. 45, in which the persecutions are mentioned which the believers endured for the sake of Christ. That this is manifestly inconsistent with all the liturgical and ritual arrangements which we have considered, scarcely needs to be stated. But in view of what we have suggested, we can easily explain the addition of this Constitution, as also of the other general precepts in the last chapters.[3]

The forty-second chapter, and the forty-third, contain general considerations, which are connected with the prayer for them that have fallen asleep; and perhaps it may have proceeded from the compiler himself, who treated them in as general a way as possible, in order to conceal his time. The Constitution in which the persecution of the Christians is presented, was added by the compiler, for the purpose, perhaps, of making the eighth book resemble the seven other books of the Constitutions, in which, as we have seen, the persecutions of the Christians are frequently mentioned. Finally, the 46th chapter[4] is added by the com-

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[1] In Vindiciis Epistolarum, S. Ignatii, part i. c. 4.

[2] In Homil. 59, it is said: Si quis autem auditiones quidem præliorum, fames et tumultus et pestilentias intelligat esse omnia hæc mala spiritualia, quæ facta sunt tempore Constantini simul et Theodisii usque nunc.

[3] C. 44: Concerning Drunkards, c. 42: How and when we ought to celebrate the memorials of the faithful departed; and that we ought then to give somewhat out of their goods to the poor. C. 43: That memorials or mandates do not at all profit the wicked who are dead.

[4] That every one ought to remain in that rank in which he is placed; and not seize for himself those offices which are not intrusted to him.

piler, in order to conclude the whole, with a Constitution indicating an earlier age, and proceeding alike from all the apostles. By that comparison of manuscripts, which has already been exhibited in this essay, it appears that our c. 46 is found in them, as a separate Teaching or Instruction (διδασκαλία). The compiler added it to make a general conclusion, and, as far as possible, to produce a unity. Nevertheless, it is easily perceived that the several precepts in the eighth book are wanting in coherency, and in this respect are distinguished, most decidedly, from the first seven books.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE PLAN AND OBJECT OF THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

It is manifest from the nature of the case, that the author of the Constitutions must have had some plan which he believed it possible to accomplish by their preparation. The fact of their being forged, and the manner in which it was done, sufficiently indicate that a well-devised plan was at the basis of the whole. The form of the work shows this. All is put into the mouths of the apostles, who, often in the most far-fetched and forced manner, as we have already seen, are introduced as speaking. Not seldom the author involuntarily betrays his plan by frequently repeating, carrying out, and referring to those ideas which guided him in the preparation. In many passages, we see immediately that he exerted himself to attain his proposed object, and that his whole effort is directed to that point. He seems to have suited himself in the prosecution of his plan; since whatever had not direct reference to it, but was necessary for the connection of the whole, he treats very briefly; but, on the contrary, whatever pertained to his favorite idea, for the realization of which he undertook the whole forgery, he sets forth most copiously, and can never sufficiently inculcate.

If, now, we cast back a glance upon the preceding examination, and, in view of the form and the contents of the Constitutions, endeavor to present more nearly, and determine the plan of the author, I might designate as the leading ideas, from which he set out, the idea of the catholic church, and the idea of the Levitical priesthood. Both are ideas, which,

in the age to which we have referred the origin of the Constitutions, were mighty, and exceedingly prominent, and had found entrance into the minds of many who could not distinguish the spiritual from that which strikes the senses, the external appearance from the true spiritual reality on which it rests. As the proof already brought, for the time when the Constitutions were written, speaks in favor of the opinion that those ideas lie at the basis of the undertaking, so, in turn, those ideas, extending themselves through the whole work, speak in favor of the same time. The one consideration supports the other reciprocally; so that the discussion of the plan of the Constitutions may be regarded as a supplement to the proof for the time of their origin.

But in composing the Constitutions, the author was influenced by a regard, not so much to a particular system of doctrines, as to a hierarchy. Though the church was torn by doctrinal controversies, though many heretical parties had separated themselves from the general church, and though even in its bosom there were yet many differences which needed adjustment, yet he was not disposed, in his work, to set up any standard of doctrine or dogmatical canons; but this in general was far from his plan, though he has given some polemical passages respecting several heresies. He had the design of establishing *the unity of the church;* but it was not that higher unity of the invisible church, as being a member of which every Christian is conscious to himself; and this so much the more, as he has the more deeply received Christianity in his own heart, and has been the more vividly penetrated by the one spirit which penetrates the community of all genuine believers. It was, much rather, the idea of the unity of the visible church, by which he was guided in preparing the Constitutions, and which he wished by these to call into life.

In the orthodox catholic or general church there was no standard or canon, according to which the whole church discipline, all ceremonies and ecclesiastical arrangements, were settled and ordered. Usage was almost the only standard according to which the external discipline of the church was administered. So much the more was it to be feared, that, in the great variety which prevailed on some doctrinal points, even in the catholic church, divisions and separations might easily arise, if many and great deviations should occur in ecclesiastical discipline. At least, it must have appeared thus to those who, confounding the notion of the visible and the invisible church, sought deliverance and salvation only in the external absolute unity of the church; since they could not elevate themselves to the thought, that, though her external appearance present the greatest diversity, yet the internal unity of the kingdom of

God (*βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*) can very well consist with this external separateness.

It is not to be denied, that the idea of the catholic church arose early and long before the age of our Constitutions, and that it is often mentioned and carried out by earlier writers. But, in its origin, it was quite different from what it became in the course of time.

Hence we take the liberty of going back to the earlier centuries, and of showing, in a short sketch, how the idea of the catholic church arose generally, and how it was varied and enlarged, through different periods, down to the time of the origin of our Constitutions; so that, by the comparison, it will be evident that the idea of the catholic church was formed exactly in the age of the Constitutions, and preëminently in these Constitutions themselves.

We may concede the assertion which is sometimes made, that the idea of the church, as of an independent religious community, had its origin in Judaism, if, on the other hand, we do not overlook the great difference in the two cases. Among the Jews, the notion of the religious community was stiff and lifeless. They haughtily considered their religious community as one in which none but themselves must participate. All other nations must be shut out. How entirely different among the Christians! Their religion was the religion of the love and the redemption of the sinful family of man; a religion whose joyful message was to come to all nations; which was to unite them all to one kingdom of God, when there shall be one Shepherd and one flock. The notion of the church is not given dogmatically so much as historically; that is, it has developed itself first historically, and shaped itself differently at different times. The church has never been an external unity. There have always been separations in it. Even in the apostolic church, the opposition between the Jewish and the gentile Christians wellnigh produced a schism. At a later period came in the various heresies. But the church has always been making efforts to remove difference of doctrine or of customs, or of morals, and to restore unity. In the rise of heretical parties which threatened to contaminate and disfigure the pure ecclesiastical doctrine, and in the severe external persecutions which impended over the Christians, they must have found the strongest incitements to connect themselves closely and firmly together. This unity they wielded at first, and indeed with effect, in dogmatic contentions, against the heretics.

But in the history of the dogma of the unity of the church, we can now trace very distinctly the great difference in making out the conception, and perceive, clearly, that this idea, in the first century, was quite

different from what it was in the third.[1] In the days of the apostolical fathers, it did not include the external unity; but there was the internal harmony of souls, which would preserve the unity of doctrinal opinions and the common love of the brethren. Entirely in this sense, Clement of Rome expresses himself in his first epistle to the Corinthians, c. 46. His manner is as worthy as it is beautiful. Why, says he to the Corinthians, to whom he wrote, in the name of his church, to exhort them to concord, Why are there strifes, and anger, and divisions, and schisms, and wars, among you? Have we not all one God, and one Christ? Is not one spirit of grace poured out upon us all? Have we not one calling in Christ? Why then do we rend and tear in pieces the members of Christ, and raise seditions against our own body? and are come to such a height of madness as to forget that we are members one of another?[2] Thus Clement here presents the one invisible bond uniting all believers, as a basis and encouragement to unity and concord; and from this we easily see that the idea of the church was to him nothing else than the highest and most cordial harmony of souls.

The Epistles of Ignatius would furnish us very rich materials for the history of the dogma of the unity of the church, if we could use them. The genuineness of those seven epistles, — of which, while on the way, as he was carried a prisoner to Rome, he is said to have written six to the churches in Asia Minor, and one to Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, — has, it is well known, been denied. And to this view I must accede, for the most part. The epistles, it is true, contain much that seems to have been appropriate to that early time, but also so much of a different kind, appropriate only to a far later time, that, if we are not disposed to pronounce them entirely spurious, we are at least compelled to admit that they have been greatly corrupted by interpolations. Especially in what concerns the dogma of the unity of the church, these epistles bear on themselves the character of a much later time. The notion of the church is already one entirely external, which is represented by the Bishops, to whom we must subject ourselves in all things, as Christ was obedient to his Father. See the epistle to the Ephesians, c. 6; and the

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[1] Schmidt's Versuch über den Ursprung der katholischen Kirche. Bibliothek für Kritik, Exegese, &c. Münscher's Dogmengeschichte, Bd. ii. S. 375 — Münter's Dogmengeschichte, Bd. ii. Zweite Hälfte, S. 125.

[2] Clem. Rom. Epist. i. ad Corinth. c. 46. *Τί ἔρεις, καὶ θυμοὶ, καὶ διχοστασίαι, καὶ σχίσματα, πολεμός τε ἐν ὑμῖν; ἢ οὐχὶ ἕνα θεὸν ἔχομεν καὶ ἕνα Χριστόν; καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ μία κλῆσις ἐν Χριστῷ; ἵνα τί διέλκομεν καὶ διασπῶμεν τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ στασιάζομεν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἴδιον, καὶ εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπόνοιαν ἐρχόμεθα, ὥστε ἐπιλαθέσθαι ἡμᾶς ὅτι μέλη ἐσμὲν ἀλλήλων.*

epistle to the Smyrnians, c. 8. Indeed, it is expressed there, just as in our Constitutions, b. ii. c. 26, that the Christians must begin nothing without the Bishops, as the Lord did nothing without the Father. See the epistle to the Magnesians, c. 7.[1] These, and many other passages, make it probable that the epistles come from a later time, perhaps from the age of our Constitutions, with which they have much in common.

Towards the end of the second century, we find the idea of the catholic church already coined and put in general circulation. Already the idea of the general church was fully acknowledged, and whatever departed from this general church was considered as heretical, and excluded. Thus Irenæus, one of the writers of that age, seeks to prove and establish the principles which he advanced, by asserting that on the whole earth, and in the remotest regions, all churches agree in these doctrines.[2] Even yet, however, with Irenæus, this unity was not at all something which arose from an external organization, but it was altogether an internal affair. It is true, certainly, that Irenæus ascribes a precedence to the apostolic churches, b. iii. c. 4. § 1. Indeed, it has been believed that in the well-known passage, b. iii. c. 3. § 2,[3] he adjudges to the Roman church even a kind of primacy and representation of all other churches; but in this passage there is no exhibition of the Roman church as a central and representative point of all Christian communities.[4]

But in Tertullian we cannot fail to perceive the great progress which the idea of the catholic church made in its improvement or rather in its perversion. Tertullian inveighs most vehemently against all heretics, and endeavors to make out and maintain the unity of the church everywhere.[5] He conceives of the church as the body of the Father, of the

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[1] Ignatii Epist. ad Magnes. c. 7 (in Cotel. tom. ii. p. 19). *Ὥσπὲρ οὖν ὁ κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πάτρος οὐδὲν ἐποίησε, ἡνωμένος ὢν, οὔτε δι' αὐτοῦ, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσετε.*

[2] Contr. Hæres. lib. i. c. 10. § 182.

[3] Irenæus, Contr. Hæres. lib. 3, c. 3, § 2. According to the old Latin translation, since the Greek original is lost: Ad hanc ecclesiam propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos, qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea, quæ est ab apostolis, traditio. Compare Griesbach's Progr. De potentiore ecclesiæ Romanæ Principalitate ad Iren. lib. iii. c. 3. Jenæ, 1779, 4to.

[4] Neander, in his *Kirchengeschichte*, erster Band, erste Abtheil. S. 318, has recently shown that the word *convenire* cannot here be understood in the spiritual sense; and that it therefore cannot mean, all churches must agree with the Roman as that which has superiority over all; but much rather is it to be understood of the bodily or personal *coming together*. [The remarks of Neander, as enlarged in the new edition, may be found in Torrey's translation, vol. i. p. 204.]

[5] De Præscript. Hæret. c. 20. Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse

Son, and of the Holy Spirit; and as we call God our Father, so must the church be called our Mother. Besides, it was Tertullian, who, in that well-known comparison, first expressed the principle that out of the church there is no salvation.[1]

Similar intimations respecting the unity of the church we find even in Clement of Alexandria, which, however, are different in some respects, and are held more spiritually, as, in general, the Alexandrian tendency differed very much from the North African.[2]

Origen himself, who judges very mildly respecting different views, and even concedes that, on account of the diversity of minds, there may also be a diversity of opinions, lays it down as a principle, however, that we are to hold for truth only that which in no part deviates from the ecclesiastical and apostolical tradition.[3] Indeed, in one passage we even find the same idea expressed which was promulged in North Africa, that there is no salvation out of the church.[4] The nearer we approach the age of the Constitutions, the less can we fail to perceive that the expressions and the writings of the church fathers harmonize with the ideas which are carried out in our Constitutions. And, among them all, it is Cyprian who has the most decidedly expressed and maintained the idea of the unity of the church; but with him it was no longer that unity which has reference only to the spiritual communion of all believers, — only to the internal cordial binding together of all in the one Christ; but it was that unity which has reference to the external form of the church, appearing in time. Doubtless, Tertullian, whose writings contributed much to give a direction to the mind of Cyprian on doctrinal subjects, influenced him also in the conception of this idea; but Cyprian conceived of it in a more external way, and first carried it to its summit. Cyprian is of the opinion that Christians should strive, preëminently, to produce this external unity of the church, which consists in harmonizing with its teachers, that is, with its Bishops.[5] His tendency in respect to this is indicated by his well-known expression: He who has not the church for his mother, cannot have God for his father.[6]

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est. Itaque tot ac tantæ ecclesiæ una est, illa ab apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ, dum una; omnes probant unitatem. Compare also De Præscript. c. 35.

[1] De Baptismo, c. 6 et 8. Ecclesia est arca figurata, &c. According to the most recent investigations of Neander, in his *Antignosticus Geist des Tertullians*, both of the works quoted were written by Tertullian, most probably still as a member of the catholic church, before he became a Montanist.

[2] Strom. lib. vii. c. 16, p. 890–896, and lib. vii. c. 17, p. 897–900. ed. Par.

[3] De Principiis, Procem. Opp. tom. i. p. 47, and Contra Celsum, lib. iii. § 10–13. Opp. tom. i. p. 453—.

[4] In Jes. Nav. Hom. iii. Opp. tom. ii. p. 404.

[5] Epist. 64; Epist. 3; and Epist. 4.

[6] De Unitate Ecclesiæ. . . . Extra ecclesiam nulla spes salutis — habere jam non

The author of the Constitutions, whose time of being written connects itself immediately with the age of Cyprian, had conceived the idea of the catholic church, altogether in the spirit of Cyprian, yet, if possible, still more erroneously. He wished now, in these our Constitutions, to set up regulations which embraced the whole ecclesiastical life, and which, if they were followed, should realize the idea of the catholic church, as it existed in his mind.

But with this idea there was connected another, also very essential, which we can as easily trace through the whole work: It is the idea that the whole ecclesiastical Constitution of the Christian community is only an improved copy of the Jewish temple-worship, — that this still remains the proper type, and that all its essential laws must be transferred to the Constitution of the Christian community. At that time, it was preëminently the constant custom to compare the ministers of the Christian church with the Jewish priesthood, and to transplant the arrangements and institutions of this priesthood into the Christian church. But here, too, the inmost vital principle of the Christian church was misapprehended. It had been Christianity, and only this, that overthrew all the external barriers which had separated men from God, that removed entirely the separation between a mediating priestly caste and the people, and showed to all men, through Christ, the way to the Father. One faith, one hope, one spirit, was to unite all to one great community of the children of God; was to make all citizens of one heavenly kingdom, and thus to build up and complete the invisible church of Christ, which will never rest on a corporation of priests and on vain decrees of a merely external church, but on the living spirit of truth, which is gone forth into all the world from him who has said of himself, *I am the truth and the life.*

Still, this essential condition of the true Christian church was at that time often misapprehended; and, as this misapprehension of the only true principle for the organic life of the church, at length introduced the complete domination of priests, so we must perceive what a mighty influence, already in that early time, this confounding of the Old and of the New Testament theocratic period of history exerted on the formation of ecclesiastical life.

This opinion, that the Jewish priesthood must be analogously adopted into Christianity, could only then arise, when men began to depart from the unprejudiced, impartial study and interpretation of the Holy Scrip-

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potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. . . . Esse martyr non potest, qui in ecclesia non est. . . . Quam unitatem firmiter tenere et vindicare debemus, maxime episcopi, qui in ecclesia præsidemus, ut Episcopatum quoque ipsum unum atque indivisum probemus.

tures, and to obtrude upon them preconceived views and opinions which depended on the temporary interests constantly arising. For the New Testament never expresses itself otherwise than polemically against this Old Testament view of the priesthood; and the apostles never apply the idea of the Old Testament priesthood, except at the very time when they wish to set forth the entire difference between the Old and the New Testament priesthood, — when they wish to show that that of the New Testament is no such an external and visible affair as that of the Old Testament; that the New dispensation has not, as the Old had, high priests who are daily under the necessity of offering sacrifices, first for their own sins, and then for the sins of the people; but *one* High Priest, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, Christ, through whom all can approach to the Father. It is true, indeed, that, along with the perverted view, the idea of the general Christian priesthood continued to be held fast; but still men began to believe that, as, in the Old Testament theocracy, every thing was connected with earthly, visible signs and institutions, this must be done also in the New Testament economy. Thus as the Old Testament priesthood was mediator and representative of the old covenant, so, according to this view, a New Testament priesthood was to represent the new covenant and the unity of the external church.

We will now endeavor to show that these ideas are found throughout the Constitutions, and can, with much propriety, be called their constituent element.

The Constitutions contain regulations and precepts which have reference to all the relations of the church and of ecclesiastical life; and they contain very few which have not such a reference. This circumstance, that all these relations are discussed copiously, and even down to the smallest ramifications, indicates that the author's object was to set up a general standard, as it were a general canon of instruction, for the disciplinary and ecclesiastical affairs of Christians. The title of his work seems to intimate his design, Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, . . . or Catholic Instruction (*Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων . . . ἢ καθολικὴ διδασκλία*). In several other passages of the Constitutions, for example, b. vi. c. 14, and c. 18, the same appellation is found (*καθολικὴ διδασκαλία*). It is a catholic doctrine, a general instruction, or rule and direction, for the confirmation of those to whom the general episcopate, the oversight of the church universal, has been intrusted.

Against the professed object of the author, and against the opinion that those ideas above alleged lay at the basis of the Constitutions, it might be objected that the manner of representation in the work, — the heavy structure of the periods, the tedious tone of admonition which

prevails in it, and is often interrupted by the multitude of narrations and histories out of the Old Testament, as well as out of profane writers; the quotations, too, from the Holy Scriptures, brought in to overflowing, and finally, the whole form of the work itself, are not at all suited to exhibit a general outline of law for ecclesiastical life and the Constitution of the church. But we may concede that the form of the work was not altogether suitable to the plan of the author, without its thence following that this plan itself was not such as has been stated. We miss entirely the energy and brevity of the lawgiver, and, on the contrary, we find much unnecessary copiousness and loquacity. But this loquacity very often serves only to let us perceive the more clearly the design of the author; and, from the incapacity which he shows in the execution of his plan is to be explained the badness of the compilation, and from this the entire failure of his plan.

The first book contains precepts which are directed in particular to the laity. It is very characteristic that, among all the books of the Constitutions, it is the smallest, and appears almost as a mere addition; as if it were thus to be indicated that the laity were only subordinate, and it was the Bishops alone who constituted the church. This book is occupied mainly with rules for moral conduct, and gives only some few precepts respecting discipline. The prohibition, in c. 6, to read heathen books, might have been current merely as an ecclesiastical precept. Generally, in this book, the plan of the author is kept out of sight; which can easily be explained from the fact that, in those general moral precepts, no point of connection nor any suitable opportunity presented itself for interweaving also into this book those leading, fundamental ideas.

On the contrary, the second book forms not only the central point of the whole work, but also the central point for these ideas. In this especially they are inserted; and from this, too, the other books have proceeded.

At first, in a series of chapters, it is shown at considerable length, what qualities a Bishop and also the other clergy must possess, in order to be worthy of their office. See c. 1, 2, and 3. C. 4 is only an apparent interruption of the coherency; and although something heterogeneous might seem to be introduced, as a whole chapter is here inserted concerning the conduct which is to be observed towards widows, yet c. 3 and 4 cohere very well together. The Bishop is admonished to be generous and benevolent towards widows, but still to know, constantly, who is the most worthy of assistance. C. 4 is, therefore, only a digression; for it distinctly sets forth that a female who, though not a widow, yet is needy, by reason of sickness, or the bringing up of children, or infirmity of her hands, may have a better claim to alms than a widow

who can procure for herself the requisites of life. It is further shown that a Bishop must lead a morally pure and blameless life. See c. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 17, and 18. Then the author has specially exerted himself to exhibit the entirely subordinate relation in which the laity stand to the Bishops. The whole aim is to exalt the dignity and honor of the Bishops above all, and in them to set forth the representatives not only of the church but of God. Altogether in this spirit, the author of the Constitutions lets the apostles say, 'On this account, therefore, O Bishop, endeavor to be pure in thine actions, and to adorn thy place and dignity, as sustaining the character or type of God among men, in ruling over all men, priests, kings, rulers, fathers, sons, teachers, even all alike who are subject to thee.'[1] 'Judge, therefore, O Bishop, with authority, like God.'[2] Who would not here perceive a development of that hierarchical principle, on which rested, at a later period, the whole sovereign power of the priests? Already no secular authority is to avail more; but the church is to be able to exercise unlimited power in the Bishops. This, we admit, was at the time of the rise of the Constitutions, only a sketch by a man, who, looking away from the relations of the present, and following his own ideas, wished to set up an image of the state of the external church, as it was to be, rather than as it was. Still, he knows already how to apply that well-known reasoning, when he says, 'For he that heareth him [the Bishop] heareth Christ, and he that rejecteth him, rejecteth Christ; and he who doth not receive Christ, doth not receive his God and Father.'[3] Here, as in many other passages, altogether in conformity with the principles of the hierarchy, the power of the Bishops and clergy is carried back to God, as if the Bishops receive it from God, and it is now permitted them to do in his name whatever they please. Quite similar notions of the dignity of the clergy are found in Cyprian. Indeed, he derives the origin of all heresies and schisms from neglecting to hearken to the priest of God, and think of one in the church as priest and as judge in the place of Christ.[4] Besides, all the precepts of the Constitutions are calculated on

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[1] B. ii. c. 11. *Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἐπίσκοπε, σπούδαζε καθαρὸς εἶναι τοῖς ἔργοις, γνωρίζειν τὸν τρόπον σου καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν, ὡς θεοῦ τύπον ἔχων ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τῷ πάντων ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων, ἱερέων, βασιλέων, ἀρχόντων, πατέρων, υἱῶν, διδασκάλων, καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ὑπηκόων.*

[2] B. ii. c. 12. *Κρίνε οὖν, ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, μετὰ ἐξουσίας, ὡς ὁ θεός.*

[3] B. ii. c. 20. *Ὁ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀκούων, Χριστοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸν ἀθετῶν, Χριστὸν ἀθετεῖ, καὶ ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ δεχόμενος, οὐ δέχεται τὸν αὐτοῦ θεὸν καὶ πατέρα.*

[4] Cypr. Epist. 55. Nam cum scriptum sit: Qui dicerit fratri suo, Faute, &c. (Matth. 5: 22,) quo modo possunt censuram Domini ultoris evadere, qui talia ingerunt, non solum fratribus, sed et sacerdotibus, quibus honor tantus de Dei dignatione

the principle that the episcopal dignity stands forth as the highest point of authority in the church. All other church offices, however, are also represented as worthy of great honor; but still so that they receive this honor first from the episcopal dignity, and that all other clerical persons have no power without the Bishop. In b. iii. c. 19, the qualifications of a Deacon are set forth, and he is to be 'in all things unspotted as the Bishop himself, only more active.' Already, in b. ii. c. 31 and 32, his relation to the Bishop is stated, — that he can do nothing at all without the Bishop. The relation of the several clerical offices is exactly determined, in b. ii. c. 26, 29, 33, and 34. Other regulations, touching the distinction between clergy and laity, are given in b. iii. c. 6 and 9, and in b. vi. c. 17. How frequently our Constitutions go back to the Old Testament, and how very much they keep in view the idea of a Levitical priesthood which must be transferred to the church, we have already intimated. Striking illustrations of the disposition to which we here refer may be found in b. ii. c. 25 and 35; where, especially in the first passage, the regulations of the Levitical priesthood are exhibited, and from them similar regulations are derived for the Christian church.

It would be a superfluous repetition, were we to introduce again all the passages having reference to this subject. They are, for the most part, copiously discussed in our preceding investigation.

As the second book, especially, carries out the ideas which have been presented, so we have seen that the five other books impart precepts concerning all the relations of ecclesiastical life. As the third and the fourth contain rules relative to classes of persons standing in close ecclesiastical connection, so the fifth gives precepts concerning the relations of the church to them that are without, and concerning other external relations, as the festivals and the fasts. The sixth treats of divisions and schisms within the church, to which finally the seventh is annexed, containing ritual and liturgical regulations. All these, now, are exhibited with the intention already mentioned, namely, to give a canon according to which a common bond was to embrace all churches, and thus to realize the idea of the catholic church. Entering into this idea, the eighth book was added, at a later period, as a supplement.

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conceditur, ut quisquis sacerdoti ejus et ad tempus hic judicanti non obtemperaret, statim necaretur. . . . Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata quam inde, quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur.

A DISSERTATION,

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,

ON

THE CANONS OF THE APOSTLES.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

It is unnecessary here to speak of the mighty influence which these canons have had, or of their importance in shedding light on the history of Christendom. In this Dissertation, they are treated as a distinct collection. But in the manuscripts, it will be recollected, they appear as an integral part of a larger work. They constitute the concluding chapter (the forty-seventh) of the eighth and last book of the Apostolical Constitutions. Moreover, without this forty-seventh chapter, that work would terminate, and the canons would begin, abruptly. But the last canon presents a formal and appropriate close, corresponding well with the introduction which opens the first book of the Constitutions.

DISSERTATION ON THE CANONS.

From the time of the Lutheran Reformation, a new and brighter day shone on ecclesiastical history, as well as on all the departments of theology. For there have been men now mentioned among theologians with merited praise, who, when they had received the liberty of thinking and speaking, applied the torch, as it were, of criticism to the thick darkness of errors, and summoned to a more accurate examination various statements, which, although commonly admitted, were yet not placed beyond doubt. They felt themselves under special obligations to go back to the earlier ages, and inspect carefully the foundation on which the Romish church had been resting. But the more they penetrated into the most interior recesses of ecclesiastical history, and explored critically the sources themselves, the better they have understood that many things by which the Romish church has assumed her authority, and sustained herself for so many ages, are nothing else than inventions destitute of all firm and stable foundation. When those reformers, therefore, applied themselves zealously to draw from the fountains of history the means of combating the theologians of Rome, it could not but occur that they should not only reject many vain and absurd notions, but even refute and annihilate them. In breaking the supports of the Papal domination, what immortal glory they acquired to themselves by proving the falsity of the Decretal Epistles, to say nothing of any thing else, no one needs to be informed.

But among the ancient writings which, in former times, were advanced to great power and authority, and which helped to sustain the Popes in establishing some of their institutes and decrees, have been also the canons, which were circulated in the name of the Holy Apostles.[1] Nor

[1] *Κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.* Thus the book in the French king's library, 1326, is entitled. In Dionysius Exiguus: Regulæ Ecclesiasticæ

have there been wanting in the Catholic church those who, against all appearance of truth, would venture to palm these canons on the apostles, and not hesitate to set them forth as apostolical. Before the Reformation, therefore, these canons had great authority, and were even received into the body of the canon law; nor did Popes omit to quote them in settling contests, and in promulgating laws.

But their authority was shaken and diminished, when the greatest distrust was awakened respecting all writings which served to perpetuate and sustain the Papal domination. At last, their whole force and influence were destroyed, when it was proved by the gravest reasons that these canons are not a work of the apostles, and can rightfully be ascribed neither to the apostles nor to Clement of Rome. This became the united and harmonious voice of all the intelligent, including even theologians of the Catholic church. But respecting the origin of the canons there were among theologians various opinions. No one was presented that united all suffrages. Though most agreed in denying that the canons are of apostolic origin, yet, in forming a judgment how they arose, and to what age they are to be adjudged, there was much diversity. But at what time they came into existence, where they first appeared, who collected them, and why they bear the name of the apostles, all will readily perceive to be inquiries of no small importance.

And to me, as I approach this question to be solved, concerning the origin of the canons, it seems requisite, that, after narrating as briefly as possible the opinions of learned men respecting this matter, and examining diligently the testimonies of the ancients, I should institute a discussion concerning the number and authority of the canons. Then we must proceed to consider whether they have one author, or are a collection of separate canons which arose in the early Christian church. Finally, if on this point we arrive at any certainty, we must inquire whether, by examining the canons themselves more carefully, and taking into view external considerations, it may be possible to determine more exactly the time in which they arose.

I. Let us present the most important opinions of the authors who have written concerning the canons.

Sanctorum Apostolorum, prelatæ per Clementem ecclesiæ Romanæ pontificem.— And in the king's Greek collection of canons, 2430: *Κανόνες οἱ λεγόμενοι τῶν ἀποστόλων, διὰ Κλήμεντος.* But in the Latin Manuscript, 1203: Apostolorum Canones, qui per Clementem Romanum pontificem de Græco in Latinum, sicut quidam asserunt, dicuntur esse translati, sunt quinquaginta. Compare Cotelerii Patr. Apost. Opera, tom. i. p. 442—; also C. J. Can. ed. Böhmer, and C. J. Civ. ed. Gothofred.

The well-known Magdeburg centuriators,[1] were the first to assail the apostolical authority of the canons, and to prove that the work is spurious, and not to be ascribed to the apostles. Turrian,[2] Binius,[3] and others, undertook the defence of the canons, affirming that they were made by the apostles themselves. Influenced by zeal for the order of things as established around them, they were led into this opinion, that, by the aid of those ancient regulations, they might, at their pleasure, commend and confirm certain ecclesiastical rites and various institutes of ecclesiastical discipline. But the attempt was made in vain. For, even among the theologians of their own church, this opinion has not prevailed.

But along with others who descended into the arena against those Papists, was John Daillé, far the most learned man of his age, and one of the most acute; who, in his third book, *De Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis*, entirely overthrew the insane opinion. He put forth his vigorous efforts to impugn and refute also the opinion of Albaspinaeus, Bishop of Baden, who had contended that this ancient collection of canons was nothing else than a summary and abridgment of local councils and of matters sanctioned by individual Bishops of the Greek churches before the Nicene Council.[4] Then, having exploded the opinions of his adversaries, Daillé proposes his own, namely, that this apocryphal collection of canons, completed, did not become known before the fifth century, and now about the end of the fifth century made its appearance, and began to be published.[5]

Among the Catholic theologians, Bellarmin[6] and Baronius[7] admit only the first fifty canons to be legitimate; the rest, which Dionysius Exiguus had omitted in his collection, they do not think to be of legal authority, although they are received by the Greeks.

But although Natalis Alexander,[8] Antonius Pagi,[9] Cabassutius,[10] and

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[1] Centur. Magdeb. i. lib. ii. c. vii. p. 544—.

[2] In Tract. pro Canonibus Apostolorum et Decretalibus Epistolis contra Magd. lib. i. Florent. 1572, 1612.

[3] Præfat. ad Canon. Apost. tom. i. concil. p. 14; where he acknowledges all as genuine and apostolical, except the sixty-fifth canon and the eighty-fourth, which he would have expunged.

[4] De Antiq. Eccless. Ritib. lib. i. Obs. 13.

[5] De Pseudepigr. Apost. lib. iii.

[6] De Script. Eccles. p. 40, 41, ed. Colon. 1657.

[7] Annales ad A. 102, n. xii.

[8] Dissert. 17, seculi i. p. 195.

[9] Ad A. C. 56, p. 46.

[10] In Notit. Ecclesiast. Histor. Concil. p. 7

others, embrace the opinion of Daillé, yet many have taken a middle course; who would contend that all those canons are indeed fictitious and spurious, but that their origin is very ancient.

Nearest to Daillé comes Peter de Marcia,[1] who, because Firmilianus and Cyprian, disputing with Stephen, Bishop of Rome, concerning the baptism of heretics, made not the least mention of the canons, conjectures that these canons were collected and honored with the name of the apostles, A.D. 250, and that this was done at a certain council in Iconium. For, if the canons had been known before this, it cannot be explained why those men did not appeal to them, when, in canon XLVI. XLVII. and XLVIII., the baptism of heretics is disapproved. I confess that this conjecture seems to me very reasonable. And to this one argument other reasons could be added, and other canons called into the discussion.

But here we must by no means omit to mention that most learned man, William Beveridge,[2] who has written concerning the apostolical canons with so much acuteness and excellence that his opinion is approved by almost all. Although he has not ventured to affirm either that they were written by the apostles themselves, or that they were dictated to Clement of Rome as an amanuensis, yet he endeavors to prove that they are most ancient canons of the primitive church. That canons framed by apostolic men in *the end of the second century and the beginning of the third*, everywhere began to be known, nay, that the collector both of the Canons and of the Constitutions, was not Clement of Rome, but Clement of Alexandria, he has suspected from the last canon. There are, indeed, many things in which I rejoice that I agree with Beveridge; but nevertheless, in a subsequent part of this essay, where I exhibit my opinion respecting the age of the canons, reasons are given why in the main point I dissent from him. Here it will be sufficient to remark that I cannot dissent from the opinion of the learned men who contend that the whole of the last canon was inserted afterwards by another hand, and, therefore, that testimony cannot be drawn from it for settling the question, respecting the author of the canons.

We must now come to more recent ecclesiastical historians, most of whom, however, may be passed over in silence. For although they, and persons occupied with ecclesiastical law, had most frequent occasion to refer to the canons, and settle their age by solid arguments, yet most of them, I know not by what accident, have been silent on the subject. They have seemed to have answered sufficiently the demands of criti-

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[1] Petrus de Morca, De Concordia, Sacerdotii et Imperii, lib. iii. c. 2.

[2] Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ Vindicatas et Illustratus. Lond. 1678. 4to.

cism, if they have not assumed that the canons came from the apostolic age, and have made certain conjectures respecting their origin. But, among the ecclesiastical writers who flourished towards the close of the last century, I must not neglect to commend one, whose opinion I have appropriated to my own use, and have set forth more copiously, as it was incumbent on me to do. It is Spittler,[1] whose merits in historical erudition, connected with theology, are very distinguished; and who has treated concerning the antiquity of the collection of canons, but not concerning the antiquity of the particular canons; and has stated it as being fully ascertained, that these canons, in the earlier ages, arose in individual churches, which claimed to themselves apostolical origin; and that for this cause, and not because apostles were the authors of the canons, any precept of an apostolic church, being conformable to the doctrine of the apostles, was honored with the name of an apostolical canon. Finally, he thought that the separate canons, everywhere scattered in the apostolic churches, were brought into a collection; but, afterwards, were variously modified.

This opinion has also prevailed among more recent writers on law.[2] Most of them have judged that the origin of the canons is to be placed in the second century and in the third; and that they, nevertheless, contain vestiges, from which it may justly be concluded that they were afterwards increased.

From this brief survey of the judgments which have been pronounced respecting the canons, it will sufficiently appear that learned men have not all received the same number, but have followed various and conflicting opinions concerning this matter. Hence,

II. In order to show what has been proposed correctly, and what otherwise, I would institute a discussion *concerning the number and authority of the canons.* In this, it is of primary importance to examine diligently, and estimate the testimonies of the ancients, that, having surveyed these, we may discover certain common principles, as it were, from which, in conjunction with internal evidences, the origin of the canons can, with probability, be made to appear.

It is clear that, among all the ancient authors, John of Antioch was the first who mentioned the apostolic canons, and these, the whole *eighty-five*, as belonging to the volume of sacred writings. And the Trullan Council, in their second canon, having passed a favorable decree con-

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[1] Geschichte des kanonischen Rechts bis auf die Zeiten des falschen Isidor. Halle, 1778.

[2] Compare Walter, in his Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts, § 39, S. 96, 3d ed.

cerning these canons,[1] and afterwards John of Damascus, having received them into the catalogue of Holy Scriptures,[2] very few of the Greeks have called in question their apostolic origin and authority.

The first to be mentioned, who, among the Greeks, has hesitated to ascribe the canons to the apostles, seems to be Photius.[3] But the Greeks, as they never disputed concerning the number of the canons, always retained as sacred the eighty-five. Among the Latins it was different. About the year 500, Dionysius Exiguus (who introduced our reckoning from the birth of Christ), translated fifty canons from the Greek into Latin, and thereby presented them to the Latin church.[4] And, to this time, it is not known why he did not translate the whole eighty-five canons, and give them all to the Christians connected with Rome; whether he happened to have only *fifty* canons in his perhaps mutilated manuscript, or thought he ought to exclude from his version the latter *thirty-five*, as having been added after the collection was made. [He may have deemed the fifty-first canon too favorable to the marriage of the clergy.] Be that matter as it may, it is certain that the Latin church received only the first fifty, and held them sacred.

Nor has the usage of the church been changed in later times. But canons, advanced to greater authority, as having come from the apostles, have in many things been made arbiters. And, be it remembered, it was in a time when criticism had not yet been applied to ecclesiastical history, that no one opposed their claims. In the sixth century, they are often brought forward by the Popes to promote the Papal interests. Their power and authority increased more and more; yet no more than the fifty came into use. This is easily ascertained from the controversy of Cardinal Humbert, who, when he contended at all points against Nicetas Pectoratus concerning the Sabbath, loudly asserted that all the canons, except the fifty, were apocryphal. It appears from many passages that Gratian (A.D. 1145) thought the same.[5]

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[1] Ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῇ ἁγίᾳ ταύτῃ συνόδῳ καλλιστά καὶ σπουδαιότατα, ὥστε μένειν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν βεβαίους καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς . . . τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀποστόλων ὀγδοήκοντα πέντε κανόνας.

[2] De Fide Orthod. lib. iv. c. 28.

[3] In his Bibliotheca, Cod. 112; in his Preface to the Nomocanon; and in Matthæi Blastaris Προθεωρία: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, εἰ καὶ τινας αὐτοὺς ἀμφιβόλους διὰ τινας αἰτίας ἠγήσαντο.

[4] [In his translation, the numbering of the canons, in a few instances, differs from that which is usual among the Greeks; so that his *fiftieth* canon (and hence the fiftieth of Whiston, and of other editors who have been influenced by the Latin ecclesiastical literature), corresponds to the Greek *forty-ninth*, as presented by Bruns.]

[5] Gratian, Distinct. 16, Præf. and Urban II., apud Gratianum, Dist. 32, c. 6

Having now briefly stated the testimonies concerning the collection of the canons, we proceed to consider the origin of each.

All who have diligently examined the work, must have discovered that the canons have not proceeded from one author. The testimonies of the ancients, indeed, prove this. For often, in the councils of the fourth and of the fifth century, reference is made to most ancient canons, to which various names are given.

III. Let us, therefore, trace those vestiges which may yet be found in the early ages, and bring them to light, that the origin of the canons may become more manifest.

The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), when, in their twenty-second canon, they decreed it unlawful for the clergy, after the death of a Bishop, to seize the property which belonged to him, sanctioned as it were and fortified their canon by adding, *as also it is interdicted in the ancient canons* (*καθὼς καὶ τοῖς πάλαι κανόσιν ἀπηγόρευται*). But observe how wonderful it is, if we inspect the matter more thoroughly. Let us look around, and examine whether there is any such prohibition in the canons of former councils. We find no canon, except our fortieth apostolical canon, which expressly orders that the property of the Bishop be not lost, nor cease to be at his disposal, but that he have the power of leaving it to whomsoever he may please.[1] In view of these facts, who can doubt that the Council of Chalcedon, in the words quoted, pointed to our canons? In passing, let us here remark, that ancient regulations were first cited, under the name of Apostolical Canons, in the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 394. (See Zonaras, p. 527, and Balsamon, p. 763.[2]) At that council, there were present, besides many other Bishops, Theophilus of Alexandria, Flavius of Antioch, Gregory of Nyssa, and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, — men of great eminence. No one will deny that the regulation presented in our canon LXVI. [otherwise numbered LXXIII. and LXXIV.] is similar to the one which we have inserted at the bottom of the page as having been decreed by that council.[3]

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[1] Can. XL. *Ἔστω φανερὰ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πράγματα, εἴγε καὶ ἴδια ἔχει, καὶ φανερὰ τὰ κυριακά, ἵν' ἐξουσίαν ἔχῃ τῶν ἰδίων τελευτῶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, οἷς βούλεται καὶ ὡς βούλεται καταλείψαι, καὶ μὴ προφάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων διαπίπτειν τὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.*

[2] *Μὴ χρῆναι πρὸς τὸ ἑξῆς μήτε παρὰ τριῶν, μὴ τι γε παρὰ δυὸ τὸν ὑπεύθυνον δοκιμαζόμενον καθαιρεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ πλείονος συνόδου ψήφῳ καὶ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἀποστολικοὶ κανόνες διωρίσαντο.*

[3] Can. LXVI. *Ἐπίσκοπον κατηγορηθέντα ἐπί τινα παρὰ ἀξιοπίστων καὶ πιστῶν προσώπων, καλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων· κἂν μὲν ἀπαντήσῃ καὶ ὁμολογήσῃ ἢ ἐλεγχθείῃ, ὁριζέσθαι τὸ ἐπιτίμιον· εἰ δὲ καλούμενος μὴ ὑπακούσοι, καλείσθω καὶ δεύτερον. ἀποστελλομένων ἐπ' αὐτὸν δύο ἐπισκόπων· ἐαν δὲ καὶ οὕτω καταφρονήσας μὴ ἀπαντήσῃ, ἡ σύνοδος ἀποφαινέσθω κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντα, ὅπως μὴ δόξῃ κερδαίνειν φυγοδικῶν.*

It should be further remarked, that the fathers in this general council, A.D. 381, sent epistles to Damasus, Ambrose, and other Bishops then assembled at Rome, in which, from an ancient canon (*Παλαιος τὲ ὡς ἔστε θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν Νικαία πατέρων ὅρος*), they contended it ought to be established, that Bishops, in their own parishes, and there only, with the assistance, if they think proper, of other neighboring Bishops, should give ordination to those who become clerical persons. Nor is there any law more ancient than the Nicene Council, except canons XIV. and XV., which forbid a Bishop's leaving his own parish, and pervading that of another, unless a reasonable cause constrain him.[1]

And about that time Evagrius occupied the episcopal chair at Antioch, having been ordained by no one except his predecessor Paulinus; which Theodoret, in his ecclesiastical history, b. v. c. 23, affirms to have been done *contrary to the ecclesiastical law* (*παρὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιάστικον θεσμὸν*), nay, *contrary to many canons* (*παρὰ πόλλους κανόνας*). But, manifestly, his affirmation is in harmony with the canon which expressly enjoins, Let a Bishop be ordained by two Bishops or by three (*Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν*). May we not reasonably infer that Theodoret had in his mind our first canon, from which he judged the ordination of Evagrius to be unlawful? But, if we thoroughly examine the other canons, the seventy-sixth presents itself to us, which establishes in almost so many words the judgment of Theodoret: A Bishop must not gratify his brother, or his son, or any other kinsman, with the episcopal dignity, or ordain whom he pleases. . . . But, if any one shall do so, let the ordination be invalid.[2] Most clearly, if we do not greatly err, Theodoret had this canon also in his mind.

If now we go back to the earlier time of the Christian church, we find such vestiges of the canons that it will appear that they were even then known. Nor will any one deny that most probably the Nicene

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[1] We here insert the two canons entire, to avoid the necessity of repetition hereafter. — Can. XIV. *Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐξεῖναι κατλείψαντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν ἑτέρᾳ ἐπιπηδᾶν, κἂν ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἀναγκάζηται, εἰ μή τις εὔλογος αἰτία ᾖ τοῦτο βιαζομένῃ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, ὡς πλέον τι κέρδος δυναμένου αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε λόγῳ εὐσεβείας συμβάλλεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κρίσει πολλῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ παρακλήσει μεγίστῃ.* Can. XV. *Εἴ τις πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν ἀπολείψας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν εἰς ἑτέραν ἀπέλθῃ, καὶ παντελῶς μεταστὰς διατρίβῃ ἐν ἄλλῃ παροικίᾳ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου· τοῦτον κελεύομεν μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν, μάλιστα εἰ προσκαλουμένου αὐτὸν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου αὐτοῦ ἐπανελθεῖν οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν ἐπιμένων τῇ ἀταξίᾳ· ὡς λαϊκὸς μέντοι ἐκεῖσε κοινωνείτω.*

[2] *Ὅτι οὐ χρὴ ἐπίσκοπον τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἢ υἱῷ ἢ ἑτέρῳ συγγενεῖ χαρίζόμενον τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, χειροτονεῖν οὓς αὐτος βούλεται· . . . . . εἰ δὲ τις τοῦτο ποιήσει, ἄκυρος μενέτω ἡ χειροτονία. . . .*

Council not only had regard to these canons, but also confirmed and more amply described them. We shall not deny that the canons were in use before this council.

Thus Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, when, in an epistle to Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople, he mentions it as scandalous in many Bishops that they received into the communion of the church several persons excommunicated by himself, sustains his opinion by these words, *τῷ μήτε ἀποστολικὸν κανόνα τοῦτο συγχωρεῖν.*[1] Who, indeed, is there whom it can escape, that canons XII. and XIII. are opposed to this abuse?[2] And by this epistle, as it was written before the Nicene Council, it is necessarily shown even that the whole council were acquainted with these canons.

The Nicene fathers, when they had in mind to propose and sanction certain canons concerning eunuchs, referred to earlier canons, in which, they said, the same precepts were contained. Now our canons exhibit to us certain precepts concerning eunuchs;[3] so that it can be affirmed, without any doubtfulness, that the Nicene Fathers had regard to these. For, if this be not admitted, where can be found any other canons which establish the same rules concerning eunuchs? Wherever we may search, we find nowhere any thing similar, except in our canons.

But there is another argument, which confirms our conjecture. The sixty-second apostolical canon[4] expressly commands that a clerical person be deposed, if he deny his clerical character through fear of a Jew, or of a gentile, or of a heretic; but it gives no direction what shall be done to him who, before being ordained, may have denied Christ. Now the Nicene fathers assign to such a man the same punishment that is assigned in our apostolical canon.

And it is evident that our canons, under various names indeed, were known also to other councils. Thus I would not deny that the Council at Antioch (A.D. 341) allude to our canons when they mention *θεσμοὺς*

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[1] Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 3.

[2] Can. XIII. *Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκος ἀφωρισμένος ἤτοι ἄδεκτος, ἀπελθὼν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δεχθῇ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν ἀφοριζέσθω καὶ ὁ δεξάμενος καὶ ὁ δεχθείς.*

[3] Can. XXI. *Εὐνοῦχος εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἐπηρείας ἀνθρώπων ἐγενετό τις, ἢ ἐν διωγμῷ ἀφῃρεθη τὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἢ οὕτως ἔφυ, καὶ ἐστιν ἄξιος, ἐπισκοπος γινέσθω.* — Can. XXII. *Ὁ ἀκρωτηριάσας ἑαυτον, μὴ γινέσθω κληρικος· αὐτοφονευτὴς γὰρ ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δημιουργίας ἐχθρὸς.* Can. XXIII. *Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ὢν ἑαυτὸν ἀκροτηριάσει, καθαιρείσθω, φονευτὴς γὰρ ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ.*

[4] *Εἴ τις κληρικὸς διὰ φόβον ἀνθρώπινον Ἰουδαίου ἢ Ἕλληνος ἢ αἱρετικοῦ ἀρνήσηται, εἰ μὲν ὄνομα Χριστοῦ, ἀποβαλλέσθω, εἰ δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κληρικοῦ, καθαιρείσθω· μετανοήσας δὲ, ὡς λαϊκὸς δεχθήτω.*

ἐκκλησιάστικους καὶ ἀρχαιότερον κρατήσαντα ἐκ πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα. Nor may we at all conjecture that the author of our canons reduced his canons, as being spurious and fictitious, into harmony with the canons of the Council at Antioch, when the fathers of the council affirm them to be κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον κανόνα.

But let us produce another testimony, which is extant, concerning the canons. For I hold it to be certain that our canons were known to Athanasius. He refers to them for the purpose of proving that his being deposed, which the Arians had effected, was unlawful. He informs us that he was removed from his ecclesiastical office, without being summoned to trial before a council of Bishops, and without being convicted by his opponents, but being accused by Arians, his enemies, unworthy of confidence. All which, he contends, was done contrary to a constant and abiding canon of the church. This compels us to think that Athanasius had in view our canon LXXIV.,[1] which directs that a Bishop be summoned to trial by Bishops, and, if he meet them, and be convicted, that he be punished by the council.

This opinion is confirmed by the fact that Athanasius has often quoted ecclesiastical canons in such a manner that it is obvious they accord with those of which we are treating.

But let us bring into discussion those passages which are extant in Eusebius, concerning our canons. Eusebius, called by the suffrages of the clergy, and of the people, to the office of Bishop at Antioch, declined this dignity, because he thought that his acceptance of it would be contrary to an apostolical canon (ἀποστολικὸν κανόνα). In his Life of Constantine, b. iii. c. 61, he presents us an epistle of the emperor, in which he very much commends Eusebius for this; and affirms to him that he now understands that Eusebius had rightly observed the ecclesiastical canon, and had acted in accordance with apostolic tradition.[2] It will now appear to be placed beyond a doubt, that both Eusebius and Constantine referred to our canon XIV.[3]

It remains that we inspect and weigh the testimonies of the Latin church. We have already mentioned that at first the Latin church

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[1] Ἐπίσκοπον κατηγορηθέντα ἐπί τινι παρὰ ἀξιοπίστων ἀνθρώπων, καλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων· κἂν μὲν ἀπαντήσῃ καὶ ὁμολογήσῃ ἢ ἐλεγχθείη, ὁρίζεσθαι τὸ ἐπιτίμιον. . . .

[2] Euseb. Vita Constant. lib. iii. c. 61. . . . Τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπιστήμης εἰς ἀκρίβειαν φυλαχθέντα . . . ἐμμενεῖν γοῦν τούτοις ἅπερ ἀρεστά τε τῷ θεῷ· καὶ τῇ ἀποστολικῇ παραδόσει σύμφωνα φαίνεται, εὐαγές.

[3] Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐξεῖναι καταλείψαντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παροικίαν, ἑτέρᾳ ἐπιπηδᾶν, κἂν ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἀναγκάζηται, εἰ μή τις εὔλογος αἰτία ᾖ τοῦτο βιαζομένῃ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν. . . .

knew nothing at all of the canons; but that afterwards she attributed great power and authority to a part of them. The first who, in the Roman church, has made mention of them, is Julius, Bishop of Rome, who referred to these canons, when, in an epistle to the Oriental Bishops, he reproached them with certain things connected with the deposing of Athanasius. From this, however, we cannot conclude that the canons were then of force in the Western church. For, probably, Athanasius had informed Julius concerning this canon; and urged upon him that, relying on this canon, which the Oriental church had acknowledged, he might demonstrate to the Greek Bishops that their proceeding had been unlawful.

At length, the decree of Gelasius ascribed our canons to the class of apocryphal books. Concerning this decree, there have been the most diverse opinions. Indeed, some have gone so far as to contend that no council was ever held at Rome, A.D. 494, by the Bishop Gelasius.[1] Others think it altogether uncertain whether this decree was ever put forth by Gelasius, since no one mentions it till three hundred years afterwards. But others (we need mention only Beveridge[2]) are of the opinion that, even if Gelasius issued a decree concerning books to be received and to be rejected, it is, nevertheless, uncertain whether those words, *the apocryphal book of the canons of the Apostles* (liber canonum Apostolorum apocryphus) proceeded from Gelasius himself. This opinion becomes probable, when we consider that, in the manuscript of Justell, and in other manuscripts, these words are manifestly wanting. Besides, Hincmar, Bishop of Rheims, contends that the canons of the apostles are not recounted by Gelasius in this decree. However this may be, we understand sufficiently, from Isidore, of Seville,[3] that the Latin church rejected them entirely, and ascribed to them not even the least authority. This being made clear, we easily see why these canons have been excluded from later collections of canons; as has been done by Martin of Braga,[4] by Ferrand, Deacon of Carthage,[5] and by others. At last, by the pseudo-Isidore, they were given out to be truly apostolical canons; and, therefore, they were received into the canonical Law.

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[1] Jo. Pearson, in his Vindiciæ Epistolarum Ignatii, p. i. c. 4.

[2] Beveridge, Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ Vindicatus, lib. i c. ix. § 3.

[3] Isidor. Hisp. Ap. Auton. Augustin. lib. i. de emendat. Gratiani Dial. vi. Gratiani Digest xvi. c. 1. Canones qui dicuntur Apostolorum, sed quia nec sedes apostolica eos recepit, nec S. S. Patres illis assensum præbuerunt, pro eo, quod ab hæreticis sub nomine apostolorum compositi dignoscantur, quamvis in iis utilia inveniantur.

[4] Compare Du Pin, Nov. Bibl. Auct. Eccless. tom. i. p. 23.

[5] Breviatio Canonum. Comp. Justelli Bibl. Juris. Can. Vet. tom. i. p. 419—.

But although in the seventh century, and in later centuries also, they were called in question, yet at length they claimed for themselves ecclesiastical authority and power.

But it is now sufficiently evident that the canons of the apostles did not derive their origin from the apostles themselves, and that not from this but from some other cause, they were honored with the name of the apostles. In this our age, men have indulged their ingenuity and their imagination; and the more novel their conjectures, the more gratifying they have been to many. But, in proposing and amplifying my conjecture, I refer to Spittler, who, if there is need, can give it support.[1]

From our survey of the testimonies of the ancients, it seems evident that, in the early church, single canons were circulated under the name of ancient canons, apostolical canons, ecclesiastical regulations, and ancient law (*πάλαι κανόνες, ἀποστολικοὶ κανόνες, ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ θεσμοί, πάλαιος νόμος*). Each of these canons, although made and sanctioned by later persons, has been ascribed to the apostles, if it has seemed to accord with their doctrine. These canons, therefore, were called apostolical, not [at first] from any supposed apostolical authorship, but from the nature of the doctrine inculcated in them. There were, in the early ages, many churches or parishes to which there were ascribed, as it were, a preëminence and a superior authority, because they derived their origin from apostles; whence there was given to them the name of apostolical churches.

After having diligently examined all the testimonies, I would now, without any hesitancy, contend that the canons arose, one after another, in single churches of the first centuries, until, instead of being dispersed here and there, they were brought into one collection.

IV. Let us now see *at what time* each of the canons first appeared. To guard against transgressing the proposed limits of this Dissertation, it will doubtless be best to place together several canons, and exhibit our judgment concerning them.

As to the first two canons, they order expressly that a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops; but a Presbyter, a Deacon, and any other clerical person, by one Bishop.[2] But how alien this rule is from the apostolic times! This we sufficiently perceive from the terms employed. For who does not know that, in the apostolic age, there was no distinction between Presbyter and Bishop? And since, in our

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[1] See Spittler's Geschichte des kanonischen Rechts, p. 12.

[2] Can. I. *Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν*, and Can. II. *Πρεσβύτερος ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονείσθω, καὶ διάκονος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοί.*

canons, a Bishop and a Presbyter are distinguished in authority, in office, and even in rank, it is evident that this distinction is most unsuitable to the apostolic age, in which these names were used promiscuously. To what age do we assign these canons? Certainly to one in which there was a distinction between the words Bishop and Presbyter, and a new signification had come into use. Besides, we find an indication of the time of their origin, in the mention of *the other clerical persons* (*οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοί*). So far as I can judge, it is right to conclude that these canons were framed at that time, when the inferior clerical orders in the church were constituted. Now, since Tertullian, in his work, De Præscriptione Hæreticorum, c. 41, mentions the inferior orders, and is the first ecclesiastical writer that has mentioned them, it follows that these canons are to be adjudged to the concluding part of the second century.

In canons III. IV. and V. certain regulations are presented, in respect to the first-fruits which were to be offered. As it is self-evident that the origin of these was not apostolical, I forbear to enlarge on the subject. But no one who has carefully considered the matter, will deny that these canons pertain to the Mosaic law, in the abrogation of which all, in the apostolic age, were agreed. This ancient observance of the Jewish church, towards the close of the third century, when Bishops arrogated to themselves increased authority, prevailed so much, that fruits were not only offered by the faithful, but were distributed by the Bishops to all others who were needy. Of this, Origen is a most substantial witness, from whose testimony it is abundantly evident that the custom of offering first-fruits was already in his time exceedingly common.[1]

The *sixth* canon, a most dangerous rock to the Roman church, exhibits the regulation, that no Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, put away his wife under pretext of religion; and the *seventh* inculcates that no one of the clergy undertake secular cares.[2] Each of these canons is so consentaneous with the apostolic age, that nothing hinders our supposing it to be sanctioned by apostolic men. The subject of the *sixth* canon sufficiently explains why, in the Western church, where celibacy was held in

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[1] Origen contra Celsum, lib. viii. p. 400. ed. Cantabrig. *Κέλσος μὲν δαιμονιόις ἀνατιθέναι βούλεται· ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ εἰπόντι, βλαστησάτω ἡ γὴ βοτάνην χόρτου . . . ᾧ δὲ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ἀποδίδομεν, τούτῳ καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναπέμπομεν, ἔχοντες ἀρχιερέα μέγαν, διεληλυθότα τοῦς οὐρανοὺς, Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.*

[2] Can. VI. *Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω προφάσει εὐλαβείας· ἐὰν δὲ ἐκβάλλῃ ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ, καθαιρείσθω.* Can. VII. *Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος κοσμικὰς φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβανέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, καθαιρείσθω.*

great honor, our canons, of which those just now quoted are unfavorable to celibacy, were received so tardily.

Then in the *eighth* canon it is forbidden that any Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon, celebrate the sacred day of the Passover [Easter] before the vernal equinox, with the Jews, under penalty of being deposed.[1] But it will not appear wonderful to any one, that I most confidently adjudge this canon to the end of the second century, if I present briefly the reasons of this judgment. What! Is any canon sanctioned, unless there be some cause requiring its promulgation? No, most certainly. Now let us inspect the canon. From what cause was it possible to decree that the Passover be not kept before the vernal equinox with the Jews? Doubtless from the cause that, at the time of passing the decree, there had arisen many and vehement contentions respecting the day on which the Passover was to be celebrated. The canon, therefore, fits precisely the end of the second century, when this question was most vehemently agitated between Victor, Bishop of Rome, and Polycrates, Bishop of Smyrna.

The next two canons (IX. and X.) treat concerning the holy communion, to be received by all the faithful, both clergy and laity, whenever they enter the church.[2] It is with good reason that Beveridge refutes the opinion of Daillé, who, because adherents of the Roman church leave the place of worship without partaking of the host, and thus she does not observe those canons, confidently infers that she did not acknowledge their apostolic origin. But what to us is the Roman church? It belongs to herself to see why she follows another fashion. Her usage and custom can bring nothing against the antiquity of our canons. So far are these canons from being at variance with the observances of the second century, that they fit them exactly. Let us consult the fathers of that century. Justin Martyr at once presents himself, and can vouch for the correctness of our statement. In his Apology, when he describes the eucharist to Antoninus Pius, he says expressly of the Christians, that they all assembled on Sunday, and listened to the reading of the sacred Scriptures, and to an address from

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[1] Can. VIII. *Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέραν πρὸ τῆς ἐαρινῆς ἰσημερίας μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτελέσει, καθαιρέσθω.*

[2] Can. IX. *Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ κατολόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ προσφορᾶς γενομένης μὴ μεταλάβοι, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπάτω· καὶ ἐὰν εὔλογος ᾖ, συγγνώμης τυγχανέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ λέγει, ἀφοριζέσθω, ὡς αἴτιος βλάβης γενόμενος τῷ λαῷ καὶ ὑπόνοιαν ποιήσας κατὰ τοῦ προσενέγκαντος.* Can. X. *Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς καὶ τῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή.*

the Bishop. Then all arose together to pray; and, when prayers were ended, there was an offering of bread and wine. The Bishop gave thanks. The people responded, Amen. Distribution was made; and each partook.[1] It is obvious, therefore, that, in this century, the Eucharist was celebrated by all Christians, as often as they came together. It is not, then, alien from the observances of the second century, if our canons threaten excommunication to clerical and lay persons, who do not partake of the communion when an offering is made.

In the next two canons (XI. and XII.) there is nothing to prevent their being adjudged to the apostolic age. That they who are guilty of a want of rectitude or of truth, be kept from the communion, agrees most fully with the first times of the Christian church.

To the *thirteenth* canon, another time must be assigned. Here commendatory letters are mentioned. The ecclesiastical custom of giving such letters to those who were sent from another vicinity, arose in the third century, when, in the time of persecutions, the several churches were obliged to use the utmost caution, lest they should receive a secret heathen or heretic; [or rather, the custom which very naturally began in the time of the apostles, then became specially important.]

Concerning canons XIV. and XV. we have already treated, and shown that regard was had to these canons in subsequent times. It remains that here we remark, in passing, that canons XIV. XV. and XVI. contain nothing which departs from the apostolic age; and, therefore, although perhaps they were framed at a later time, we cannot deny that they may have belonged to the apostolic period, if we judge merely from the subjects of which they treat. [But surely the author would not contend that, in the time of the apostles, such absolute control over Presbyters was given to a Bishop, as is assumed in canon XV. nor that the inferior orders swelling 'the catalogue of clerical persons,' had already been introduced.]

Let us now proceed to the following canons, namely, XVII. XVIII. XIX. and XX., concerning which the same judgment is to be pronounced. Nothing can be found in them that does not accord with the primitive church. [But here we would make the same remark which we made

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[1] [Apol. I. c. 67. Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀποπνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. Εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τοῦτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται. Ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πεμπομεν· καὶ, ὡς προέφημεν, παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ ἀμήν· καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται.]

on the preceding paragraph. Besides the misinterpretation of 1 Tim. 3 : 2 (a consequence and a cause of much error), the mention of 'the *sacerdotal* catalogue,' and perhaps some other things in these canons seem to betray an ascetic, hierarchical, and Judaizing spirit and tendency.]

The four canons which follow (XXI. XXII. XXIII. and XXIV.), decree that he who has mutilated himself, never be made a clergyman; and that, if a clergyman has mutilated himself, he be deposed; but if a layman, that he be separated from communion three years. Daillé has, I think, correctly remarked, that canons have not been established and promulgated in the church, before some fact gave occasion for their being introduced. But, if we examine the history of the primitive church, whether there may be any example which might have given occasion for these canons, we do not search long in vain. From the preceding part of our discussion, it followed, that our canons were at least more ancient than the Nicene Council. Epiphanius, that most grave reprover of heretics, describes at large the heresy of the Valesians, who mutilated themselves. (Hæres. Vales. 58. *Εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες ἀπόκοποι.*) But let us recollect that bloody act which all know the most celebrated teacher of the early church to have performed upon himself; Origen I mean, who, borne away by insane and perverse juvenile ardor, perpetrated against himself such a crime. It is in the highest degree probable that these canons were not in existence when this deed was performed by Origen; a deed which, in the circumstances, may easily have occasioned the establishment of these canons, forbidding, under penalty of being deposed or separated, that any similar act be done under the semblance of piety.

Although we assign also to this time canons XXV. and XXVI., as being consonant with apostolic doctrine, yet we do not assign to it canon XXVII., because there is in it a mention of the minor orders; about which circumstance we have already spoken.

Nor can we in any manner accede to the opinion of Daillé, who, with arguments that are not valid, impugns the antiquity even of canon XXVIII. This canon commands that a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, striking believers who sin, or unbelievers who do an injury, be deposed. I do not see how any one can deny that, in 1 Tim. 3 : 2—, and in Tit. 1 : 7, the foundation is contained on which this canon rests. That apostolic men, therefore, could have sanctioned this canon, will be manifest to all who consider the matter without partiality.

Let us now proceed to discuss the question concerning the canons, from XXX. to XXXIV.; all which I think to have been framed in the middle of the third century. Let us more accurately inspect their contents. Do they not place the image of the third century before our

eyes? Now there was provision to be made by a canon, lest any one obtain the office of a Bishop by means of the secular powers. How abhorent this is from the apostolic age, we need not say. But afterwards, in the third century, audacious men, to the detriment of the church, obtained the episcopate in an unworthy manner. Other canons very much favor the dignity of that office. In these precepts we see the beginnings of the hierarchy.[1] And any one most easily understands that several of these canons were written to exalt the dignity of the Bishop, and increase his power.

In canons XXXIX. XL. and XLI., there are similar efforts to commend the episcopal honor and dignity. In canon XXXIX., it is authoritatively declared that the Bishop shall have care of the ecclesiastical revenues, and administer them as in the presence of God (*καὶ διοικείτω αὐτὰ ὡς θεοῦ ἐφορῶντος*). Nay, canon XL. directs that Presbyters and Deacons perform nothing without the Bishop. These are the beginnings and foundations from which the hierarchy was elevated to its highest eminence. In view of these facts, who does not acknowledge that these canons were not only well known and spread abroad in the third century, but also that there were in them the germs of regulations which the Papal church in later times has used as the basis of her system?

Moreover, they decide another thing pertaining to ecclesiastical discipline, concerning which, in the third century, there had arisen great discord; namely, concerning the revenues which were to be paid to the Bishops. Although the priests often imposed on the laymen a greater tribute than was proper, yet they often endeavored in vain to collect it. Our *forty-first* canon deduced from the religion of the Jews the layman's duty of paying to the priest; since they who wait at the altar (Deut. 18) are also maintained by the altar.[2] And this also accords with the habits of the third century; when it was believed that the Christian church is to be formed and regulated after the model of the Jewish church, and the priesthood of the Christians after the model of the Levitical priesthood.

Concerning the antiquity of canon XXXV., in which the authority of

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[1] Can. XXXI. *Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος κοσμικοῖς ἄρχουσι χρησάμενος δι' αὐτῶν ἐγκρατὴς γένηται ἐκκλησίας, καθαιρείσθω καὶ ἀφοριζέσθω, καὶ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάντες.* Can. XXXIX. *Πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐχέτω τὴν φροντίδα, καὶ διοικείτω αὐτὰ, ὡς θεοῦ ἐφορῶντος· . . .* Can. XL. *Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκοπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν· . . .* Can. XLI. *Προστάσσομεν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων . . . ὥστε κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν πάντα διοικεῖσθαι . . .*

[2] *Ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ θεοῦ διετάξατο, τοὺς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τρέφεσθαι.*

Metropolitan bishops is established, we find a contest still undecided. Daillé vehemently assails the canon, and denies its antiquity. But although in the true and undoubted monuments of the apostles we readily concede to Daillé that there appears no vestige of the Metropolitans, yet we must oppose him in respect to this canon. Great force and great influence, in our opinion, ought to be attributed to the fact that the Nicene Council called the privileges of the Metropolitans, *the ancient customs* (*τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη*). And, indeed, the Nicene Council establishes nothing on this subject as a new arrangement; but, rather, directs that the ancient usages continue. As the testimony in this case can in no way be weakened, it is right to conclude that the privileges of the Metropolitans were in use long before the Nicene Council.

All agree in acknowledging the antiquity of canons XXXVI. and XXXVII.; nor have I any thing which I might bring forward against the origin of them in the apostolic age. [But still we ought to bear in mind the following considerations: 1. That here the distinction between a Bishop and a Presbyter is such as is nowhere found in the genuine writings of the apostles. 2. That here *cities* and *countries* are spoken of as being subject (*ὑποκειμέναι*) to a Bishop; and Bishops are spoken of as holding, possessing, or governing, those *cities* or *countries* (*κατεχόντες τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας ἢ τὰς χώρας*); whereas, in the Acts of the Apostles, 20: 17—28, a very different style is used in reference to the elders or presbyters (*πρεσβυτέρους*) of the church at Ephesus, whom the apostle Paul charged to take heed to themselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers or bishops (*ἐπισκόπους*). In the age of the apostles, the pastor took oversight of the flock, and was bishop of the *church* in this or that place. In the age of these canons, he claimed jurisdiction over the whole place. 3. That the arrogant and lordly tone with which the thirty-seventh canon closes, indicates not the apostolic but later times.] Indeed, I can say nothing against canon XXXVIII. although there is in it a mention of Pentecost.[1] For, in ancient ecclesiastical writers, Pentecost is found in a double sense. Besides one festive day, it signifies also the whole interval of fifty days between the Passover and Pentecost; and in this more extended sense there is sometimes mention of Pentecost in the ecclesiastical writers of the second century.

Concerning the canons which follow next, we have already given an

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[1] Can. XXXVIII. *Δεύτερον τοῦ ἔτους σύνοδος γινέσθω τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἀνακρινέτωσαν ἀλλήλους τὰ δόγματα τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τὰς ἐμπιπτούσας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἀντιλογίας διαλυέτωσαν· ἅπαξ μεν τῇ τετάρτῃ ἑβδομάδι τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, δεύτερον δὲ ὑπερβερεταίου δωδεκάτῃ.*

opinion. Here it will be sufficient to remark that, even in canons XLIV. and XLV., there is nothing dissonant from apostolic doctrine; [but in respect to all these canons (from the forty-second to the forty-fifth, inclusive), and to others where bishops are introduced as belonging to an order entirely distinct from that of presbyters, and where sub-deacons, readers, and others of the minor clerical orders are mentioned, we must be permitted to doubt their having come from the apostolic age, until some proof be adduced.]

In canons XLVI. XLVII. and XLVIII. the baptism of heretics is represented as a defilement by which every one who participates with them becomes exposed to damnation; and, under penalty of being deposed, a Bishop or Presbyter is forbidden to rebaptize one who has been truly baptized.[1] To what age, then, would we adjudge these canons? We refer them, most confidently, to the end of the third century, there having arisen, at length, in the third century, controversies respecting the baptism of heretics. Nor did any controversy on this subject arise before the two councils at Carthage had confirmed the ancient custom of baptizing heretics, and Stephen, Bishop of Rome, had rejected their decrees. It would here be out of place to expatiate on this discord concerning the baptism of heretics. But every one will understand that our canons could not have been written at any other time than about the end of the third century, when there was enkindled on this subject a most bitter controversy.

We must now speak concerning canons XLIX. and L.[2] Canon XLIX. inculcates that baptism be administered in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; and canon L. forbids that any Bishop or Presbyter, under penalty of being deposed, perform merely one immersion given in reference to the death of the Lord, instead of three immersions pertaining to one initiation. All must acknowledge it to have been a very ancient custom to immerse three times those who were baptized. But, nevertheless, we deny the apostolic origin of these canons. For, without any doubt, they are directed against that kind of heretics who, instead of the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, used this formula in baptizing: 'I baptize thee into the death of

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[1] Can. XLVII. *Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἔχοντα βάπτισμα ἐὰν ἄνωθεν βαπτίσῃ, ἢ τὸν μεμολυσμένον παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσῃ, καθαιρείσθω, ὡς γελῶν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸν τοῦ κυρίου θάνατον, καὶ μὴ διακρίνων ἱερέας τῶν ψευδιερέων.*

[2] Can. L. *Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ τρία βαπτίσματα μιᾶς μυήσεως ἐπιτελέσῃ, ἀλλ' ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ κυρίου διδόμενον, καθαιρείσθω· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος,* Εἰς τὸν θάνατον μου βαπτίσατε, *ἀλλὰ* Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

Christ.' Eunomius, an Arian, as he denied the divinity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, wished not to baptize by trine immersion, but only into the death of Christ. Of this fact Socrates informs us in his Ecclesiastical History, b. v. c. 24. From this account, therefore, it is exceedingly clear when these canons were brought into existence. For they were framed for the purpose of abolishing the perverse practice of those heretics.

Let us now pass to the second part of the canons, which, for a long time, was not received at all in the Latin church, but obtained among the Greeks the same authority which they accorded to the first part.

It has seemed to me right to agree with the learned men who have treated concerning them, that, in canons LI. LIII. and the eight next following, nothing opposes our referring their origin to the apostolic age. For they exhibit certain general regulations which can be promulgated at almost any time. But the case is different with canons LII. and LXII., which are expressly opposed to those who affirm that a returning penitent ought not to be readmitted.[1] They examine this error, and direct that those who had fallen away, be received. We know very well, that, in the third century, this rigor against the lapsed arose from the Novatian controversies. To this time, therefore, we assign both the canons.

Several of the other canons (LXIII. LXV. LXVI. LXVII. LXX. LXXI. and LXXII) no one has assailed; but all allow them a very high antiquity. . .

But our canon LXIV. must be subjected to a more careful examination. It forbids that any one fast on the Lord's day, or on the Sabbath, except one only, to wit, the Great or ante-Paschal, — [the Saturday before Easter.][2] Although the observance which our canon exhibits in respect to fasting, is not so ancient as to reach the apostolic age, yet we cannot refer it to so late a time as Daillé assigns to it. For Tertullian (De Coron. Milit. c. 3) assures us that, in his time, the observance prevailed which our canon commends. And also, from Epiphanius and other writers of the fourth century, it can easily be seen that, not only among the Montanists but also among the orthodox, this custom was very common in the third century. Canon LXIX. enjoins, under the heaviest penalty, the fast of Lent, commencing the fortieth day (Quadragesima) before Easter, and the fasts on Wednesday and Friday (the fourth day of the week, and the day of the Preparation). Besides, in

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[1] Can. LII. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν ἐπιστρέφοντα ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας οὐ προσδέχεται, ἀλλ' ἀποβάλλεται, καθαιρείσθω, ὅτι λυπεῖ χριστὸν τὸν εἰπόντα, χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντα.

[2] Can. LXIV. Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἐυρεθῇ τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν νηστεύων ἢ τὸ σάββατον πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς μόνου, καθαιρείσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφοριζέσθω.

this canon itself, the inferior clerical orders are mentioned, which not obscurely indicates the time of its origin; and the rest of its contents, indeed, confirms this indication.[1] I am fully convinced that the ecclesiastical law, here presented, was not received earlier than in the third century. There are, however, among the learned, some who endeavor to vindicate the apostolic origin of this Fast of Lent, appealing to passages of Jerome and Augustin, who derive the custom from apostolic tradition. But with these Fathers, the expressions used in those passages are general forms of speaking, which are by no means to be perverted. It is evident, on the contrary, from the concurring statements of writers in the third century and in the fourth, that the Fast, as here regulated, was not observed till in the third century.

Against the antiquity of canon LXXIII. learned men have mentioned well-founded objections. For where, in this canon, it is forbidden that any one appropriate to his own use a vessel of silver or of gold, or a curtain that has been consecrated,[2] it follows that, at the time when the canon was framed, the Christians had sacred edifices and precious vessels. . . . We, therefore, place this canon in the beginning of the third century, when it is most certain that spacious and costly buildings for Christian worship were erected.

But we readily acknowledge the very high antiquity of the next following canons, as far as to the eighty-fourth; since [in most points] they do not depart from the simplicity of the apostolic age. Only this it seems proper to remark against canon LXXXII., that in the words *as our Onesimus appeared* (ὅιος Ὀνήσιμος, ὁ ἡμέτερος ἀνεφάνη), it endeavors to impose on the reader a false author. This, although it does not pertain to the subject of which the canon treats, throws upon it an unfavorable suspicion; [which is not a little increased by the apparent assumption of unlimited power for councils of Bishops in canon LXXIV. and by the mention of 'the *sacerdotal* administration' in canon LXXXIII.]

The eighty-third canon rejects the practice of those who obtain at the same time an office in the Roman government and in the church.[3] In this, regard is probably had to the proceeding in the Council at Antioch

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[1] Can. LXX. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ἀναγνώστης ἢ ψάλτης τὴν ἁγίαν τεσσαρακοστὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἢ τετράδα ἢ παρασκευὴν οὐ νηστέυοι, καθαιρείσθω, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ δι' ἀσθένειαν σωματικὴν ἐμποδίζοιτο· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς εἴη, ἀφοριζέσθω.

[2] Can. LXXIII. Σκεῦος χρυσοῦν ἢ ἀργυροῦν ἁγιασθὲν ἢ ὀθόνην μηδεὶς ἔτι εἰς οἰκείαν χρῆσιν σφετεριζέσθω· παράνομον γὰρ· εἰ δὲ τις φωραθείη, ἐπιτιμάσθω ἀφορισμῷ.

[3] Can. LXXXIII. Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος στρατείᾳ σχολάζων καὶ βουλόμενος ἀμφότερα κατέχειν, Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἱερατικὴν διοίκησιν, καθαιρείσθω· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ καίσαρος καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.

[A.D. 269], which deposed Paul of Samosata, because, among other offences, he was occupied as a secular magistrate.

It remains that we speak concerning the last of these canons. Scarcely any one of them bears upon itself more openly than this the vestiges of a late time. It is therefore easy to fix the age of its origin. This canon presents a catalogue of the sacred books of the New Testament, enumerating all those which it deems canonical. . . . Even the two epistles of Clement, and the Constitutions, are set forth in it as being apostolical. If now we institute a comparison between this canon and the catalogue of canonical books which Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, b. iii. c. 25, has given us, we readily perceive that our canon was not fabricated till in the end of the fourth century, when the books just now mentioned, which it proclaims to be canonical, were brought into the canon of the Sacred Scriptures. And, if we inquire why it was fabricated, the answer is easy and prompt, — that by its aid spurious books might be commended.

In view of this discussion, who is there that will not maintain with us, that our canons were formed *at different times* in the churches denominated apostolical [or through the influence exerted by such], and that they were afterwards gathered into the collection which we now possess? [Especially, since, in harmony with this conclusion, we can so far accede to the opinion of Bishop Beveridge, as to believe that *many* of them had, by various councils, been approved and set forth as being agreeable to the doctrine of the apostles.]

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